HISTORY OF
THE GRAECO-LATIN FABLE

VOLUME ONE

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FRANCISCO RODRÍGUEZ ADRADOS

HISTORY OF THE GRAECO-LATIN FABLE

VOLUME ONE

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INTRODUCTION AND FROM THE ORIGINS TO THE HELLENISTIC AGE

BY

FRANCISCO RODRÍGUEZ ADRADOS

TRANSLATED BY

LESLIE A. RAY

This edition has been revised and updated by the author and Gert-Jan van Dijk

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To Amalia
To my sons and daughters

UNIV.
LEIDEN
BIBL.

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PROLOGUE TO THE SPANISH EDITION

Few literary genres, if indeed there are any, show greater continuity throughout their history than the fable, spanning from Sumer to the present day. It has crossed over from literature to literature, from language to language, producing endless derivations, imitations, recreations. Always the same and always different, it has absorbed various religions, philosophies and cultures, which it has served as an expression. But also as a contrast, as the fable has always involved an element of criticism, realism and popularism.

It is no coincidence that the first essay on comparative literature was written precisely on the subject of the fable, by Benfey. Yet much work still remains to be done if we are to write the history of the fable, a history which should, in fact, be a single one. At least as far as the two great traditions—the Greek and the Indian fable—are concerned, which, apart from having their own roots, continued the Sumerian and Mesopotamian fable in general and later converged in our Middle Ages.

The fact is, the fable is a popular and traditional genre, essentially "open", existing in infinite variants, as do many other popular genres, such as proverbs and oral poetry. The copyists of manuscripts believe themselves authorized to introduce intentional variations to content, style or language There are countless derivations, contaminations, prosifications, versifications, etc. Isolated examples of fables find their way into collections and vice versa, indefinitely. And the collections increase or decrease the material they contain, are split up, etc. All this creates a confused panorama. And it has brought about a situation whereby, for a very long time, there were no editions of the fable collections worthy of the name (there still remains much to be done in this field) and the origins and dates of those we did know were an enigma to us: this was the case with the Indian *Panchatantra* or the Anonymous Greek collections. This can be better understood if we consider that for a very long time the Greek fable was represented for us by the edition by Halm, an inextricable mishmash of different elements.

The situation has improved, as regards the Greek and Latin and the Indian fable, and we now know a considerable amount about

the Mesopotamian fable. So I think the time has now come to attempt to trace the history of this genre. This is what we are going to attempt here for the Graeco-Latin fable; our contribution will essentially consist of an investigation of its origins, a reconstruction of the lost collections of fables from the Hellenistic Age, the establishing of the relationships between the fabulists of the Imperial Age and the study of the Medieval, Greek and Latin fable.

We believe one interesting aspect of this study to be the Mesopotamian and Indian fable; another, the ancient Graeco-Latin fable, which is an extensive whole that should be studied in terms of its dates and relations and not restricting oneself to a few isolated names; yet another, the relationship between all this material and the Medieval fable and subsequent fables in Romance languages and others, including its renewed convergence with the Indian fable.

We have of course been assisted in our task by the works that have broken new ground before us: we need only mention such illustrious names such as P. Marc, G. Thiele, O. Crusius, E. Chambry, A. Hausrath, M. Nøjgaard and B. E. Perry for the Graeco-Latin fable; T. Benfey, J. Hertel and F. Edgerton for the Indian; E. Ebeling, N. S. Kramer and E. L. Gordon for the Mesopotamian. We have also referred to a number of our own previous works.

Our study is divided into three volumes. This first volume concerns itself with the Greek fable, from its origins in Greece and the Orient to the approximate time of the birth of Christ. We do, however, find ourselves obliged to anticipate here certain elements concerning the fabulists of the Empire who, when they are studied in Vol. II, will in turn oblige us to look further into the history of the Hellenistic fable. On the other hand, in this volume we study the *Life of Aesop* irrespective of the dates of the versions that have reached us. And we leave for Vol. III a general index of the Graeco-Latin fable.

The most interesting aspects of our first volume are, we believe, the discussion of the origin of the fable in Greece as a genre of "exempla" that gradually split off from the myth, the simile, etc. and shared characteristics with the lyric and comic genres that we refer to as "Iambic", with their elements of satire, critique and popular morals, among other things; the influence exercised on the Greek fable by its Eastern counterpart, an influence that can now be studied much more effectively than in the past; and the origin of the fable collections. The whole Graeco-Latin post-Classical fable, which is a

unitary whole despite its successive splits, its changes both literary and basic, etc., derives from the collection of fables that Demetrius Phalereus put together about the year 300 BC, drawing from previous material. This collection can be reconstructed to a certain extent, in terms both of its precedents in the fable of the Socratics and of the style and content of its repertoire. But from here to the collections of the Imperial Age—Phaedrus, Babrius and the ancient version of the Anonymous Greek fables, particularly—the road has been a long one: that of the Hellenistic fable, whose history we are attempting to reconstruct for the first time.

In general terms, it must be said that it was the Cynics who adopted the fable as one of the genres they cultivated: they translated it into choliambic metre, they partially modified its topics to bring it into line with their philosophy and they invented or collected many new fables. For them the fable was a weapon for instruction and attack at the same time, a mixture of the serious and the joke. Later, however, the fable returned to the prose form, amid a swarm of multiple compositions, and was moralized and used in teaching in general, not only by the Cynics, but in schools. The collections of the Imperial Age, with the original features that each of these brings with it, have their roots in this stage of the Hellenistic fable. However, the details on this topic and on the evolution of the fable in the Medieval Age are reserved, as we have said, for vol. II.

The study of the fable, of the more than 500 fables of which there is evidence dating back to Antiquity, is extremely complex: indeed, they would really need to be studied fable by fable, as general conclusions are always inadequate. Even so, we believe we are tracing the general outline of a history that is particularly interesting for the whole of the culture that was to follow. The passage of the fable from the iambic writers to the Socratics (including Demetrius), from these to the Cynics, from here on the one hand to India, where the Greek collections were imitated, on the other to the rhetorical schools, with their moralistic, partly Stoic tendency, towards the 2nd or 1st century BC, does no more than anticipate a subsequent evolution that ends up, definitively, in the adaptation of the fable both to Christian teaching and to the criticism directed against the nobility in the Middle Ages.

However, as we said, within these variations there is considerable unity. The same fox or jackal that mocked the ascetics and the powerful in India, that criticized society in Archaic and Classical Greece,

continued to play the same role later, in the hands of Cynics and other moralists, in Medieval literature, both Latin and non-Latin. The human tales included among the fables of animals, the realistic biographies such as the *Life of Aesop*, were a motivating force behind Medieval and picaresque storytelling. Indeed, all these motifs and others besides are present in authors such as the Archiprester of Hita.

For this reason we thought it would be worthwhile—although this involves a difficult philological task, one not always easy to pursue—to try to reconstruct the history of the Graeco-Latin fable, which, with its Indian counterpart, forms the body of the literary fable between Sumer and the Medieval and Modern Ages.

I offer my thanks to Professor J. Vaio of Chicago, who, after studying the proofs of the Spanish edition, made some observations that have been incorporated into the text, to Professor Robert S. Falkowitz of Philadelphia, who provided me with valuable information on the Sumerian fable, and to Dr. M. Emilia Martínez-Fresneda, who read the proofs with me. Also to María Angeles Moreda and Asunción Arboledas, who typed up a far from easy original Spanish manuscript.

There will be frequent references in the work to previous works of mine on the fable tradition. In some cases, I have incorporated the passages from these previous works into the book.

PROLOGUE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

The Spanish edition of this work, now out of print, appeared between the years 1979 and 1987. We therefore thought it appropriate to add Supplements at the end of each chapter, giving information on the new bibliography and some new data, together with references to my subsequent studies.

In vol. III, the *Documentation of the Graeco-Latin Fable* will contain Supplements giving new information on the fables collected in the Spanish edition, as well as on new fables. Many of these Supplements will be by Dr. G.-J. van Dijk, who wished to make this his contribution to the updating of the book, for which I am most grateful to him. His name appears as collaborator for this third volume. The data from all these Supplements are used, moreover, in those to volumes I and II.

At any rate, the fundamental conclusions of the book remain intact. I think its ideas on the origin of the fable, the collection of Demetrius and the Hellenistic collections, the influence of Cynicism, the reconstruction of the metrical models and of the relationships between the collections, and finally, the relationship between all the phases and ages of the fable, up to the Middle and Humanistic Ages, still remain valid. I discuss some criticisms of same in the Supplements.

The work by Dr. Van Dijk, *Αἶνοι, Λόγοι, Μῦθοι. Fables in Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Greek Literature. With a Study of the Theory and Terminology of the Genre* (Leiden/New York/Köln, Brill, 1997), frequently mentioned, is abbreviated as Van Dijk, *Ainoi*.

See on this book my review in *Emerita* 66, 1998, pp. 404–406. The book by M. Mañas, *Fedro/Aviano, Fábulas*, Madrid 1998, is abbreviated as M. Mañas.

Ancient authors and works are abbreviated according to the *Diccionario Griego-Español*, Madrid 1980. Dr. Van Dijk and myself have carefully revised and updated the whole of the English edition.

PART ONE

OVERVIEW OF THE GRAECO-LATIN FABLE

CHAPTER ONE

TERMINOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT FABLE

I. *Terminology of the Graeco-Latin Fable*

1. *"Fabula" and the Latin Terminology*

Our idea of the fable comes, in fact, from the collections of La Fontaine and his continuers starting from the 17th century, who mainly collected fables with animals taking part. In its turn, this theme is a reduction of that of its models, the ancient collections of Aesopic fables: above all, the Accursian recension or III of the Greek Anonymous Fables (the only one known at the time) and Phaedrus. Babrius was not published until 1844, by Boissonade. In fact, these model collections contain more than animalistic fables (and fables with plants involved); they also include others in which stories are narrated about gods or men, which we may qualify either as myths or anecdotes, or else as tales, short stories, χρεῖαι (a type of episode concluding with a biting and instructive phrase), etc.

We must distinguish, then, between modern and ancient ideas of the fable. It is clear that the latter ideas come from the collections: those mentioned and others besides. Although, evidently, the criterion followed by the authors of collections, starting from the first by Demetrius Phalereus at the end of the 4th century BC, must inevitably have been inspired by earlier ideas on the genre.

Now the continued indecision in Greek attempts to denominate the genre that we call "the fable" demonstrates that it was not easy to establish the bounds either of its content or of its form; and that there continued to be an awareness of the difficulties involved in delimiting it with respect to other closely related genres. We must note that the fable is one of the literary genres that are not denominated using a Greek word, though it very definitely comes from the Greeks. This paradox is explained precisely by the variations in the Greek terminology used to denote it, as well as by the fact that the most frequent Greek term, Αἰσώπειοι λόγοι, consists of two words, which is not very convenient; not to mention the fact that the term λόγος

is ambiguous if we take away the adjective Αἰσώπειος, Aesopic, and that it is frequent replaced by another term, μῦθος.

For this reason a solution was adopted that was something of a convention. In Latin the word *apologus* was sometimes used, the Latin transcription of a variant of the term λόγος, at other times *fabula.* In the foreword to his book IV, Phaedrus speaks specifically of *fabulae Aesopiae,* emphasizing that this is a literary genre allowing variations, amplification and originality; he distinguishes this term from *fabulae Aesopi,* fables by Aesop himself. That is to say, the term *fabula,* which was an approximate translation of μῦθος, and, of course, the term most frequently used in Latin, was not sufficient on its own. This was because in Latin *fabula* can mean any narration or story,[1] but it also means conversation (cf. Spanish *habla*),[2] and above all because it frequently refers to the myth and to any fabulous or poetic story. *Fabula* was a vague term in Latin, which served to neutralize the difference or opposition between the Greek terms λόγος and μῦθος, but it needed the term *Aesopiae* to make it specific. The habitual procedure was followed of borrowing a foreign term and using it in a restricted sense: the language that borrows it thus acquires a "technical term", without the ambiguities either of its own vocabulary or of the term in question in its original language. Though it cannot be said that this has been fully achieved, since the learned word in span. *fábula* (fr. *fable,* it. *favola,* eng. *fable*) means, at the same time, any legend or fictitious or untruthful story. Only when we say "Aesopic fables" "La Fontaine's fables", etc., is the meaning definitively specified.

On the other hand, the attempt in Latin to create a technical term to denote the genre using the word *apologus* met with little success. It is, of course, a transcription of the Greek ἀπόλογος, a rare variant of λόγος, which is simply a "story"; it was applied in this way by Plato and Aristotle to that of Odysseus, telling of his voyages to Alcinous and the Phaeacians.[3] This neutral sense is sometimes present in the Latin term *apologus,*[4] but this more frequently had the specialized meaning of "fable". However, it was infrequently used, with the expression *fabula Aesopia* triumphing, perhaps due to the decisive influence of Phaedrus. If, for his part, Phaedrus chose

[1] Cf. Livy I 11.8; Horace, *Ep.* I 13, 9; Seneca, *Ep.* 77, etc.

[2] Cf. Tacitus, *Or.* 2 and 29.

[3] Plato, *Rep.* 314 b; Aristotle, *Rhetorica* 1417 a 13; *Poetica,* 1455 a 2.

[4] As in Plautus, *Stich.* 4.1.32, 34 and 64.

fabula, it was certainly because this word was seen as an equivalent (albeit only an approximate one) of the Greek μῦθος, which those who wrote fables in verse habitually used as their preferential term.

In any event, the history of the terminology of the fable in Greek can teach us something about the conception of the fable genre by the Greeks themselves: our excursus on Roman terminology had no other purpose than to show what the origin of our use of the word *fable* is: it is, in short, an expedient to solve the problem of the lack of a clear and unitary ancient tradition.

2. *The Term αἶνος*

The history of the denominations of the Greek fable has been traced a number of times, mainly by Hausrath,[5] Nøjgaard,[6] S. Josifović[7] and Van Dijk, *Ainoi*, pp. 79 ff.

We do not intend to add any new material here; rather, we will restrict ourselves to the essential data. But if we devote our attention to structural criteria, this will allow us to move further forward, we believe, with the same material.

In contrast with the opinion of Hausrath, who used the most frequent meaning of αἰνέω and that of its derivative ἔπαινος as his basis, the oldest meaning of αἶνος, the word that was used in the earliest times to denote the fable, is not "eulogy". Ancient authors are closer to the truth, such as Theon,[8] when he simply defines αἶνος as the oldest term, or particularly the scholiast to Aristophanes,[9] when he mentions that the αἶνος is directed at men (not children, as the μῦθος was at his time) and has the value of an exhortation, as do almost all fables; a use which, moreover, appears in both αἶνος and the derivatives παραινέω, παραίνεσις.

But let us return to αἶνος. Its older uses, the Homeric ones, conserve the original meaning of "saying, story". It is the word used, in *Iliad* XXIII 652, by Nestor to Achilles remembering his own life; in *Odyssey* XIV 508, by Odysseus, who is concealing his identity, to Eumaeus, recounting his old (and fictitious) memories to obtain a

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[5] Art. *Fabel* in *RE* VI, II, col. 1704 ff.
[6] *La Fable Antique*, I, Copenhagen 1964, pp. 122 ff.
[7] Art. *Aisopos* in *RE* Suppl. XIV, col. 15 ff.
[8] *Prog.* 3.
[9] *Vespae* 1251.

tunic from him. The use continued subsequently. And all the others derive from it. This is revealed in the fact that αἶνος appears very frequently as the internal accusative of a verb for "to say" or as the subject of same in the passive voice: cf. *Od.* 1. c. αἶνος . . . ὃν κατέλεξας, *Il.* XXIII 795 εἰρήσεται αἶνος, Hes., *Op.* 202 αἶνον . . . ἐρέω, Archilochus 77 A. ἐρέω . . . αἶνον, Sophocles, *Ph.* 1380 αἶνον αἰνέσας (here and in various other places we see the ancient meaning, "to say", of αἰνέω) Theocritus XIV 43 αἶνος . . . λέγεται, etc. Or else it is shown as dependent on verbs for "to hear": *Il.* XXIII 652 αἶνον ἐπέκλυε, Callimachus 194.6 Pf. ἄκουε . . . τὸν αἶνον.

These "words" addressed to somebody may be a simple story or have, at the same time, the goal of taking an action in relation to them: a representative and impressive function at the same time, to use the linguistic terminology. In the "story" that the disguised Odysseus tells to Eumaeus, the first function still predominates, though the intention is to ask for a tunic. But when in a passage already quoted from the *Philoctetes*, this hero refers, using the term αἶνος, to the previous words by Neoptolemus that he must go with him to Troy, αἶνος is "words" (ὦ δεινὸν αἶνον αἰνέσας may be translated as "oh you that have pronounced terrible words") as well as "advice, order".[10] The meaning "eulogy" came about in a similar manner. Achilles responds to the eulogistic words of Antilochus in *Il.* XXIII 795 with a οὐ μέν τοι μέλεος αἶνος εἰρήσεται which means "some poor words are not going to be said (by me)" and at the same time "I will not make you a worthless eulogy", since what he is doing is rewarding him with half a golden talent.

Αἶνος is, then, a "story", but it may be a story that, rather than having a representative function, narrating something real or fictitious, has an impressive one: to advise, eulogize (and, of course, criticize). This vague and general sense of αἶνος was maintained, together with the more specialized use of "eulogy", in lyric poetry and tragedy, as well as in the Hellenistic authors dependent on this tradition (Apollonius, Callimachus, Theocritus). But there was a second specialization; αἶνος was used for certain types of stories, specifically those we call fables, proverbs and enigmas, which might (but did not necessarily) have additional impressive functions.

As is known, αἶνος meaning "fable" appears in Hesiod, *Op.* 202 (fable of "The Hawk and the Nightingale"), Archilochus 27 ("The

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[10] Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 1380, see below.

Eagle and the Fox"), 77 A. ("The Monkey and the Fox", about the monkey claiming noble origins) and there is an echo in Callimachus 194.6 Pf. These are always, directly or indirectly, exhortations to follow a form of conduct, accompanied by criticism and satire of those who do not act in that way; but in all cases on the basis of a story showing how things usually happen in human society by means of the animal simile. The contexts of the fables in Hesiod and Archilochus are, in effect, advice to "kings", to Lycambes, to the nobles of Paros: certain types of behaviour lead to bad results. Even the victory of the hawk is placed within this perspective by the verses that follow.

But what we are interested in here is this:

a) There is no distinction made between the story in general (historical, fictitious...) and the story as fable. On the other hand, both, in either a vaguer or a more direct way, tend to have an impressive function rather than the representative one.
b) Two other meanings, "proverb" and "enigma", appear together with the meaning "fable"; there was evidently no distinction made between these genres and the fable.

The meaning "proverb" is found in Euripides 508 N.^{2}, Theocritus XIV 43, Arcesilaus 964 P. It is, simply, a repeated "saying", a παλαιὸς αἶνος, as Euripides says, an αἶνος ἀνδρῶν as Arcesilaus says; or simply a turn of phrase or stock phrase (Callimachus 178.9 Pf.). Regarding the fable in our sense, there are all kinds of transitions: already the ancient essayists came to consider the fable as an extended proverb".[11] Theocritus XIV 43, for example, is an animal proverb ἔβα καὶ ταῦρος ἀν' ὕλαν: "the bull left for the forest", says Aeschines of Cinisca, the woman in love who has fled. But while an animal proverb, such as that of the *Margites* and Archilochus 37 A.: "The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog just one that is decisive", has a sense of warning, that of Theocritus is a simple simile; the impressive function of αἶνος may be lacking. Other proverbs are indeed impressive, and suggest conduct or advise it openly; and indeed many fables finish precisely with one of these proverbs enunciated in direct style by one of their characters.

Αἶνος is a "riddle" in *Lyr. Iamb. Adesp.* 17a: once again it is a story, a non-impressive story. The riddle found its appropriate place precisely where the fable found it: at the festival and the banquet;[12]

[11] Cf. Josifović, l. c., col. 35.
[12] Cf. infra, pp. 245 ff., 262.

sometimes it was, as in the case we are concerned with here, an enigma with an animal theme.[13] However, even when this is not the case, the relationship between the fable and the enigma is an intimate one. Aesop is presented to us, in his *Life*, as a solver of enigmas. And the fable is sometimes precisely an enigma; thus, a fable such as the one by Aristophanes, *Aves* 471 ff., for example, explains why the lark has a crest; and has no impressive purpose at all.

To summarize, the term αἶνος is, in principle, neutral with respect to oppositions such as human/animal, representative/impressive, real/fictitious, animal fable/proverb/riddle. Its use for the animalistic, the fictitious and the impressive is in response to an intention to specialize that did not succeed, because the word soon went out of use, except in poetry, and even in this it declined. It is noteworthy, in any case, that when it was used to denote stories on a specialized topic it included both the animalistic and the non-animalistic: the fable in our sense and the variants that the subsequent fable tradition shared with it, sometimes intimately commingled.

3. *The Terms λόγος and μῦθος*

Leaving aside the archaism that is αἶνος, the fable in the old sense soon went on to be indicated by the two competing terms already mentioned, λόγος and μῦθος: terms which were not exclusive to the new genre either, but linked it with others, as we have said. And which, partially at least, respond to two conceptions of the fable and to a classification of Greek literary genres in general.

Both words, μῦθος and λόγος, were initially partly synonymous: the senses of αἶνος and other related words, such as "word", "saying", "story", "myth", "fable", "speech", etc., were present in both. In principle, there was no relation with the theme of the historical or fictitious, true or false character of a story. Μῦθος might refer, of course, to the myth, although this was rare, but also to a historical story, a speech or a fable (in Aeschylus, fr. 139 R.). Yet λόγος could also be used from the beginning in all these senses. To give some examples of its use with the "myth" sense: the initial myths in *Works and Days* by Hesiod, cf. 106, are qualified as λόγος; and the ἀρχαίων λόγος by Pindar, *N.* I 34, refers to a myth of Heracles. But λόγος

[13] Refers to the bat.

is also "fable": thus already in Archilochus 25 A. ἄκουε δὴ κακοῦ λόγου it opens the words of Archilochus to Lycambes, which include the fable of the eagle and the fox (it begins in 27, already cited, αἶνός τις ἀνθρώπων ὅδε). *Logos* implies the entirety of Archilochus' words, including the fable; this is clear because the expression, inspired by various others mentioned above, left its mark on ἄκουε δή, φασί, μάλα καλοῦ λόγου by Plato, *Gorg.* 523a (in relation to a myth) and on ἄκουε δὴ τὸν αἶνον by Callimachus, already cited (in relation to a fable). Λόγος is again "fable" in Herodotus I 141; it is significant that he applies the qualifier λογοποιός to Aesop (II 134). But in this same author, VI 86δ, we find the more or less legendary story or anecdote of Glaucus. And the whole work of Herodotus himself (I 53, etc.) or parts of it (I 184, II 161, etc.) or the work of Hecataeus (VI 137) is precisely a historical "story". But equally λόγος is a mythical story: thus there is reference to ἱρὸς λόγος or the sacred legend of various cults (Herodotus II 62, Pindar, *P.* III 80, etc.), as a specialization of the meaning already mentioned of "myth". Furthermore, λόγος is, like αἶνος, a "proverb, maxim, saying", cf. for example Pindar, *N.* IX 6, Aeschylus, *Septem* 218, etc.

We can see that both μῦθος and λόγος have a broader meaning than αἶνος, because they refer to any saying or story; and that, like αἶνος, they are neutral in principle with respect to oppositions of the type real/fictitious, myth/fable/anecdote/story, etc. Use of the word αἶνος quickly declined; its final blossoming was in the 7th century. Later there remained no trace of it apart from minor literary echoes. The "fable" and related genres went on to be denoted by the more generic terms μῦθος and λόγος; the first attempt to create a relatively specialized terminology, that is, to use αἶνος tending to restrict this word to the meaning of "fable" (with the inclusion of "proverb" and "enigma") was abandoned.

Of the three terms in question, μῦθος was frequent in Homer, where it was not applied to the fable due to the simple fact that the epic poem did not allow the fable. Later the term rapidly declined; we need only consider, for example, that in Herodotus there are two appearances of μῦθος and in Pindar three, compared with countless incidences of λόγος. This decline has two aspects. On one hand, the traditional use of μῦθος is conserved here and there; this was a neutral use which we have mentioned and which refers to all stories, including the fable; we have mentioned the reference in Aeschylus 139 R. to the "Libyan fables" μύθων τῶν Λιβυστικῶν and the fable

is called μῦθος in Plato, *Phaedo* 60 c, *Alc.* 123a, *Pol.* 272d, in Aristotle, *Mete.* 356b 11, etc. On the other hand, an opposition tends to occur between μῦθος and λόγος, a topic which we will discuss again later.

Λόγος appears in Greek literature from Homer onwards, but far less frequently here than μῦθος, and with a restricted meaning: "words" pronounced in a dialogue or speech, not yet a "story" and its derivatives. This is still the case in Hesiod (except for *Works and Days* 106, a myth of the ages of the world). But from the 7th century onwards it developed rapidly, occupying the whole semantic space of μῦθος, reduced now, as we said, to a mere remnant. Though λόγος in fact has a wider semantic space, the synonymy is partial, as we stated above: λόγος also includes "calculation", "proportion", "thought", etc. Λόγος is the form and content of language at the same time; the λόγος of Heraclitus, for example, is his work and his doctrine and at the same time the structural "law" of the world and its evolution, expressed in his doctrine.[14]

It is not all strange, then, under these circumstances, that the fable came to be denominated *logos*, as we have seen that this already happened in Archilochus and Herodotus and we will see that it was the usual practice for Aristophanes and the Socratics. The only problem was that with this term, even more than with αἶνος and μῦθος, a precise terminology was lacking: the meaning of fable was included among countless other elements. This is, we believe, the deep root of the renewed attempts at the creation of a terminology in the 5th century, which we will discuss below. But before this we must return to the problem of the relation between μῦθος and λόγος.

From the time when λόγος achieved its full semantic development, in the 7th and 6th centuries, it was a synonym of μῦθος, as we have said, for the meanings that have "story" as their root. We can say that λόγος is a negative term in this opposition: it is either the opposite of μῦθος ("reason", etc., as opposed to "story") or is identical to this term. However, things did not remain like this. As we indicated above, not only did the positive term μῦθος decline in frequency, but, along with its traditional use there arose another, which was in opposition to that of λόγος, within the common meaning of "story": λόγος tended to take on the meaning of a "true story", μῦθος that of a "false or fictitious story".

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[14] Cf. "El sistema de Heráclito: estudio a partir del léxico", *Emerita* 41, 1973, pp. 1–43.

At times, it is certainly difficult or impossible to decide if there is a difference in meaning in the use of the two words in a passage: there has been discussion, for example, on εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις in Xenophanes 1.14. It is no less certain that λόγος more frequently maintained the neutral use with respect to the fictitious/non-fictitious opposition. The frequent expression ἀληθὴς λόγος (and ὀρθός, οἰκώς) demonstrates, on one hand, that λόγος is frequently associated with the notion of the truth, but also that it needs one of these adjectives to express this clearly.

There are examples, however, of the opposition mentioned. The only two examples of μῦθος in Herodotus are in contexts indicating incredulity concerning the assertion that the source of the Nile is the Ocean (II 23) or a supposed adventure of Heracles in Egypt (II 45). The three examples in Pindar refer to a myth described as false (*O.* I 29) and to deceptive words (*N.* VII 23; VIII 33). In the first of the examples from Pindar, it is said in fact that the myth of Pelops is ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀλαθῆ λόγον, "against truth", as we would translate it. In Plato, *Gorgias* 523a, Socrates says that Callicles will think that the story of the fate of souls after death that is to be told later is a μῦθος, but he believes it is a λόγος, because what he is going to relate is true (ὡς ἀληθῆ ὄντα). A better illustration is the passage by Plato himself, *Resp.* 376e–377 where, after affirming that there are true and false λόγοι, he talks about the μῦθοι that we tell children, describing these as lies.

Without a doubt this implication of the concepts of μῦθος and λόγος with those of the truth and lies is at the basis of the Platonic opposition between μῦθος, with reference to the myth of Prometheus, and λόγος;[15] it is the basis of the terminology of the Hellenistic Age applied to what we call myth. Although the fable continued, in general, to be called λόγος in its neutral sense.

The fact is that the use of the term λόγος to refer to the fable was neutral, and did not stress its character as reality or fiction at all, since it extended from the historical to the mythical story. But when, starting from a certain moment, the fable was qualified as μῦθος, the old neutrality of the term might sometimes have been retained, while on other occasions there was reference to the fabulous character of the fable, so it was classified together with the myth

[15] Plato, *Prot.* 320 e.

and poetic stories in general. Callimachus, *Iamb.* IV, calls his choliambic fable of the laurel and the olive tree μῦθος; μυθίαμβοι, that is to say, "iambic μῦθοι", is the title of the fables of Babrius. The *fabula* of Phaedrus, as we said, is without a doubt a translation of μῦθος. And the rhetorician Aphthonius denominates his fables as μῦθοι, and also says[16] that μῦθος (the fable) is a false λόγος that symbolizes a truth. This term μῦθος became fashionable in the Byzantine Age (as *fabula* in our Middle Ages): the proof of this is its use in the epimythia of the two Byzantine collections of Anonymous Fables, the Vindobonensis and the Accursiana, in opposition to the use of λόγος in the ancient collection, the Augustana.

So, μῦθος was definitely initially a neutral denomination, albeit rare, of the fable, placing it alongside any type of story; then, starting from the Hellenistic Age, the word was revived by a school highlighting the position of the fable, as a poetic genre, alongside the myth. Not that for those using λόγος the fable was not fictitious: the word was used, we must emphasize, neutrally; λόγος was then a negative term with respect to the positive μῦθος. Although, as regards the older phase in Aristophanes, a certain degree of clarification is required.

In Aristophanes we have perceived a twofold tendency: a) to qualify the fable as λόγος, setting it precisely in opposition to the term μῦθος; b) to specify this denomination with reference to the special genre of λόγος represented by the fable. It is a terminological practice following the ancient one, used by Hesiod and Archilochus, basing itself on αἶνος.

Every time Aristophanes tells a fable and gives it a name, he talks of λόγος. Specifically, in *Pax* 129 ff. (ἐν τοῖσιν Αἰσώπου λόγοις, the fable of the eagle and the beetle), in *Aves* 1258 (λόγον ἀστεῖον), in *Vespae* 1399 (λόγον χαρίεντα, Aesop and the dog); the same as with Archilochus and Herodotus, then, not to mention subsequent authors. There is undoubtedly another reference to fables in *Plutus* 177. From the context we can also deduce that *Vespae* 1182 f., "The Mouse and the Weasel", is a λόγος, not a μῦθος. It is noteworthy, on the other hand, that μῦθος is used twice (*Lysistrata* 781 and 806) to refer to two mythical stories, those of Melanion and Timon. And once again for the story of Lamia, the monster that scares children (*Vespae*

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[16] *Prog.* 1.

1179). And that when, in the passage cited of *Pax*, Trygaeus refers to the fable of the eagle and the beetle, qualifying it as λόγος, the boy interrupts, describing it as ἄπιστον μῦθον, an incredible μῦθος. That is to say, Aristophanes, who retains the archaic, neutral use of μῦθος in *Vespae* 725 (in a proverb), also continues to use λόγος neutrally, but he separates the fable from myths or fabulous stories, described as μῦθοι.

Aristophanes refers to this rather frivolous μῦθος, with characters such as Melanion, Timon or Lamia, whose stories we would call fables or old wives' tales, once again in *Vespae* 566, when, talking about the things told to the judges to amuse them—such as when Philocleon sought to amuse his fellow diners with the story of the Lamia—he categorizes them into two groups: μῦθοι and the witticisms or jokes of Aesop, fables, among other things.

It is clear to us that, after the attempt to establish the term αἶνος as the one used to define the fable in an ancient sense, Aristophanes was the protagonist in a new attempt; or at least that this new intention was in the air in his time. He classifies the animalistic fable as λόγος and certain anecdotes or old wives' tales as μῦθος, though he does not fail to notice that certain fables are so fabulous that some might describe them as μῦθοι. There predominates, then, a neutral use of λόγος which includes the fable among other "stories", tending to leave aside the myth and the fabulous, in contrast with the other classification, from the Hellenistic period onwards, which qualifies the fable as μῦθος.

This attempt by Aristophanes was not very successful. Various mythical elements entered our collections; specifically, the themes of Prometheus, Hermes, etc., which had an amusing character, comparable to those other stories; and various anecdotes, including historical or pseudo-historical ones. But we must describe this more methodically.

4. *The Name of Aesop and the New Terminological Practices*

Λόγος, in Aristophanes, denotes not only the fable, but various stories, either fictitious or non-fictitious, including the proverb, as in the case of αἶνος, cf. the Ἀδμήτου λόγος in *Vespae* 1238. For this reason, not content with separating an extraneous genre called μῦθος, even without failing to see the difficulties involved in this separation, he undoubtedly sought to define the fabulistic λόγος more closely.

This was not, however, a commitment undertaken by Aristophanes alone, but by his whole age: it consisted, simply, of the description of the fable as "Aesopic" or "of Aesop". Aesop, the origin of whose legend we will discuss in II 3 and III 4, is placed in the 6th century; his name was used, from then onwards, to define most of the Greek fable terminologically. Aristophanes, specifically, speaks of "λόγοι of Aesop" in the passages mentioned; at other times, without using the term λόγος explicitly, he simply tells fables as having been narrated by Aesop or as events in which Aesop intervened, which is sufficient to define the genre (cf. *Vespae* 1401, 1446, *Aves* 471).

This is not the whole story, however. In another attempt at defining the fable, the term γέλοιον, "something laughable", a "joke" was used; in *Vespae* 566 there is a distinction, as we have said, between μῦθοι and Αἰσώπου τι γέλοιον; the λόγον ἀστεῖον, an "amusing story" in *Vespae* 1258, relating to the conversation at the banquet, is specified as Αἰσωπικὸν γέλοιον ἢ Συβαριτικόν "an Aesopic or Sybaritic joke". The "Aesopic λόγος" is specified as a "joke", but it is added that there are not only Aesopic jokes, but also those of Sybaris. It is a λόγος which moves you to laugh and which does not need to be an animal fable, although animal fables frequently contain comic elements; this characteristic is highlighted by the ancient writers[17] and by Phaedrus himself when he described his fables as *ioci* (prol. I, 7, etc.). We must remember that there are various amusing anecdotes in the collections, as well as the attribution we find of all kinds of witticisms and occurrences to Aesop, in the *Life* and various ancient authors.

In parallel to the exclusion made by Aristophanes of certain old wives' tales that we have mentioned (but not of aetiological myths, cf. *Aves* 471 ff.), it has been thought that perhaps for him "Aesopic jokes" were animalistic and the Sybaritic ones were human anecdotes. In the extant comedies by Aristophanes, in fact, almost all the "Aesopic" material is animalistic, whereas the two stories in which a Sybarite man and woman speak are human anecdotes, with precisely these two characters taking part. In one of them, the Sybarite man falls from a cart and a friend recommends that each should do what he knows best; in the other, the Sybarite woman breaks a vessel, which passes judgement on her; and she says what it should

[17] Cf. S. Josifović, col. 20 f.

do is buy itself a bandage. They are in *Aves* 1427 ff. and 1435 ff., in an identical orgiastic atmosphere to that of the fables mentioned above: they have the same comical character, the same structure. But they are, we repeat, human anecdotes.

Starting from here, certain ancient theorists[18] already offered a definition of the two types of fables with the meanings indicated. But Nøjgaard has shown[19] that to devise these late definitions of what Aesopic, Sybaritic, Libyan fables, etc. were, the ancients had no more material than we do, and they drew excessive conclusions from these.[20] What Theon says, *Prog.* 3, is more likely, that initially fables were called Libyan, Sybaritic, Phrygian, Cilician, etc., if they began with "A Libyan once said . . .", etc. It may be that our two Sybaritic fables represent the general type, containing a human anecdote, though this is not certain; a Sybarite might well have had the opportunity to make some funny statement in connection with an animal, as Aesop does in *Vespae* 1401. And in the fable of the Sybarite woman an inanimate object intervenes and is treated as though it were alive, as in many fables in the Aesopic collections. Now what is certain is that, if animals intervene in all the explicit mentions of Aesopic fables in Aristophanes (there are references to four fables), this is purely coincidental. Rather, we should note that in *Vespae* 1446 ff., the fable of the eagle and the beetle is placed in the context of Aesop's defence of himself before the Delphians, when they accuse him of stealing a golden goblet of the god: that is to say, in said passage there is in fact a human anecdote followed by an animal fable. It is absolutely certain that other anecdotes in which Aesop intervenes and which we know through the *Life* or the collections date back to the 5th century.

In any event, what is clear is that the whole of the fable tradition, including anecdotes and various myths, was considered by Demetrius Phalereus to belong to the Αἰσώπειοι λόγοι, the name he gave to his collection. The attempts to separate a Sybaritic or Libyan genre or to separate the fable from mythical elements were not successful. It was the neutral use of λόγος that prevailed, as in Xenophon, in Aristotle, in Menander (*Dysc.* 633), in Demetrius, in the fables of the Rylands Papyrus, in those of the Augustana, in others besides;

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[18] Such as the scholiast to Ar., *Aves* 471.
[19] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 475.
[20] Cf. in the same way Hausrath, *art. cit.*, col. 1719.

in all those in prose generally. Clearly, as soon as the term λόγος was used in the context of a title of the type Αἰσώπειοι λόγοι, applied to the fable in the promythia of these collections, a definition was achieved.

The result of all this is as follows: in order to define what an Aesopic fable is, there remains no other solution than to study the content of the collections and to trace, through this, what the opinion of Demetrius and his continuers was in this respect. As regards the previous age, the fable, normally λόγος but also sometimes μῦθος, was not clearly distinguished from other genres; there was not even a distinction between the animalistic and non-animalistic fables of the various types.

There is a significant passage concerning this in Plato, *Phaedo* 60 c ff., in which he refers to a possible μῦθος that may have been told by Aesop regarding the fact that pleasure and pain always go together; but later there is reference to τοὺς τοῦ Αἰσώπου λόγους. Clearly here there is indiscriminate, neutral use of λόγος and μῦθος, and an aetiological myth explaining why Pain and Pleasure always go together is considered to belong to Aesop. Without reference to Aesop, Plato constructed a fable of this type, "Abundance and Poverty", in *Symposium* 203 b ff. And other similar ones, cf. p. 402.

In any case, it was the expression "λόγος of Aesop" or simply λόγος that predominated in the 4th century BC, such as in Xenophon, *Mem.* II 7.13 (τὸν τοῦ κυνὸς λόγον), in Aristotle, *Rhetorica* II 20, etc. This is the atmosphere encountered by his disciple Demetrius Phalereus when, at the end of the century, he compiled the first collection of fables, gleaned from the ancient authors; he called this Λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαί, as we already know. The definitive use of λόγος was thus established, along with the inclusion of the fable among narrative genres in general, with it only being necessary to belong to a collection of this type or for the story to be attributed to Aesop. On the other hand, a terminology was in the process of being created—a rather imprecise one, moreover—which could be applied to some fables, without their ceasing to be λόγοι on account of this. Yet a clear awareness was never reached, expressed in a term proper, that the animal fable, for example, was a particular genre.

We must take this fact into account when attempting to define the fable, when attempting to obtain the common elements of the fables of the collections, whether they are animalistic or not. This complex character of the genre is, as we have seen, an ancient tra-

dition; a sector was set apart within that tradition by the attribution to Aesop, which the authors of collections, isolating it more or less clearly from the myth, the χρεία, the maxim, etc., considered as the fable. Our conception of the fable as purely animalistic comes from very much later, and we must set it aside if we wish to understand something about the ancient fable; it is a genre defined by the presence of many features, some of which may be lacking here or there; one that is hard to separate from other genres, one with not very clearly defined limits.

Our study of the terminology has led us to these conclusions. And also to the following: in the Hellenistic and Roman Ages, the alternative use of μῦθος and λόγος, which at one time was indiscriminate and then tended to introduce an unsuccessful attempt at classification of the genres, implies two different conceptions of the fable, either as linked to genres of a realistic and satirical type (without emphasis on whether it is fiction or non-fiction, in accordance with the neutral character of the term λόγος), or else as linked to mythical genres, that is, stressing the fictive character. In fact the fable lent itself to both interpretations.

II. *Definition of the Graeco-Latin Fable*

1. *General Consideration of the Collections of Graeco-Latin Fables*

As we have said, if we wish to define what the fable is, there is no other solution than to establish stricter parameters for the question, to seek what the drafters of collections of fables of such and such a date understood by the fable; in our case, those of the collections of Graeco-Latin fables. Starting from an examination of same, we are able to extrapolate certain conclusions.

As we have stated above, our idea of the fable as an animalistic genre comes from certain collections of the modern era: those of La Fontaine, Iriarte and Samaniego, among others. In effect, starting from the 17th and 18th centuries, these collections created the modern idea of the fable.

Yet this is not so in the ancient collections, to which we refer here. In spite of the tendency towards a separation between the animalistic fable and the anecdote, story, novel, maxim, joke, etc., the truth is that in the ancient collections that have reached us, all these

elements appear mixed with the animalistic fable. This is the case in Phaedrus, Babrius and the Anonymous Greek Fables, the three most extensive collections that have reached us; and it is also the case in other minor collections, for example, in that of the so-called Syntipas. And it is also undoubtedly the case, judging by what we can infer, in the oldest collection of Greek fables, the source of the later Greek and Latin fables, that of Demetrius Phalereus, at the end of the 4th century BC.

What Demetrius Phalereus did was simply to collect together, putting them into prose, a series of fables that the Greek writers had used in isolation as exempla: we have already indicated this and will study the theme in greater depth later on. If in his collection he gathered together material that is heterogeneous, from the viewpoint of those who consider that fables are only animal fables, this means that for him (and for the ancients in general) the concept of the fable was broader, as we have already seen. It means that in some way there were links, agreements, between the animalistic fable and the other fables to which we have referred. We must consider that Demetrius Phalereus neither improvised nor lacked authority. In association with other peripatetics, such as Theophrastus, Dicaearchus, Aristoxenus, Chamaeleon, Heraclides Ponticus, etc., he continued the work of Aristotle as the founder of the History of Greek Literature. At the same time, he fits within a tendency, one very in vogue among the peripatetics, of gathering together in collections literary and documentary items which, until then, remained isolated or were part of more extensive works. In short, they created new genres: anthological genres. Theophrastus, for example, collected the opinions of the Pre-Socratic philosophers (Φυσικῶν δόξαι); besides the fables, Demetrius published a collection of χρεῖαι or anecdotes with a "bon mot" or a cutting and incisive sentence at the end; Dicaearchus and Clearchus proverbs, etc. Therefore, if, under the name of "Collection of Aesopic fables" (Λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαί), Demetrius collected together material that later continued to occupy subsequent collections, this was because this material was seen by him as being in a certain way homogeneous. Cf. further details in II 6. New fables, both animalistic and non-animalistic, entered subsequent collections, as a result of this unitary conception.

This also applies to the Medieval collections, including those, of Oriental origin or influence, in which the fables are linked together in a framework presenting them as being told by a philosopher to a king, by a father to a son, by a woman to her husband, etc. In

collections such as the *Disciplina Clericalis* by Petrus Alfunsus, *Calila and Dimna* (derived, as is known, from the Indian *Panchatantra*), the *Book of Sindibad* (the *Libro de los engaños e asayamientos de las mugeres* in Castilian, the "Book of Deceits and Lies of Women"), *El Conde Lucanor* by Don Juan Manuel, etc., the animalistic and the non-animalistic appear mixed together. Of course, specialized collections were sometimes created devoted to the tale and the romance, such as *The Thousand and One Nights*, the *Canterbury Tales*, the *Decameron*, the *Heptameron*, etc. But that is precisely what they are: specializations, no different from others from Antiquity, starting from a broad conception of the fable.

This original absence of distinction is based on the fact that the animalistic fable and these other subspecies evidently performed a parallel, if not identical, function to the use of the fable as an "exemplum", which, as we know, predates the collections. Thus, in his *Epodes* Archilochus includes a series of animalistic fables attacking and satirizing his opponents. Lycambes, the nobleman of Paros who has insulted Archilochus by denying him marriage to his daughter Neobula, whom he previously had offered him with an oath, has to listen to the fable of the eagle and the fox: the eagle has also taken advantage of a weak being, the fox, and later suffers the punishment. The ambitious and useless noblemen of Paros are satirized in the figure of the monkey, the old and lustful Neobula in that of the old lion who attracts animals to his cave using trickery. But it is the fox, the incarnation of the poet, sly and sarcastic, that triumphs over the eagle, the monkey and the lion. Another epode does not use animal fables with this purpose, but the anecdote of the fortune-teller Batusiades, who presents his prophecies to the town while some thieves are plundering his house: how can he possibly foretell others' futures, if he cannot foretell his own? This anecdote of the fortune-teller was included by Demetrius in his collection, along with the fables of the eagle, the monkey or the lion; its presence in the oldest of the collections of Anonymous Fables, the Augustana (H. 170), cannot be explained in any other way.

This is just one example; we will see many more. But just as demonstrative as the inclusion of a human anecdote in the collections is the presence in same of tales with a mythical character, either ancient or invented. One such ancient tale is the myth by Hesiod (*Works and Days* 54 ff.) where Zeus sends men an earthen jar full of goods; Pandora, the first woman, opens it out of curiosity, so the things escape and only Hope remains. We find this narration in

fable 58 by Babrius, the difference being that the instigator of the outrage is generically referred to as "man". We could certainly think that the same applies here as in the case of "the fortune-teller".

At other times everything indicates that the non-animalistic fable is a new creation. This is the case with "Heracles and Plutus", which we find in the Augustana (H. 113), in Phaedrus (IV 12) and in the collection in the Rylands Papyrus 493; it was certainly written in the 1st century AD (although of earlier origin). The fable is very simple: Heracles has received apotheosis, and climbs Olympus; and on finding Plutus, the god of Wealth, there, he does not want to greet him because, he says, down on Earth he had always seen him having dealings with evil people. There are Classical precedents: the Hesiodic myth of the two roads, of virtue and of vice, but mainly its modification by Prodicus[21] into the theme of Heracles choosing virtue when faced with the temptations of vice. Starting from here a further step occurred, without doubt the work of a writer of the Cynic school: a fable was created to make Heracles, the prototype of the suffering Cynic hero, meet Wealth, the greatest object of abomination.

As can easily be seen, there is a problem of boundaries: this fable, like many others, could be considered a myth. But these myths created with critical or satirical intentions, which include popular gods such as Heracles, Hermes, Prometheus, etc. and abstractions that were very fashionable in Hellenistic philosophies, such as Fortune, Wealth, Truth, etc., were considered as parallels to the animalistic fables. Furthermore, animals frequently came into them. But, though they do not enter, their themes are the explanation of human conduct, repression and criticism, exhortation; always in concrete circumstances of everyday life. Clearly, in the collections the immediate application is lost, but the spirit is the same.

Thus, the ancient collections clearly show that we are dealing with a single genre, though it has its subdivisions; and they provide us with the light to look into its previous history. This single genre is that of the so-called "Aesopic fables", to which we have already referred. This is the name Demetrius gave to his collection, and the one that figures in the Augustana and other anonymous Greek collections (although, as we have already said, those of the Byzantine Age are termed μῦθοι rather than λόγοι). *Fabulae Aesopiae* is the title

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[21] Our evidence is Xenophon, *Mem.* II 21 ff.

of the fables of Phaedrus, although in some places (IV, foreword, v. 11) he distinguishes between *fabulae Aesopi* (that is, translated from the Greek Aesopic models) and *fabulae Aesopiae* (his own fables, inspired, moreover, by these). Babrius also refers to Aesop in his two books, and Μυθίαμβοι Αἰσώπειοι is the name given to his fables in the title of the collection in the manuscript of Mount Athos, the only one that transmits them. The reference to Aesop is equally constant in other collections.

On the other hand, the *Life of Aesop* transmitted to us from Antiquity is full not only of animalistic fables, but of anecdotes, myths, jokes, solutions to "problems", sentences, erotic short stories and other elements in the collections. Furthermore, various ancient writers attributed maxims to Aesop; these have been collected by Perry.[22] Although the tendency to make a distinction between at least two Aesopic genres can be seen in the fact that a manuscript from Moscow contains a collection of maxims attributed to Aesop, which Perry has also published.[23] We must also remember the attempts—failures for the most part—to classify fables in various types, according to headings such as Libyan, Sybaritic, etc., attempts dating back to the same Antiquity.

2. *Ancient Definitions of the Fable*

The study of the terminology of the fable plus the above data, which would of course need to be considerably expanded, allows us to embark with a certain knowledge of the facts on a study of ancient and modern definitions of the fable and, lastly, in short, on the study of what our definition of it might be today.

Leaving aside the attempts already mentioned at establishing a difference between the Aesopic, Sybaritic, Libyan fable, etc., which, as we have said, are based more in conjecture than on data, the ancients considered the fable to be a unitary genre, without paying too much attention to the difference between animalistic and non-animalistic fables. In an author such as Aristophanes, on the other hand, we have already seen that the "Aesopic" is separated from a wider domain, one in fact not well differentiated, in which there is simply reference to λόγοι and, occasionally, to Sybaritic λόγοι; and

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22 B. E. Perry, *Aesopica*, Urbana 1952, pp. 245 ff.: *Aesopi quae feruntur sententiae.*
23 *Op. cit.*, pp. 261 ff.

that, furthermore, not only λόγοι—fables—are attributed to Aesop, but also γελοῖα, a term within which both fables and simple jokes can be included.

That is to say, in the Classical Age the concept of the fable is as vague and vast as in the collections; this was not at all strange, since if its authors (Demetrius first and foremost) had not participated in this conception, they would not have oriented their collections of materials as they did. This broad and vague conception is the one that, as indicated, should be the object of our definition. But it would not be right for us to fail to give some precedents on the definition of the fable, if for no other purpose than to see what they have to enable us to enrich the knowledge we have gained so far and what lacunae they show, lacunae that we must attempt to fill.

In Antiquity it was the rhetoricians who speculated on the fable and therefore attempted to define it. These definitions were influenced by their own intellectual interests and school and suffered from the tendency, both widespread and misguided, to seek simple and incomplete definitions of literary genres. Rather, these were *a priori* definitions, taken from a hurried generalization and later unduly extended.

The first person to look at the fable in order to define it was Aristotle, in his *Rhetorica* II 20. Within the κοιναὶ πίστεις or rhetorical arguments common to all genres, he distinguishes between the exemplum and the enthymeme; within the former, he distinguishes between the exemplum that has actually occurred and the fictitious one; and within this, finally, the parable and the *logoi*, whether Aesopic or Libyan, that is to say, the fable. We can see that, to begin with, for Aristotle the fable is an exemplum; this is a viewpoint that concurs with the role of the fable in the literature prior to the collections, as we have seen.

On the other hand, Aristotle only agrees very partially with the praxis of the period on other points:

a) The two fables he gives are animalistic; implicitly, he seems to reduce the fable to this theme. In fact, the historical anecdote (such as the two he gives of Darius and Xerxes), are only included in the collections of fables on rare occasions, but they are sometimes included. On the other hand, Aristotle makes no reference to fictitious anecdotes, which are included in the collections. That is to say, the animalistic theme becomes obsessive; Aristotle, without saying so explicitly, restricts the fable excessively.

b) For Aristotle the fable and other rhetorical arguments are instruments of persuasion. Indeed, this is the most frequent role of the fable, but certainly not the only one. The aetiological fables, for example, are simply explanatory: one explains, for example, why the hoopoe has a crest. Although it may have an impressive interpretation on a secondary level: certain malformations or limitations of animals are due to their having sought things against nature, then . . . But in non-aetiological fables the impressive interpretation is also sometimes secondary or forced; or else both interpretations coexist. There are frequent epimythia of the type ὁ μῦθος δηλοῖ "the fable teaches", which simply describe how the world is, although consequences regarding conduct can sometimes be deduced from this.

That is to say, whether explicitly or implicitly, Aristotle reduces the fable to the fictitious, the animal and the impressive. Important features such as humour, criticism, the characteristics of the action, etc., are left out. And a series of exceptions, sometimes important, are also left out.

After Aristotle there was speculation on the fable on the one hand by various authors of *Progymnasmata* and other rhetorical treatises, on the other by some fabulists. Let us discuss both.

With some exceptions, such as that of Isidore,[24] the other writers tacitly withdraw the requirement for the fable to be about animals. They do insist, however, on the importance of its fictitious nature. Theon and Aphthonius[25] repeat literally that the fable or μῦθος is a λόγος ψευδὴς εἰκονίζων ἀλήθειαν, a fictitious story that is the image or allegory of a truth. Note that here there is a second difference with respect to Aristotle: the "truth" that is now referred to is a much broader concept than that of exhortation in whatever sense. Other authors emphasize the exhortation, however, at the same time as the fictitious character; these include Philostratus,[26] Gellius[27] and Hermogenes.[28] Gellius, for his part, adds a further feature: the festive and delightful character of the fable.

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[24] *Etym.* I 40.
[25] Theon, *Prog.* 3; Aphthonius, *Prog.* 1.
[26] *VA*, V 14.
[27] II 29.1.
[28] *Prog.* 1.

This is especially present in Phaedrus, who highlights, on the other hand, an important feature of all fables: their character of criticism, and of veiled criticism. Fables are *ioci*, that is, jokes; they move you to laugh (I prol.); they aim to correct human error (II prol. 1–7). III prol. 33 ff. is more conclusive: it was tyranny that forced the truth to disguise itself with jokes and to escape reprisals. Aesop would have told his fables to the Athenians during the tyranny of Pisistratus for that reason (I 2 ff.).

Phaedrus' contribution to the theory of the fable is truly important, as we can see; this contribution was not fully understood by the moderns. The ancients, on the other hand, refer a great deal to the attractiveness, the deception of the fable in order to achieve persuasion. As regards Babrius, in his two prologues he seems to consider the fable as a literary exercise more than anything else, a pleasant pastime; the fact that he leaves some fables without an epimythium confirms this view, forming the last stage of an evolution that moved the genre away from its natural orientation. Although not for ever; other collections, other authors, maintained the character of an exemplum, between the exhortative and the critical, that the fable had from Hesiod (and even from Sumer) until today.

3. *Modern Definitions of the Fable*

If, taking a great leap forward, we move to the modern age, we find definitions that are no more satisfying—sometimes less in fact—than the ancient ones. But the tendency is the same: to establish a simple and well-defined type, blocking out fables that do not fit or else declaring them to be non-fables.

After quoting Hausrath, to show to what extent the knowledge of the concept of the fable in general declined after Phaedrus—it is Hausrath who tells us that it "is practical wisdom of life presented in a simple form"[29]—let us dwell for a moment on Perry, one of the best experts on the genre.

In his book *Aesopica*, which we inevitably have to use to accompany each of our steps and which was published in 1952, he indicates, in the prologue, p. IX, that:

[29] "Das Problem der Aesopischen Fabel", *NJbb.* 1, 1898, p. 328.

a) The fable is obviously and deliberately fictitious; he does, however, indicate exceptions to this rule. Thus H. 65 "Diogenes Strolling", which is supposedly a χρεία, is in fact an anecdote that concludes, as often happens, with a cutting sentence; he does not add any new feature to that of Aesop bitten by the dog (in Aristophanes). There are other similar ones. Another exception is the historical anecdote, such as that in Phaedrus IV 23 (shipwreck of Simonides). In fact these two fables belong to the same type; their historical origin is doubtful but not their fabulistic function; and it is not essential to know whether they are historical or not.

b) The fable refers to a particular action that happened once, as distinct from narrations such as those of the *Physiologus* or the Homeric similes. Here we must add that a fable such as H. 120 "The Beaver" tells what this animal does when it is pursued; not on one occasion, always.

c) The fable should be narrated not for its own sake, but with a moral, paraenetic or personal intention. We have already indicated that there is not always paraenesis. For example, in Bab. 58, the theme of Zeus and Pandora's jar, there is a simple explanation of the rarity of good; in H. 243, "The Children of the Monkey", we can draw no other conclusion from the fact that the son of whom the monkey is most fond is precisely the one that dies than that of the power of Fortune. We have already emphasized, on the other hand, the links between the explanatory and impressive viewpoints.

There is no doubt that, if the prevalence of animal themes and the frequency of satire and criticism had been added, Perry would have given the central features of the fables of the collections. We have simply pointed out that exceptions exist. And we add that there are themes that are not touched upon: the relations between fable and allegory, maxim, etc.

With this we move on to the definition of the fable by Nøjgaard in volume I of his book.

Concentrating mainly on the Augustana, Nøjgaard attempts to narrow the definition of the fable further, reaching the point of denying that many fables which fail to meet his definition are indeed fables. The narrowness of his view is due, on one hand, to that attachment to the Augustana of which we have spoken (although when looking at Phaedrus and Babrius in volume II he again eliminates as non-fables those of the types previously discriminated against in

volume I). But this is also due to the fact that he attempts to trace clear and sharp lines between the fable on the one hand and sometimes genres established by the ancients (simile, allegory, maxim, aetiology, myth, etc.), sometimes other modern ones (anecdote, "fabliau", amazing story, novel, etc.) on the other. He does not seem to be able to accept the notion of a marginal zone or of a narration simultaneously belonging to two genres, depending on the circumstances in which it appears. Or the fact that certain genres are not universal, as they did not exist for the ancients.

The fable is, he says,[30] "a fictitious story of mechanically allegorical characters with a moral action of evaluation". A terribly narrow definition. Thank goodness he accepts as fables, albeit "simplified" ones, those in which a single character intervenes, without there being conflict (e.g., H. 82 "The Flies": the flies are stuck in honey and are complaining). But, for example, H. 202 "The Ass, the Crow and the Wolf" (the wolf complains that the shepherd laughs when the crow pecks the ass and the latter brays) would not be a fable. Neither would many others. The method of defining in a narrow and arbitrary form and then eliminating all that do not fit the definition is an erroneous one. And even more so if precisely the essential features of the fable are lacking in this definition. Or else there is an excess of features that may be frequent, but not indispensable.

We note particularly that there is no reference to the satirical and critical character, which is frequent in the fable. On the other hand, Nøjgaard himself concedes that the fictitious character may have exceptions in fables such as that of Diogenes (H. 65) and those of "Natural History": and that conflict is sometimes lacking. We may add that the words "moral action" and "evaluation" constitute inadmissible generalizations. Frequently, as we have said, the fable concerns itself with describing how things are, the result of human actions, and more from critical and practical standpoints than anything else. The moralist fable exists, but it is not the centre of the collections; it has always been a more marginal element.

The most serious thing is that, after all this, Nøjgaard believes the procedure we outlined above, of denying certain fables from the collections the character, precisely, of fables, to be justified. He takes on the position of a realist, for example, when he refuses to set fable

[30] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 138.

and allegory in opposition to each other, because the fable, like other genres, may be allegorical. He also seems to refuse to distinguish between fable and parable.[31] But both in general terms, and when discussing the Augustana, Phaedrus or Babrius),[32] Nøjgaard makes a series of separations of the type we have mentioned.

He thinks, for example,[33] that the aetiology is the most easy genre to distinguish with respect to the fable and does not realize that it has features in common with the central type of the latter: the theme of nature, satire, etc. He also separates the myth and similar forms (for example, Phaedrus III 17, the trees under the protection of different gods), the allegorical image (for example, Phaedrus I 7 "The Fox and the Mask"), the "amazing story" (for example Par. Ch. 79, the theme of the grateful eagle; Phaedrus, *App.* 14 "Juno, Venus and the Hen"), the anecdote (that of Tiberius in Phaedrus II 5; Bab. 2, the man who lost the pick; Bab. 4, the small fish that escaped from the net; etc.). He also talks of "fabliau" on the subject of H. 86, the story of the two beetles, in connection with the omnipresent theme of nature; and of "animal romance", a description that for reasons that are unclear he gives to H. 117 "The Hunter and the Viper" (the hunter who tries to hunt the thrush is killed by the viper).

In fact, Nøjgaard separates fables that in his opinion have differentiating features, yet these are features which could very often be easily found in many fables of the most normal type. In contrast, he ignores the presence in these supposedly non-fables of elements that are clearly and wholly fabulistic, in both form and content. The fact is, it is ingenuous to try to define a literary genre in terms of a small number of features that are expected to be always present at the same time. These features are more numerous and some may be absent. There is always a "nucleus" of the genre in which the most frequently occurring features coincide; and "margins" in which some are absent and others from related genres are occasionally involved.

On the other hand, Nøjgaard does not see how the context works, whether it be that of an author's work or of a collection of fables, turning into a fable a story that, alternatively, might figure as an

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[31] Cf. *op. cit.*, I, pp. 52 ff.
[32] Cf. *op. cit.*, I, pp. 48 ff. 141 ff., II, pp. 120 ff., 329 ff.
[33] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 103.

anecdote, a story of Natural History, etc. As soon as these stories illustrate a situation, explain or predict the outcome of same and attempt, sometimes, to have an influence on a "first stage", they become fables.

In fact, Nøjgaard's main contribution is the good description he gives of the most frequent type of fables in the Augustana, in terms of content and form. But even in this his procedure is excessively selective. His major defect is not seeing that any narration, whether fictitious or not, whether human, animal, mythical, from Natural History, etc., becomes a fable when used to illustrate a "first stage". In the collections reference is made to this first stage by means of the epimythium; from here there follows the process of fabulization, the conversion of different themes into fable, which we will study. He also did not see that a restriction exists in general terms on the themes of the fable: their inclusion within the field of the comic, satirical, ironic, etc. Nor did he see that, if the nucleus of the fable is fictive, animalistic, symbolic, evaluative and referring to a single event, one or other of these features may be lacking here or there.

4. *More Information for the Definition of the Fable*

It is already clear from the above what our position is on the definition of the fable: a definition which, as we said, needs to be established starting from the collections.

Yet in principle these are none other than that: collections of fables in former authors that were very frequently used as "exempla" in a broad context; that is to say, with the exception of collections that have introduced a different intention, they clearly show a sign of the central fact that the fable is this, a second stage, an exemplum at the service of a first stage. Seeing the common or more frequent features of the fables of the collections within this initial fundamental fact then becomes purely a matter of description.

Anecdote-fables are those that best conserve the traces of the first stage in the collections. A fable such as "Aesop in the Shipyard" (H. 8) contains:

a) First stage: Aesop makes fun of the shipyard workers and they ask him why.
b) Transition: Aesop tells a fable (ὁ Αἴσωπος ἔλεγε)
c) Second stage: fable:

1. Situation: there was only chaos and water.
2. Action: Zeus/earth dialogue, the latter sips the water.

d) First stage: the words of Aesop to the workers ("if she sips for a third time, your work is going to be useless").

Here we are missing the third element of the fable: the conclusion. On the other hand, Aesop's words are followed by an epimythium, which turns out to be a copy. In H. 63 "The Orator Demades", exactly the same thing happens.

It is more frequently the case, in the collections, that the fable is complete and is followed by the epimythium, the only trace of the first stage: it gives the application of the fable to reality. As happens, for example, in the Augustana. But this is not the only possibility. In the Rylands Papyrus the first stage is represented by a promythium: "This fable refers to the rich man who is evil" ("Heracles and Plutus"); "This fable refers to those who treat others well, but friends badly" ("The Shepherd and the Sheep"). The final "closing statement" or the simple conclusion of the action (as in "The Swallow and the Birds") is to be applied, then, tacitly, to a first stage. But sometimes a double reference—initial and final—to the first stage also exists. As happens, for example, in Aphthonius, in whose collection titles such as that of 16 "Fable of the bulls, which inspires harmony" functions as a promythium, concluding with an epimythium: "Thus harmony is salvation for those who follow it". In Phaedrus we find fables of the three types: with a promythium (I 3, 9 etc.); with an epimythium (I 10, 14, etc.); with promythium and epimythium (III 10, IV 5, etc.). Only secondarily, as we have said, were fables of the collections written without promythium or epimythium, as were many others by Babrius and Avianus. And it is noteworthy that the tradition weighing upon the fable was so strong that in a secondary phase more epimythia were added by anonymous writers in the Medieval Age.

We are not going to look in depth here at the theme of the origin of the epimythium and the promythium, which has been the subject of a vast bibliography and to which we must return when we deal with Demetrius' collection (II 6). But everyone will clearly see, whatever the vicissitudes of these parts of the fables of the collections have been, that they in fact represent a last remnant of the first stages of the exemplum-fable of the Classical Age (continued, furthermore, in authors of subsequent ages). It is appropriate for us

to look at this in a little more detail, to then emphasize another point: that, within this general feature of "second stage" that the fable has, other restrictions soon gradually became involved, which contributed to defining the genre.

To begin with, let us look at *Epode* I by Archilochus, directed against Lycambes, the nobleman of Paros who had wronged the poet by refusing to allow him to wed his daughter Neobula following their engagement. The elements are:

a) First stage: Attack against Lycambes, who has violated his oath.
b) Link or prologue: Archilochus is going to tell an outrageous fable (ἄκουε δὴ κακοῦ λόγου).
c) Second stage: Fable of the eagle and the fox.
   1. Situation: friendship of the eagle and the fox, violated by the first.
   2. Action: insolence of the eagle, speech by the fox.
   3. Conclusion or epilogue: punishment of the eagle.
d) First stage: words of Archilochus to Lycambes ("thus punishment might reach you").

This is evidently an identical scheme to the one that it was necessary to presuppose in any event as a starting point for the fables of the collections. But this model does not in fact belong exclusively to the fable. This is a theme that we are going to look at in more detail in I 2 ("General Inventory of the Graeco-Latin Fable") and, particularly, in II 5 ("Panorama of the Fable in the Archaic and Classical Ages"). But we will simply offer a few examples.

In his *Works and Days*, Hesiod narrates five myths and fables consecutively (the myths of the two Erides, of Prometheus, of Pandora, of the ages, the fable of the hawk and the nightingale); these become first stages for each other since, in general terms, they refer to the injustice of Perses, of the kings, of the world and offer exempla on this, concluding with explanations or advice. The noteworthy thing is that myths and fable are surrounded, almost always, by the same elements with which we are already familiar: the link or prologue (10: "I am going to say some truths to Perses"; 106: "If you so wish, I will tell you another story"; 202: "I am going to tell the kings a fable") and the conclusion or epilogue (27: "Oh Perses, keep this in your heart"; 105: "So, it is not possible to escape the will of Zeus"; 176: "Now is the iron race . . ."; 213: "Oh Perses, listen to justice"). Without going into detailed comparisons now, we can see that the

structure of the myth and the exemplum-fable are comparable.

And that of the simile also is. Let us look at that of the ship of state by Theognis, 667–82:

a) "If I had money . . ."
b) "Be better than many others that . . ."
c) "Now we are snatched by the wind . . ." (simile of the ship).
d) "Be this the enigma that, concealed, I send to the good . . ."

Let us now look at an anecdote, that of Glaucus in Herodotus VI 86:

a) Words of Leotychides to the Athenians.
b) "I am going to tell you what happened in Sparta".
c) Story of Glaucus, who returned the deposit he received too late, as his house had been destroyed for tempting god.
d) Thus, it is not good even to think of anything other than returning a deposit.

We could continue, showing other differentiating factors, but, as we have said, we will leave that for another chapter. Here we will content ourselves with stating in advance that even the formulas that introduce the element d), the epilogue, are frequently identical or similar to those of the epimythia of the collections: οὕτω . . . ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς etc. There is no doubt that what the authors of collections did was to in some way make up for the absence of the first stage by inheriting elements from this in their promythia and epimythia.

All this shows us to what extent the initial terminology that we have studied, founded on the terms αἶνος, λόγος and μῦθος, was insufficient to define the fable. We have seen that Aristophanes already undoubtedly realized this when he tended to qualify stories such as those of Melanion and Timon as μῦθοι and stories that we call fables, as they were included in the collections, as λόγοι Αἰσώπειοι or Αἰσώπειον γέλοιον. Although we cannot fail to notice that although the terminologies based on Aesop's name leave things out that we also leave out when talking about the "fable", they do include elements that for us (and even for the fabulists of Antiquity) were something different: simple proverbs and jokes.

Leaving aside the pure story, whether mythical or not, there are indeed intermediate zones, such as the "myths" mentioned of Melanion and Timon, which evidently exemplify attacks against women and men respectively; but which do not have totally explicit first stages, just as these are sometimes also lacking in the myth, for example,

in *Works and Days*. Here there is an intermediate domain that sometimes falls on the side of the simple story or myth, and forms the basis of the collections of myths, anecdotes, etc.; and sometimes on the side of the collections of fables. Many more elements may enter these, by means of the process of fabulization, as we stated earlier[34] with reference to the fabulization, for example, of the theme of the old man and Death in the *Alcestis* by Euripides, that of the sea and the winds in Solon, that of the Oath in Herodotus, themes of Natural History such as that of the beaver, etc.

The fundamental thing, in these cases, is the fact that the fable narrates a unique and concrete event that has taken place at another time; and that this event is symbolic; whether the event is fictive or not is less important. It is an event that, on being considered symbolic of a current situation, prejudices the result of this and explains it. On the other hand, there are second stages that are purely symbolic, but as they are not unique events, they are not fables. This is the difference with respect to the fable of Homeric similes showing the lion facing the bull or the hunters, but in a generic, atemporal way, as distinct from fables which offer this confrontation as an event that happened "once" (cf. Chap. II 1). There is a similar difference between the fable and the proverb, although here we may add that the proverb is not symbolic.

On the other hand, it is sometimes difficult to decide if we are dealing with a fable or a simile, a fable or a proverb; indeed, it may be both at the same time. Such as when Theognis compares himself with the dog that crossed the rushing stream or the treacherous friend with the snake that bit its saviour; or when Archilochus says "the fox knows many things, but the hedgehog just one that is decisive":[35] the functions of simile and fable, proverb and fable are fulfilled simultaneously. Only later on will there be a total separation, showing traces, moreover, of the old ambiguous situations.

The differences are established, we must stress, within the context, since any event of a general kind or maxim or anecdote can be transformed into a symbolic one within an appropriate context. It is not symbolic that the bear respects corpses; yet it is that the cowardly friend pretends to be dead, taking advantage of this circumstance, instead of helping his companion (H. 66).

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[34] Cf. p. 28.
[35] Fr. 37 A.

But this explanation is not sufficient. The myth narrated as an exemplum in a certain circumstance is indeed symbolic, yet throughout Greek literature it is increasingly treated as a different genre. However, in Hesiod the series of initial myths in *Works and Days* works in a parallel way to the fable of the hawk and the nightingale; yet in the *Epodes* by Archilochus the animalistic fables and the anecdote of the fortune-teller work in a parallel way to the myth of Heracles and Nessus, with which the poet, in Epode VIII, dissuades a love rival from acting on his intentions. On the other hand, in Hesiod and Archilochus the details of the internal structure of myth and fable are comparable.

But later on this did not happen. We have seen that in Aristophanes the genre of the "λόγοι of Aesop" already does not include myths; that it even tends to separate itself from tales such as those of Melanion, Timon or the Lamia. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the myths that appear in Hesiod and Archilochus as parallels to what we call fables belong to a special type: that centred around Prometheus, the origins of the world and an animalesque character such as the Centaur.

The essential point is the following: the fable tends to achieve a structure that is much shorter, more closed and clearly defined than the myth; and, whether it does or does not include "mythical" elements, it tends to concentrate on the theme of nature and on satire and criticism, on the deterrent character. We will study this in greater depth, particularly in Chap. II 3, on the relations between the fable and iambic genres, and in II 5, on the structure of the fable. The small extent to which the myth remains in collections of fables is almost always conditioned by these reasons. Its type is the aetiological fable, attributed to Aesop from Aristophanes onwards, and in which Zeus and Prometheus are involved in particular, but also other gods such as Hermes, Aphrodite and one or two others.

There is, in effect, a "comic myth" that occasionally ended up in the collections of fables and was always close to the fable; although at other times myths that are the same or comparable were considered within the general category of the myth.

Within the concept of the "second stage element", therefore, is that of the "exemplum", with a symbolic character. But a selection later occurred, at the time of Aristophanes, in favour of the unique, predominantly fictitious event, predominantly animal, almost always of a comic and dissuasive type. Exceptions do exist, however; but in these, in spite of everything, there are links with the rest of the

fable. There are also links between the two main sub-types, the agonal and the aetiological.

Although here we are doing no more than stating facts, it is appropriate to give some formal indications. It is very clear that the fable of the collections presents types of organization that we can call fixed, although of course there are also anomalous fables. These fixed types are an inheritance with its precedents in Aristophanes, in Herodotus, in Socratics such as Xenophon and Aristotle; not in Plato, whose newly created or remodelled aetiological fables (that of Prometheus in the *Protagoras*, that of Wealth and Poverty in the *Symposium*, etc.) are much closer to the myth in their form.

Aetiological fables simply consist of a story, although they may end with a "closing statement" showing what they tell us, as in the case of "Aesop in the Shipyard" mentioned above. Though in the collections they tend to dramatize and be similar in their form to the main type. Fables that we call agonal, on the other hand, present a main type in which there is an actual confrontation, in words or actions—or both at the same time—between two protagonists; or, if we so wish, between the protagonist and the antagonist. In fact, they generally involve a presentation of the situation and a conflict or *agon* with an intervention by each of the two characters facing each other. The action or the words (the "closing action or statement") of the last one to intervene constitute the outcome.

Thus in H. 2, "The Eagle, the Rook and the Shepherd", the analysis is:

1. Situation: the eagle snatches a ram and the rook wants to imitate it.
2. *Agon*: the rook gets entangled in the ram's wool/the shepherd catches it.
3. Conclusion: when questioned by his children, the shepherd says it is an animal that believes it is an eagle, but which in his view is a rook.

It also often happens, as we have said, that the second movement of the *agon* is simply the "closing statement" of the victor. Such as in H. 4, "The Nightingale and the Hawk":

1. Situation: the hawk captures the nightingale.
2. *Agon*-conclusion: the nightingale asks to be spared/the hawk answers that he would be an idiot to let him go.

A number of variants exist. The *agon* may consist of two acts, sometimes with a reversal of the victory; there are variations in the interplay between the actions and words, or with both at the same time. On the other hand, the situation may be a first *agon*; there may be complications, introducing a second animal to one of the two parties, or a "survenant", who gives the final conclusion. The noteworthy thing is that the central types already originate from the Classical Age.

The fable in which the situation dominates the action or *agon* is also from the Classical Age; at most, it may be said that the situation is agonal. This type is already in Aeschylus, in "The Eagle and the Arrow", mentioned above: the eagle, wounded by the arrow made from its own feathers, "closes" with a lament. This type is very frequent in the collections; most often it presents us with a "survenant" that is extraneous to the situation, who is the one that pronounces the "closing statement". To give a single example of the first type: in H. 15a it is the fox himself that, on not reaching the grapes, comments that "they are green". The second type is represented, for example, by H. 40 "The Astrologer": the astrologer falls into the well because he is contemplating the stars, and it is somebody passing who comments: "because of trying to see the things of the sky, you do not see those on the earth".

These, we repeat, are none other than the central types, which we must study in more detail, without leaving aside the marginal ones, which provide good evidence both of the persistence of a Pre-Classical tradition and of Post-Classical variations. They offer proof that in both form and content the fables of the collections continue, in essence, those of the Classical period.

To introduce a formal scheme that will be useful to us in our analyses of form and content, we may present the following symbols:

A: protagonist that triumphs in the fable (A2 etc.: their allies).
B: defeated character or, in any event, not the winner (B2 etc.: others).
C: "survenant".
( ): optional element.
-: separation of act.
/: indication of *agon*.

Starting from here, let us look at some initial outlines, which have already been indicated:

B-(C).
A (A2 . . .)/B (B2 . . .)-(C).

By now introducing abbreviations such as sit. (situation), act. (action), dir. (direct speech), ind. (indirect speech) and by multiplying elements, it is easy to see that multiple combinations may arise. For example:

Bsit.-Bact.-Bdir. (action of animal that comments on its own failure).
ABsit.-Bact./Adir (situation followed by *agon*, resolved with the speech of A).
ABsit.-Bdir./Aact.-Cdir. (victory of A, commented on by C).

By multiplying the *agones* (although there are rarely more than two), by adding secondary characters, by accompanying the character's action with their speech, etc., we see that derivative schemes can be obtained, but always along very similar lines. We would, however, need to add the aetiological type, whose initial central core is in Astor. (story).

The positions A, B and C are filled by an animal or a plant, by a god, by a man, or by an object: thus combinations occur such as animal/man, animal/object, etc. and other more complicated ones. Yet, as we know, there is a set of restrictions.

The collections only brought together those λόγοι that were considered "Aesopic", with very few mythical stories either of the aetiological or comic type, or both at the same time; and small dramas, sometimes reduced to a situation, with the prevalence of animals, but the occasional interventions of men or gods, even with the exclusion of the animal. As for the conclusion, contained in the epimythium, this might be of the representative or impressive type, explaining "how things are" or attempting to influence somebody's behaviour; though we have already said that there are links between one level and another, frequently with implicit or explicit simultaneousness. Now, we have stated earlier that in either the negative position can dominate: explaining how things are "not", advising against some conduct or another. Clearly, this may be done in various ways: by means of the joke, the dissuading maxim, etc., or else by means of a lament by someone who has suffered the consequences of a certain type of behaviour. There is also a positive exhortation, though this occurs less often.

If our intention were to indicate the features that unite the majority of the fables, as regards their intention, we would have to refer

to nature and the criticism or mockery of those who act against it. Things have a natural way of being, symbolized by the animal, human and divine world presented in the fable. Those who persist in working against it, suffer the consequences and must complain or resign themselves to being the object of satire; or else they simply die or suffer some misfortune. Everything is organized around this central core, sometimes with slight marginal deviations. And in this centre is the animal, representing true nature: man and god only enter occasionally and marginally. Now within Greek literature, the genre fits within the sphere of iambic and comic genres, by opposition to epic and tragic genres, which are reflected in the myth. The fable, within its character as an exemplum, is a kind of comic counterpart to the myth: realistic, satirical, far from all idealism.

These features of content, with their tendency towards very fixed and simple formal schemes, and, of course, the character of an exemplum, a symbol, are what is essential and important in the fable. Though they usually add other features with which we are already familiar: the fictive character, the fact of being a concrete event, etc.

Now it must be said that if we add the formal features to those of content, however many the marginal elements are, the fable genre is a cohesive one; more so, of course, in the modern age, when it was restricted to animalistic themes, despite the fact that it incorporated variations in form and content. It must be said that Antiquity did not create, for example, a genre based on the myth or the anecdote with any consistency, with a similar closed character. The result was that ancient eyes noticed the occasional inequalities and deviations of the material in the collections less than our modern eyes do; and that elements were included in these that were originally not fabulistic and only slightly fabulized.

We will deal with these anomalies later; not the formal ones, because this would require elements to allow judgement that we do not yet possess, but those of content.

5. *The Anomalous Fables*

No fable in a collection is anomalous as such, since the promythium or epimythium transform it into an "exemplum". But on exceptional occasions these are lacking; or the fabulization is too transparent, and we see that it is something secondary. And the content may be very far from that habitually found in a fable.

As we are discussing anomalous fables, we are not going to deal

here with those that are at the same time myths or anecdotes or (more or less authentic) stories from Natural History or that contain proverbs, jokes, etc.; nor with the fabulization of various ancient non-fabulistic elements. Once in the collections and with an appropriate epimythium (or promythium), all these elements, whatever their origin may be, are already properly fables. The historical problem is undoubtedly interesting in its own right, and we will be discussing this later; but this is not relevant to a discussion of the definition of the genre.

What is relevant, on the other hand, is the fact that at times the adaptation to make the fable and the epimythium fit each other is so defective that it clearly allows us to detect the presence of a fable only in the unachieved intention of the author of the collection. We will show some examples of this.

Yet in fact there were earlier cases in which an epimythium did not even exist. This frequently occurred in Phaedrus and Babrius, who evidently eliminated from the definition of the fable something that was essential in it. In the collection of anonymous fables by Hausrath (certainly, not in those of the Augustana) we find some fables without an epimythium that we should properly consider to be non-fables. Thus H. 293, "The Plants and the Olive" (ms. F; it comes from the Holy Scripture), 297 "Winter and Spring" and erotic short-stories such as 299, 300, 301, 304, 305. The presence of *agones* and erotic elements in the fable has brought these and other stories into the collections.

After this case, we must consider another, that of the aetiologies; though these date back to Aristophanes (in fact to Hesiod, e.g. the themes of Prometheus and Pandora), they have always been "fables" in a slightly marginal sense. We have already said that they restricted themselves to explaining a first stage and did not have an impressive function, at least primarily. In this they differ from agonal fables. As a result the aetiological fables in the collections, both those that are of ancient origin and those created later, generally have very poorly adapted epimythia. Thus, as the two types of fables tended to contaminate each other, introducing into the aetiological fables agonal scenes between the animal or plant and the god to whom they complain, in the same way impressive epimythia tended to be created for these fables. But with little success; in fact, the only epimythium that adapts itself well to these fables is the one that sim-

ply indicates that nature does not change, cf. for example H. 50 "The Weasel and Aphrodite".

On the other hand, an epimythium such as that in H. 182 "The Bat, the Bramble and the Gull", which explains the habitual behaviour of the three characters, says foolishly that "we make an effort above all with the things in which we first failed". If H. 292, "The Lion, Prometheus and the Elephant" tells that the lion finds consolation over being afraid of the cock in the fact that the elephant is afraid of the mosquito (so Prometheus, the creator of both, is in a certain sense justified), the epimythium states even more foolishly: "see how much strength the mosquito has—it can knock down the elephant". The author of the epimythium in fable H. 104, "Hermes and the Earth" understands even less. In this fable, when the men recently created make a cave by taking out earth, the Earth takes comfort from the thought that "they will return it crying", that is to say, that they will die. The epimythium says that the fable is directed against "those who borrow easily, but only return painfully". Cf. absurd or forced epimythia in H. 5, 47, 57, 142, 182, 188, 207, 231, 277.

Thus, the relationship between the two main types of fable is still a confused one; from the standpoint of the agonal fable, the aetiological fable seems to be only partially assimilated. This can be said even more of some minor genres, which are frequently fabulized, but sometimes insufficiently. Let us see some examples.

Jokes.—We have said that, although the fable contains jokes, the joke in itself—with no other aim but to make people laugh or satirize in a given situation, but used without symbolic value—is Aesopic, but not properly a fable. However, the authors of collections have sometimes insisted on transforming certain jokes into fables, giving them a symbolic character, then following them with a totally inappropriate epimythium.

For example, H. 5, "The Debtor" is purely a joke. The debtor intends to sell a sow to pay a debt and assures the buyer that during the mystery festivals she gives birth to females and during the Panathenaics to males; to the debtor's astonishment, the creditor makes matters worse by saying that during Dionysiac festivals she will give birth to kids. This is followed by a quite absurd epimythium: "many, through their greed, do not hesitate to give false testimony". Other jokes with forced epimythia can be found in fables such as

H. 8, "Aesop in the Shipyard" (see above); H. 47, "The Boy who Vomited his Entrails"; H. 207, "The Bird-catcher and the Lark"; H. 231, "The Foxes that Reached a Winding Stream"; H. 283, "The Dog Banqueting".

Anecdotes.—The same must be said of the anecdote generally, which actually includes the category of the joke; there are human, divine and animal anecdotes, with themes that sometimes differ from the habitually agonal ones of the fable. In H. 57, "The Old Woman and the Doctor", the old woman whose sight the thieving doctor has cured does not want to pay him, because she cannot see the objects that he has stolen; the epimythium concludes that "the bad do not realize that they give evidence against themselves by their greed". It is evidently the funny story that interested the author of the Augustana and he was obviously in a hurry to give it an epimythium. Likewise, H. 67 is purely an anecdote: the butcher threatens the two lying thieves with divine punishment; the epimythium restricts itself to concluding that the impiety of false oaths is the same, even though someone uses subtle deceptions. As an example of an animal anecdote, we can cite H. 142, "The Camel", the character of which, when obliged to dance, says he is not only ugly when dancing, but when walking too. The epimythium concludes that the fable applies to all ugly men! Finally, the anecdote in H. 188 "The Walker and Hermes" may be a "divine anecdote". The astute walker, who has made a vow, fulfils it by giving Hermes almond shells and date stones and keeping the rest; the epimythium states that the fable is against misers and those who do not fulfil their vows.

Enigma.—There are fables that have a connection with the genre of the enigma (cf. Chap. II 1), but they sometimes do not have the character of fables as such. This, we think, is the case with H. 121, "The Gardener". It concurs with the solution to an enigma by Aesop in *Life* W 21: wild plants are more robust than cultivated ones because the earth is mother to the former, stepmother to the latter. But in H. 121 there is no mention of Aesop, yet there is a rather insipid epimythium added, which says: "Thus children fed by a stepmother and those that have a mother are not raised the same".

Natural History.—We have already said that popular knowledge, whether true or false, concerning animals, has been transformed into fable, by referring it to an event and giving it a symbolic character. Yet its origin can sometimes be seen all too clearly; the epimythium, and therefore the symbolic character, are too artificial.

For example, H. 277, "The Swan", tells the story of a man who plans to kill a duck at night and by mistake catches a swan; the latter survives, however, thanks to the song that it was believed these animals uttered before dying. The epimythium could not be more absurd: "Often music achieves the postponement of death". There are other examples. In the one already mentioned of the beaver that cuts off its testicles to escape from its pursuers (H. 120), it is not the false epimythium that places this fable on the borderline with non-fables, but the fact that it lacks an action or concrete event: it is stated in general terms that it is rumoured that the beaver acts in that way. Cf. other fables with motifs from Natural History: H. 25, on the kingfisher; H. 66, on the bear; H. 219, on the monkey; H. 234, on the worm; H. 240 and H. 241, on the hyena; H. 243, on the monkey again; Phaedrus, *App.* 22, on the bear.

Myth.—Myths with content that is not properly fabulistic and that have entered the collections also show traces of their forced fabulistic character, particularly on account of the disagreement of the epimythium,. As, for example, in H. 279, "The Boy, the Father and the Painted Lion", which touches the theme of the inescapable nature of dreams or portents: all the epimythium can say is that "nobody can escape from what must be". A theme, we must stress, that is not at all fabulistic.

It can be seen from the above that our method of indicating those that are not properly fables or are, shall we say, unachieved fables, differs greatly from Nøjgaard's. It is not a matter of the content, any more than in a secondary manner; it is above all the function that concerns us. The method is used particularly on the fables of the collections. In the Classical fable it is clear that it is the relationship with the first stage, plus the features already noted, that must be decided; and also, of course, in the exemplum-fable of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages. From this standpoint, a series of "fables" introduced as such in modern collections, such as Perry's, are not properly fables. To give just one example: how can the aetiology of a dedication to Aphrodite on Samos, collected by Perry from Plutarch under his number 433, be a fable? Following this path, all the αἴτια of worship and mythology, almost the whole of Callimachus and Ovid, would be fables among a thousand other things. There is no fable when there is no symbolism and application to a first stage, and this within rather restricted areas in terms of content.

Elements are to be found in other collections that are similar to

those we have noted above based on consideration of the anonymous Greek fables. Thus, the erotic tale in Phaedrus, *App.* 16 "The Two Pretenders", in which Venus favours the poor lover and which is without promythium and epimythium, is not a fable. Or if the same poet, in *App.* 8, makes a character, Religio, incite men to observe the religion of Apollo of Delphi, to conclude by way of an epimythium that nobody pays attention to these things, the least that can be said is that Phaedrus includes within the concept of the fable something that, according to the older idea, was not a fable. In Phaedrus' case, it is clear that this happens on many occasions. For example, anecdotes with forced epimythia are frequently found in his work, such as IV 26 "Simonides Saved by the Gods", which concludes that the gods favour men of letters. A study is required on Phaedrus to find out in what direction he has expanded the ancient concept of the fable. Many of his creations do remain within the stricter ancient line, however.

Regarding Babrius, we have already indicated that, strictly speaking, as his fables do not have epimythia, they are not fables in the ancient sense. But even leaving this aside, it would have been hard to associate an epimythium with the material in his work, as on the whole it consisted of jokes, anecdotes and erotic short-stories. The fable was undoubtedly expanded in these directions following the intervention of the Cynics into its history.

For example, Bab. 10 "The Slave and Aphrodite", 30 "Hermes and the Sculptor", 75 "The Unskilled Doctor", 92 "The Cowardly Hunter" are simple, funny anecdotes; the later authors of epimythia were in a hurry to find half reasonable first stages. In the same way, Bab. 75 is a melancholic reflection ("The Old Horse"), Par. Bodl. 187 Cr. a religious anecdote ("The Farmer and the Plant"), etc. The same applies to other collections. In Syntipas 48, "The Cyclops" is a myth with a forced epimythium; 54 is an erotic novelette. There is simply black humour in Pseudo-Dositheus 4 ("The Houseowner and the Sailors"). And so we could go on.

6. *Conclusion*

We began by saying that it would be a mistake to seek a definition of the fable that is "closed", simple and invariable: not even of the ancient fable. We then criticized certain definitions of this type as too narrow, at the same time as we indicated the absence from them

of certain features that are either general or very frequent in the fable. We stressed that two main types must be distinguished within it, with the former more central than the latter: the agonal and the aetiological. And we indicated the existence of "marginal" fables.

Approaching the problem historically, then, it is easy to conclude that the marginal character of certain fables or the lack of decision as to whether they are fables or not or are something that may be a fable and belong to another genre at the same time, or are either one or the other according to the occasion or the context, has historical roots. There has been an extensive process whereby, within the conglomeration of "second stages", a group has gradually emerged that is approximately homogeneous in form and content, which is that referred to as the "Aesopic fable". We have also seen that the collections show traces of inadequate assimilation of certain materials and, later, of the progressive inclusion of further materials which the authors now did not even take the time to assimilate to the ancient type of fable.

Thus, our approach to the problem is very different from that followed till now. On one hand, for the Classical Age the separation between fable and non-fable may be carried out in general terms, but there is an ambiguous area, on which it is difficult to come to a conclusion, particularly when the anecdote has a symbolic character that is not entirely clear, or when we need to distinguish between fable and myth. On the other, for the collections, the criterion does not lie in the origin of such and such a fable (anecdote, myth, novella, proverb), but in the degree of assimilation into fabulistic schemes: content, symbolic character, fixing as concrete event, conformity with fixed formal schemes. In any event, the fables that fail on account of various of these points are very marginal. And the non-animalistic and the non-fictitious fables are marginal in any case.

Yet, as we have seen, fables to which we can hardly apply the name from a general standpoint, are indeed fables from the standpoint of the Imperial fabulists, particularly Phaedrus and Babrius, who were more original and innovative than the Augustana. In any case, it was starting from the Hellenistic Age, from the Cynics' influence on the fable in particular, we believe, that the concept of fable began to be considerably expanded. We will say something on this theme when we discuss the fable in the Hellenistic Age and, later, the fable in the Roman Age, in Vol. II of this work.

In the meantime, we think we have given a sufficiently clear definition—given the complexity of the theme, already foreshadowed by the difficulties in solving the terminological problem—of the fable in the Classical Age (5th and 4th centuries, where it was already delimited in its essential terms) in which we believe Demetrius' Collection may be placed. We wish to emphasize its "comic" features here, its realism, based on nature, all this with a symbolic quality that is shared with other genres, and also its formal features, which have been explained. On the other hand, it seems that the fictive and the animalistic features, though very common, do not have to be attributed exclusively to the ancient fable, either in the Classical or the Hellenistic and Roman Ages, as happened later, starting from the Middle Ages. These features have carried too much weight, we think, with modern authors.

Here we have tried to re-establish a balance and to look directly at the ancient fable, placing it in its original environment and later looking at its evolution. Only within literary Greek genres and Greek life and thought in general and throughout history, can this unique genre be understood. It is a genre that later, particularly starting from its development in the hands of the Cynics and the authors of the Roman Age, was transformed—together with certain others, such as the realistic and "comic" romance—into the matrix not only of the Medieval and modern fable (now exclusively animalistic), but also of the new genres of the tale and the romance.

Supplement

We add information on works published after the Spanish edition, which refer to the fable from various viewpoints:

General Works

N. HOLZBERG, *Die antike Fabel. Eine Einführung.* Darmstadt 1993. This contains a good exposition of the exemplum-fable, from the Archaic to the Roman Age, and of the later collections, with whose internal relationships, however, he is barely familiar. He also discusses the fable as a genre. And he provides a good bibliography. A good introduction, without special contributions or reference to the theme of this book; his proposals on the 'Anpassungideologie' of Phaedrus and Babrius are very debatable. See the review by G.-J. VAN DIJK in *Mnemosyne* 50, 1997, pp. 603–609.

S. JEDRKIEWICZ, *Sapere e paradosso nell'Antichita': Esopo e la favola.* Rome 1989. Part II looks at "Structure and style of the Aesopic fable", pp. 217 ff.: the action, form and function and the cultural values. On all this, see our comments on the book at the end of Parts II and III of this volume.

T. KARADAGLI, *Fabel und Ainos: Studien zur griechischen Fabel.* Königstein 1981.

R. DITHMAR, (ed.), *Fabeln, Parabeln und Gleichnisse. Beispiele didaktischer Literatur.* Nördlingen 1972.

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See in VAN DIJK, *Ainoi*, pp. 569 ff. a very complete report on editions and pp. 577 ff. an equally complete bibliography.

General Introductions

C. GARCIA GUAL, "Introducción General: acerca de las fábulas griegas como género literario" in P. Bádenas de la Peña-J. López Facal, *Fábulas de Esopo. Vida de Esopo. Fábulas de Babrio.* Madrid, 1978, pp. 7–26.

O. MOROCHO GAYO, "Introducción", in *Esopo y Babrio. Antología de fábulas griegas*. León 1994, pp. 15–72. A good Introduction: ancient and modern definitions, types of fable, origin, evolution, structural division, structure.

General Articles on the Fable as a Genre

The following are interesting works, but ones that, when considering fables en bloc, attribute rather disconnected features to them and consider the Archaic and Classical Ages more than Hellenistic currents of thought:

C. GARCIA GUAL, "La fábula esópica: estructura e ideología de un género popular" in *Estudios ofrecidos a Emilio Alarcos Llorach*, I, Oviedo 1977, pp. 119–135. This emphasizes the social view of the fable, its pessimism and distrust.

——, "Historia y ética de la fábula esópica", in *Actas del V Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos*. Madrid, 1978, pp. 179–208. The popularity of Aesop in the 5th century: he believes he translates the atmosphere of popular grievances and the first tyrannies, together with a certain class-consciousness and the ironic realism of animal comparisons. But he shows that friendship lacked an affective character, was purely political alliance. In the fable there is irreligiousness and a crude vision of society; at the same time it rejects aristocratic features such as luxury, arrogance and altruism. It recommends work, distrust and cunning.

J. PORTULAS, "El lobo y el pulpo: vieja moralidad", in *Actas del V Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos*. Madrid, 1978, pp. 277–282. The fable, such as Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 2.84–5, recommends using violence and deceit against the enemy, as in the case of the wolf and the octopus. The social order can be inverted, but there is an aristocratic thought based on *physis* or nature. The objection must be made, I think, that in the fable the brutal strong is not eulogized, quite the opposite.

J. CASCAJERO, "Lucha de clases e ideología: introducción al estudio de la fábula esópica como fuente histórica", *Gerión* 9, 1991, pp. 11–58; "Lucha de clases e ideología: aproximación temática a las fábulas no conocidas en las colecciones anónimas", *Gerión* 10, 1992, pp. 23–63. Good presentations of the themes of the fable within the social and political order (abuse, oppression, hatred of the powerful, themes of fear and fortune), yet in a unitary form and ignoring the Hellenistic philosophical connections.

A. DEMANDT, "Politik in den Fabeln Aesops", *Gymnasium* 98, 1991, pp. 397–419. The fable presents a disillusioned view of domestic and international politics, kings and the aristocracy, as well as of society in general. It represents a popularist position. For me it is correct, but incomplete.

A. PATTERSON, *Fables of Power. Aesopian Writing and Political History*. Durham/London, Duke University Press, 1991.

Cf. also VAN DIJK, *Ainoi*, pp. 3 ff. on modern theories, pp. 112 ff. on his own ideas, pp. 362 ff. on the structure of the fable, pp. 376 ff. on its function.

I add some works of my own:

"Geschichte der Fabel", *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, 12, 1981, pp. 23–36.

"La fábula griega como género literario", in *Estudios de forma y contenido sobre los géneros literarios griegos*. Cáceres, Univ. of Extremadura, 1982, pp. 33–46.

"Mito y fábula", *Emerita* 61, 1993, pp. 1–14.

Other ones will be adduced in the appropriate places.

Ancient Theory and Terminology of the Fable

G.-J. VAN DIJK, "'Ἐκ τῶν μύθων ἄρξασθαι. Greek Fable Theory after Aristotle: Characters and Characteristics", in ABBENES-SLINGS-SLUITER (eds.), *Greek Literary Theory after Aristotle. A Collection of Papers in Honour of D.M. Schenkeveld*, Amsterdam, VU University Press, 1995, pp. 131–150. Opinions of the rhetoricians, Theon and others, particularly on whether only animals take part in the fable or also men and gods. Only a few rhetoricians confine it to animals and plants.

——, "De theorie van de fabel in de Griekse oudheid", in IDEMA-SCHIPPER-SCHRIJVERS (eds.), *Mijn naam is haas. Dierenverhalen in verschillende culturen*. Baarn, Ambo, 1993, pp. 22–36. Ancient theories on the fable, from Aristophanes to Nicolaus.

——, "Over Aisopos en het genre van de fabel", in H. L. VAN DOLEN–J. FIEDELDIJ DOP (eds.), *Aisopos. Fabels*, Nijmegen, SUN, 1997, pp. 95–111.

——, "Theory and Terminology of the Greek Fable", *Reinardus* 6, 1993, pp. 171–83. He studies αἶνος (as the three oldest fables are called: 'spoken words with a hidden meaning'), λόγος and μῦθος (which triumphed). Definitions by Theon, copied by Aphthonius and Nicolaus of Myra; and by Ps.-Ptolomaeus Ascalonites. P. 180: characteristics and functions, which are attributed to Phaedrus, Aphthonius, etc. The fable has a mixed, polysemous character: rational, irrational and mixed characters (Aphthonius), persuasive functions, to avoid fear and offer benefit and pleasure (Phaedrus).

P. HASUBEK, "Erkenntnis und Vergnügen—Fabeldefinitionen", in U. Bodemann, *Fabula docet.* Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 1983.

J. COSTAS RODRIGUEZ, "La terminología latina de la fábula", in J. L. MELENA, (ed.), *Symbola Ludovico Mitxelenae septuagenario Oblata*, I, Vitoria 1985, pp. 287–294.

R. S. KOVACS, *The Aesopic Fable in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, Urbana, Illinois, 1950.

M. WISSEMANN, "Fabel. Zur Entwicklung der Bezeichnung für eine Literaturgattung", *Fabula* 33, 1992, pp. 1–13.

G. NAGY, "Mythe et prose in Grèce antique: l'αἶνος" in C. CALAME, *Métamorphoses du mythe en Grèce antique.* Geneva, Labor et fides, 1988, pp. 229–242.

We must add to all this the latest documented study by VAN DIJK, *Ainoi*, pp. 38 ff. on the ancient theory of the fable; pp. 79 ff. on the ancient terminology; pp. 386 ff. and pp. 400 ff. where ancient texts are collected on the theory and terminology of the genre.

On the Anomalous Fables

R. DITHMAR, *Texte zur Theorie der Fabeln, Parabeln und Gleichnisse.* Nördlingen 1982.

M. A. BEAVIS, "Parable and Fable", *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 52, 1990, pp. 473–498.

R. KREIS, "Fabel und Tiergleichnis", in H. Ide (ed.), *Kritisches Lesen. Märchen. Sage. Fabel. Volksbuch*, Stuttgart 1974, pp. 131–148.

H. VAN THIEL, "Sprichwörter in Fabeln", *AA* 17, 1971, pp. 105–118.

See also on the erotic tale, inseparable from the fable, my book from 1994: F. R. ADRADOS, *El cuento erótico griego, latino e indio*, Madrid.

CHAPTER TWO

GENERAL INVENTORY OF THE GRAECO-LATIN FABLE

I. *General Ideas*

Any study on the fable, even on the fable of the Archaic and Classical Ages, must consider the entirety of the fables that have been transmitted to us. Since only a very small proportion of the fables of the Archaic and Classical Ages has reached us directly, the remaining fables have done so through the collections or the indirect transmission of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages. The problem, which we have already outlined, is that of distinguishing to what extent this fable of the late tradition is of ancient origin or is a new creation, or else consists of modifications of ancient models. But even the newly created fable definitely continues the ancient fable, from which it derives; it is useful if we are to gain an understanding of the earlier one.

We do not have any complete inventory of the ancient fable, or satisfactory editions of the various collections, nor are the relationships between the collections or between the different variants of each fable established convincingly; what we are attempting here is to make a contribution towards solving these complex problems. In this chapter we put forward some general views, which are essential, using previous research (Hausrath, Crusius, Perry, Nøjgaard, our own studies) as our basis and anticipating some of the conclusions of this book.

In Perry, *Aesopica*, we find the most complete collection of Greek fables. What Perry does is first to provide an edition of the Augustana and then publish various fables that do not appear in this collection. After the fables of the main recension of the Augustana (I), he gives those that are absent from this, but appear in Ia, followed by a supplement with fables from various other codices of the anonymous collections. There is then another supplement, consisting of fables that are absent from the previous sources (from the anonymous collections, in short) and are in Babrius, or in the paraphrases that are really or supposedly derived from Babrius; a series of further supplements add new fables from other sources: the *Vita Aesopi*, the

Pseudo-Dositheus, Aphthonius, Syntipas, the Byzantine iambic tetrastichs, the Codex Laurentianus LVII 30. Finally, exemplum-fables are added, narrated by writers from various ages, which do not figure in the collections. Phaedrus and the Latin fabulists are not published, except when they offer new material.

However praiseworthy Perry's work was—and it was very praiseworthy indeed—it must be said that, after it, we still lack the *corpus* of ancient fables that we required. As a general proposition, Perry only gives us one version of each fable; though, fortunately, he does not always keep to this proposition, when along with the fable from the Augustana he gives us its Archaic or Classical model or when, despite what he says, a fable in one of his supplements (particularly the "Babrian" one) is also in the Augustana or in another supplement. Yet, apart from when these exceptions occur, it is still true that *Aesopica* only offers us very limited assistance with the work of comparing all the drafts of a same fable and studying its evolution, as well as the relationships between exemplum-fables and collections and between the various collections. In order to work on this terrain, we have inevitably had to draw up an inventory of the ancient fable, which appears as Volume III of this work (an updated revision of the Spanish original).

Regarding the exemplum-fables of the Archaic, Classical and Late Ages, we have already said that these do not appear systematically in *Aesopica*: those that were not collected by the Greek fabulists are published systematically, whereas those that were collected by them are published—though only sometimes—together with the versions from the collections. Yet at other times ancient versions of fables from the collections, such as various fables by Archilochus or "The Eagle and the Serpent", from Stesichorus 103 *PMG*, "The Sheep and the Dog", from Xenophon, *Mem.* II 7.13, are not even mentioned; and other ancient fables that were not included in the collections are also absent, such as "The Fisherman that Found a Golden Fish", mentioned in Theocritus 21 and perhaps in Pherecrates 117 K.-A. Just as, conversely, in spite of everything, some fables from the collections are absent, such as "The Farmer and the Fox" (in Aphthonius 38, Bab. 11 and Lucian, *Asinus* 31.3).

More importantly, documentation on the different versions of a given fable is non-existent in *Aesopica*; not only is there only a single version of each fable given, in principle, but there is not even a report on the other versions.

To start at the beginning, the study of the fable in the Archaic and Classical Age demands attention to the text preserved from that age; it cannot be replaced by the versions in the collections, as these frequently alter it. There are considerable differences, for example, between "The Eagle and the Fox", as it appears in Archilochus, and the version in the Augustana (H. 1), which does not refer to the intervention of Zeus in the punishment of the eagle. The Archilochean fable in Epode VI, "The Monkey and the Fox", is divided into two fables in the Augustana, H. 83 and H. 85, if my reconstruction is correct. Yet there are motifs from this fable that have ended up in others in the Augustana (such as the dance of the camel in H. 142). The fable by Stesichorus, transmitted by Aristotle, to which we have already referred, talks of the horse, the stag and the man, but its version in manuscript Pa of the anonymous fables (that is to say, in Ia) refers to the boar, the stag and the hunter.

To sum up, the study of the fable in the Archaic and Classical Ages must be carried out carefully if we are not to attribute elements to this age that originate from the subsequent one. But the task is not an easy one, since often we can only attribute the fables of the collections to the Archaic or the Classical Age by conjecture; and only by conjecture can we establish to what extent these fables have faithfully preserved their own ancient features. And it must also be added that it is not an easy task to reconstruct and interpret some of the fables of the Classical Age, which have been transmitted in a fragmentary manner or are only mentioned by the authors of said age. For Archilochus we used our own previous works as our basis.[1]

In our two previous chapters we have referred to almost all the fables of the Classical Age that are known to us. We will delve further in chapters II 1 and II 2. These fables can be found either in *Aesopica*, or else, when they are not included there, in editions referred to by us. We list them, of course, in our final inventory (Volume III).

If we move on to the subsequent age, our task is to a certain extent that of reconstructing the collection of Demetrius Phalereus as well as the various ones derived from this, from which, in turn, the collections arose that have been handed down to us. The investigation of the fable of the Hellenistic Age is precisely one of the

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[1] "Nueva reconstrucción de los epodos de Arquíloco", *Emerita* 23, 1955, pp. 1–78; "Nouveaux Fragments et interpretations d'Archiloque", *RPh* 30, 1956, pp. 28–36; and our edition in *Líricos griegos* I, Madrid 1990 (2nd ed.), pp. 1 ff.

central themes of this book. It must be said that this theme is practically unexplored. The study of the Archaic and Classical fable is clearly of assistance in this, since in principle we must consider that the fables that reached the collections did so through Demetrius; although fables or themes capable of becoming fables could have been "fished out" from the writers of the Classical Age: we believe this sometimes happened.

It must be remembered, on the other hand, that the fables of the collections—whether they originate from that of Demetrius or are from a later date—sometimes come from themes from the Classical Age that are not exactly fables. When studying the Classical material that produced derivatives in the collections, we in fact find ourselves dealing with a series of elements that are sometimes simple anecdotes, maxims, similes, etc., which were later fabulized. This material does not normally appear in *Aesopica.* Nevertheless, we have already mentioned, for example, that the fable of "The Oak and the Reed" (H. 71, cf. H. 239) comes from a simile in Sophocles, *Antigone* 712 ff., that "The Old Man and Death" (H. 60) comes from a maxim or statement in Euripides, *Alcestis* 669 ff., and "The Shipwrecked Man and the Sea" (H. 178) from another in Solon 9, that "The Man who Received a Deposit and the Oath" (H. 214) is the fabulization of an oracle in Herodotus VI 86, etc. Clearly, sometimes derivations of this type offer a more or less credible hypothesis.

It is more important for the reconstruction of Demetrius' collection to study the fables of the collections, if possible: here a comparison of the various versions of a given theme may show which features are ancient, and could have come from Demetrius, and which recent. On the other hand, a series of features of content and form, which we will study later, in all probability date from after this collection, so it is possible by exclusion to set down a series of hypotheses regarding these. We have already anticipated elements in this regard in the previous chapter.

The study of the origin and relationships of our collections remains for later. Since this is a preliminary chapter, we cannot enter into this topic in depth at this point; we do not have a set of workable premises yet, and we will perform this task in our second volume. But it is useful for the reader to have certain facts available as of now regarding the collections, regarding which a series of vague and, sometimes, erroneous ideas are still prevalent. Otherwise it is impossible to begin any investigation of the Classical and Hellenistic fable, not to mention the Imperial. We have used the previous studies by

Hausrath, Crusius, Perry, Nøjgaard, together with our own, as our basis; we also anticipate certain elements that we will attempt to establish in more detail later on.

The collections of ancient fables are divided into collections in prose and collections in verse. The latter are, fundamentally, those of Phaedrus, Babrius and Avianus: later we will see that not all fables claimed to be from Babrius are indeed so, and that it is not always easy to decide whether certain Medieval Latin fables are from the lost Phaedrus or not.[2] As regards the collections in prose, a triple distinction must be made; we have:

a) Those of the older tradition, that is, the fables from the Rylands Papyrus 493[3] and the various collections of Anonymous Fables in Greek, with some derived from others and, at the same time, from certain of the same models or from models which existed alongside each other in different collections. The oldest collection, the Augustana, includes 232 fables in its main recension (I), and is the most extensive collection.[4]

b) The rhetorical collections, used for the study of the fable in the schools of rhetoric. They are later and much shorter collections: the fables of Aphthonius (40 by this rhetorician of the 5th century);[5] those falsely attributed by the manuscripts to Dositheus, which are

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[2] All the choliambic fables attributed to Babrius are published by Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus*, London 1955. But the edition by Crusius, Leipzig 1897, continues to be useful; it also gives the paraphrases, habitually considered (and partly justifiably) to be prose versions of the lost Babrius; they were also published by Chambry, *Aesopi Fabulae*, Paris, 2 vols., 1925–1926. In Crusius, pp. 264 ff., we find both the Byzantine fables in iambic tetrastichs of Ignatius the Deacon and his imitators, as well as other fables in verse regarding the origin of which there is nothing certain, although they seem to be from late antiquity (dactylic fables, pp. 215 ff.). Phaedrus was published by Perry in the work mentioned, and also by Postgate, *Phaedri Fabulae Aesopiae*, Oxford 1919. As regards Avianus, see the editions by A. Guaglianone, *Aviani Fabulae*, Turin 1958 and F. Gaide, Paris 1980. On the partly Babrian fables of the Assendelft tablets (wax tablets written by a boy in Palmyra in the 3rd century AD), see below, p. 121.

[3] Published by Roberts, *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library* III, Manchester 1938; by myself, *Emerita* 20, 1952, pp. 337 ff. Cf. another fable (with the remnants of verse) in *PGrenf.* II 84 (5th century AD) in Hausrath-Haas-Hunger, *Corpus*, II, p. 119.

[4] The best edition of the Augustana is that by Perry in *Aesopica*, pp. 321 ff. There follow certain fables from other collections, but for a complete edition of the anonymous fables you must see E. Chambry, *Aesopi Fabulae*, Paris, 2 vols., 1925–1926 and the *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum* by Hausrath-Haas-Hunger, Leipzig, 2 vols., 1940–1956 (4th ed. 1974). On these two editions, cf. below, p. 85.

[5] Published by Hausrath, *Corpus*, II, pp. 133 ff.

therefore known as the Pseudo-Dositheus (16 fables written in the year 207 AD);[6] a few fables by an anonymous rhetorician transmitted in a Codex Brancaccianus:[7] and, although they are very late Byzantine, the fables of the so-called Syntipas,[8] a collection of 62 fables translated from Syriac, whose text came, in turn, from the ancient Greek tradition.

c) Prosifications of the fables in verse in paragraph a) and from other similar ones that have been lost. For Greek we have the so-called Bodleian paraphrase, which is so-called because its main manuscript is the Bodleianus Auct. F. 4.7 (called B by Perry, Ba by Chambry). To a large extent it consists of prosifications of fables from Babrius, the remainder being prosifications of choliambic fables which may or may have been by Babrius (see below). These same fables or other related ones have sometimes been restored to verse form, this time in Byzantine *politici* dodecasyllables.[9] Something similar happens with Phaedrus; in addition to the Phaedrus transmitted by the main manuscripts and the *Appendix* transcribed by the humanist Niccolò Perotti from a lost manuscript, there exists a series of paraphrases in prose of ancient originals in *senarii*: those of the Codex Ademari and Codex Wissemburgensis and those of the so-called Romulus. These fables are partially derived from the lost Phaedrus, but this is not certain, by any means, in all cases. On this theme, see below, pp. 126 ff.[10] What is clear, in any case, is that these Latin fables often present new fabulistic themes or known themes that have been modified; they must therefore be taken into account when studying the ancient fabulistic tradition. The same could be said of the collections of Medieval Latin fables, which, moreover, are to a large extent derived from Phaedrus and Romulus.[11]

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[6] Also published by Hausrath, *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*, II, pp. 120 ff.

[7] Published by Sbordone in *Rivista Indo-greco-italica* 16, 1932, pp. 35 ff.

[8] Published by Hausrath, *Corpus*, II, pp. 155 ff., and by Perry, *Aesopica*, pp. 511 ff.

[9] The editions to be followed, as was stated on p. 63, no. 2, are those by Crusius and Chambry; Perry, *Aesopica*, pp. 427 ff., gives a very partial edition of Babrius and these fables, with the title "Fabulae Originis Babrianae".

[10] The two codices mentioned and Romulus were published in Vol. II of L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes latins*, Paris 1894² (repr. Olms 1970). For Romulus, the edition by G. Thiele, *Der lateinische Aesop des Romulus und die Prosafassungen des Phaedrus*, Heidelberg 1910, must be added; and for the Phaedrian restorations (sometimes controversial) of the Codex Ademari, the work of C. Zander, *De generibus et libris paraphrasium Phaedrianarum*, Lund 1897.

[11] Published by Hervieux in his book cited above.

After this presentation, it is necessary to give a general idea of the different collections, giving the necessary indications as to their characteristics and the current state of our knowledge on same, to enable us to use them appropriately in the course of this study. In Volume II, which is specially devoted to the collections, we will of course add extensive further information and provide documentary evidence for the statements made here. We will abandon the order of classification used above and follow another, partly a chronological one, which proves more practical for showing the characteristics of and relationships between the collections.

II. *The Fables of the Rylands Papyrus 493*

This papyrus, published, as we have said, by Roberts in 1938, offered us for the first time the remnants of a collection of fables in prose independent of our collections.[12] Identified in the papyrus are "Heracles and Plutus" (H. 113, Phaedrus IV 12); "The Shepherd and the Sheep" (H. 224); "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter" (H. 238, Phaedrus IV 4, cf. also Aristotle, *Rhetoric* II 20, Theon, *Prog.* 2, Conon, *Narr.* 42, Horace, *Ep.* I 10, 34–41, Par. Bodl. 166 Cr., *Tetrastichs* I 53); "The Owl and the Birds" (H. 39a and b, Par. Bodl. 164 Cr., Romulus XXIV Th., cf. also Dio Chrysostom XII 7–9 and LXXII 14–15, Babrius 12).

According to the editor Roberts, the papyrus dates back at least to the 1st century AD; it is, then, possibly contemporary to Phaedrus, whose life is placed towards the end of the 1st century BC and in the first half of the 1st AD. And it is a considerable time before Babrius, the Pseudo-Dositheus and the edition that we conserve of the Augustana, not to mention the other collections.

There arises, then, an interesting problem regarding the relationship of this collection with that of Demetrius Phalereus, on one hand, and the other collections, on the other. The problem needs to be focused on, of course, in the light of the whole history of the collections, which is what we will do in Volume II of this work. Here

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[12] Until now only isolated anonymous fables had appeared on papyri: in *PGrenf.* II 84 there is H. 136 (= Phaedrus I 4, Babrius 79) and in *POxy.* 1404 there is H. 32, both with independent versions. Moreover, the papyri had provided remnants of the fables of Pseudo-Dositheus, Babrius and the *Life of Aesop*. But see below, Supplement.

we will restrict ourselves to indicating briefly the current state of the issue, summarizing the hypotheses presented so far in chronological order and accompanied by a critical appraisal.

1. The editor, Roberts, advanced very little on this terrain. His statement that the version of the fables that the papyrus presents is completely different from that of the Augustana is excessive and also does not mean a great deal if the tradition is not studied as a whole. And it is not true that "The Owl and the Birds" is not in the Augustana, as Roberts claims: it is fable H. 39a and b, which gives two versions in which the owl (present in the versions of Dio Chrysostom) has been replaced by the swallow. In any case, there certainly are differences between the Rylands Papyrus and the Augustana; the problem that remains unresolved is that of locating both collections within the tradition as a whole. There are occasions, indeed, in which the papyrus and the Augustana agree with each other on certain details, while the opposite also occurs.

2. My study from 1952 "El papiro Rylands 493 y la tradición fabulística antigua"[13] comes later in chronological terms. Although this study has some lacunae regarding the comparison with other versions of certain fables and the study of the metrical remnants, and has a very fragmentary view of the history of the fable—as existed at the time—as its starting-point, I think it still constitutes a valid point of departure for the investigation of this collection. To sum up, its conclusions may be considered as the following:

a) Together with certain differences, there are significant agreements between the fables of the papyrus and those of the other collections; this can be seen particularly if we compare the version of the Rylands Papyrus and the collections of "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter" and the version of Stesichorus, transmitted by Aristotle, in which it is the stag that takes part, and not the boar.

b) Within this general outline, the fables of the papyrus belong to a branch of the transmission that is separate in certain details from the other branch from which, in general terms, the Augustana, Phaedrus and Babrius or the paraphrases derive. This is the case with "Heracles and Plutus" (there is no version by Babrius here) and "The Owl and the Birds", which is where the study can be conducted most effectively. In terms of the details, either one branch or the other

[13] *Emerita* 20, 1952, pp. 337–338.

may have introduced new elements, depending on the case; and it also occasionally happens that Phaedrus, Babrius or the Augustana also introduce new elements individually and that the archaic features of the other collections therefore coincide with those in the papyrus. On the other hand, depending on the cases, the independent tradition—not that of the collections—may align itself with one branch or the other, one collection or the other: the example we have given of this is the case of the versions of "The Owl and the Birds" by Dio Chrysostom (here there is in fact a trace of a more complicated ramification, but always with the version of the papyrus constituting a separate case).

c) A study of the vocabulary of the fables of the Rylands Papyrus shows that they are written in the literary prose of the first *koinē*, that is, that of the Hellenistic Age prior to the spreading of the Atticist movement. Indeed, there are no pure Atticisms in them, which the oldest *koinē* did not allow, but neither are there terms from the popular *koinē*; "common" vocabulary dominates, both Attic and from the *koinē*. There are also a few poeticisms, which is explained by the fact that the collection was the result of the prosification of fables in verse. It is noteworthy that the literary lexicon, Attic and poetic, is more abundant in the Augustana: the version of this that has reached us in fact shows traces of a series of reworkings through the Hellenistic and Imperial Ages.

3. Our article was followed by the one by Perry entitled "Demetrius of Phalerum and the Aesopic Fables".[14] In this, without rebutting the previous arguments, although he cites my article, Perry put forward—though with certain reservations—the hypothesis that the fables of the Rylands Papyrus represent precisely the collection of fables of Demetrius Phalereus.[15] This collection is supposedly precisely the "Aesopus" followed by Phaedrus, especially in his book I and in fables that, apart from in him, are only to be found in Plutarch. He uses as his basis the fact that the fables of the Rylands Papyrus, in the form in which they have reached us, are preceded by an initial promythium and end with a direct speech or "closing statement" by the animal, giving the intention of the fable: the same occurs in many fables by Phaedrus. Perry sees this as the confirmation of an old theory of his, according to which the original element of the col-

[14] *TAPhA* 93, 1962, pp. 287–346.
[15] Cf. pp. 321, 325, 326, 340.

lections of fables is the promythium, from which the epimythium would later have been derived, as we see it in the Augustana and on some occasions already in Phaedrus.

4. In Volume I, from 1964, of his book already cited by us, *La Fable Antique*,[16] when discussing the fables of the Rylands Papyrus, Nøjgaard maintained the same idea that we presented earlier: that the Augustana and the Rylands Papyrus represent two independent traditions which, on occasions at least, derive from a common source. He did not, however, go into the details of the relations between the two collections and the rest of the fable tradition.

Yet he did spend considerable time criticizing Perry's ideas. These criticisms particularly concerned the problem of the promythia and epimythia. He pointed out quite rightly that the promythia of the Rylands Papyrus, of the type ὁ λόγος ἐφαρμόζει πρός . . ., "the fable refers to . . .", are different from those of Phaedrus, which are more frequently of the "explanatory" type ("the fable teaches that . . ."), closely related to the epimythia of the Augustana. In Nøjgaard's view things happened in the opposite way to what Perry thought: the ancient parts of the collections were the epimythia, as in the Augustana, and from there arose the promythia. Specifically, the standardized promythia, of the type indicated, in the Rylands Papyrus, were an innovation; as were, he thinks, the final "closing statements" of the animal with ἀτάρ, which would supposedly have come from the old epimythium, also with ἀτάρ. All this is debatable; we must deal with the topic in a separate chapter. For us it is clear, in any case, that Nøjgaard is right at least that both the standardized promythia and the systematic absence of epimythia are something recent, since there are promythia of various types and epimythia that are ancient, and these even appeared in the exemplum-fable from before the collections. To sum up, the Rylands Papyrus is a collection with very specific characteristics; it cannot be a copy of Demetrius Phalereus, but a torn-off branch of the tradition derived from him.

In any case, it must be noted that the strongest argument against Perry's idea is not the above, but the fact that there are considerable differences between the Rylands Papyrus 493 and Phaedrus and the Rylands Papyrus 493 and the Augustana, frequently consisting of new features or details clearly introduced by the papyrus.

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[16] Cf. pp. 491 ff., 498 ff., 508 ff., etc.

5. We must also indicate the contribution of our article "La tradición fabulística griega y sus modelos métricos", the second part of which appeared in 1970.[17] We will be considering this theme of the metrical remnants in the fables of the collections later in a more in-depth study, but as an introduction we show below some of the metrical remnants of the fables of our papyrus extending over more than one metron:[18]

"The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter"[19]

Ἵππος καὶ ὗς λειμῶνος [–] ἐκοινώνουν / ὁ δ' ὗς

....

⏑ – ⏑ – –] τὰς πόας διέφθειρε

"The Shepherd and the Sheep"

Ποιμὴν [⏑ – ⏑ –] ἐπὶ δρῦν ἐράβδιζεν

....

⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑] θοἰμάτιον[20] διέφθειραν

....

τὰ δὲ πρόβατα[

....

ἰδὼν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς εἶπεν [– – – ⏑

"Heracles and Plutus"

ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν Ἡρακλῆ [⏑] εἰς θεοὺς ἄξων[21]

....

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[17] *Emerita* 38, 1970, pp. 43 ff.

[18] We follow the edition by Hausrath-Haas-Hunger, l. c., with minimal modifications (elisions and crasis).

[19] ἵππος καὶ ὗς λειμῶνος ἐκοινώνουν represents a choliamb altered in some way. The other verse is reconstructed with the help of the Augustana.

[20] Pap. τὸ ἱμάτιον.

[21] Instead of ὡς we may suppose ποτ', instead of ἄξων, perhaps ἦγε.

ἐπίονθ' ἕκαστον[22] τῶν θεῶν ὑπερβολῇ
ἠσπάζεθ'[23] Ἡρακλῆς [⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑
....] ἄφνω κύψας
⏑ – ⏑ –] οὐ προσηγόρευσε τὸν Πλοῦτον
....
ἔγωγε τοῦτον ἐπίσταμαι [⏑ – ⏑ –
....
⏑ – ⏑ –] νῦν τῷ λόγῳ παροξύνῃ;

"The Owl and the Birds"

⏑ – ⏑ –] τοῖς ὀρνέοις ἐπηπείλει
....
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –] λαβὼν (δέ) τις (ἀνὴρ) ἰξευτής
(ἀπὸ τῆς) δρυὸς τὸν ἰξόν [– ⏑ –] ἐθήρασεν
....
καὶ νῦν ὅταν ἴδωσι (τὴν) γλαῦκα (....) λίσσονται
....
νῦν καὶ μιμνήσκεσθ' ὅτι [⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑
....
ὑμεῖς τότ' οὐ μνησθέντες [– ⏑ – – ⏑
εἰρηκέναι λέγοντες [– ⏑ – – ⏑

As we can see, by simply suppressing some of the habitual recourses of the prosifiers, such as the elimination of hiatuses, the introduction of articles and particles, the replacement of nouns with pronouns and the elimination of useless additions, we are left with large iambic fragments, including a choliamb and an iambic trimetre, both complete, and a series of verse ends plus the starts of the following ones. If we were to make some changes to the word order and some lexical replacements, we could go even further. But we are moving away from the theme; we must discuss the metrical characteristics of these verses and their date, which in our view is the 3rd century BC.

However, for what concerns us here, the important thing to be borne in mind is the following. The Rylands Papyrus is a prosification of fables in verse—choliambic and iambic—and precisely of fables in verse that are different from those in the Augustana, since traces

[22] Pap. ἐπίοντα δὲ ἕκαστον, 2 ἠσπάζετο ὁ.
[23] Pap. αὐτόν.

are not conserved in the latter collection of the verses discovered here, but of different ones (also choliambic and iambic, moreover). Since we have manifold reasons for thinking that Demetrius' collection was in prose, the Rylands Papyrus is clearly a collection that is undoubtedly derived from this, but different. A parallel case is that of the collection that ended up in the Augustana and, with numerous variants, in other Imperial collections.

In the Rylands Papyrus, then we have evidence of one of the various collections of Hellenistic fables. Perry's idea that that the collections of fables, anonymous or not, that have reached us via Medieval manuscripts derive directly from Demetrius, without intermediaries, was too simple.

III. *The Augustana Collection*

1. *Date of the Collection*

The Greek fable was known until recently through the collection known as the Accursiana, published by Bonus Accursius in 1479 or 1480: a clearly Byzantine collection. The two great ancient collections—that is, the Augustana and Babrius—were not published until the last century, the former by Schneider, the latter by Boissonade.[24]

In fact Lessing had already identified the interest of the Augustanus Monacensis 564, a codex from the 14th century that was long considered the best representative of the collection that he called the Augustana; it was this that Schneider published from a copy made by Ernestina Reiske, with which Lessing had had contact. But for the moment even the publishing by Schneider of this copy did not displace the vogue of the Accursiana. Or rather, it was a confused situation that lasted until 1925, the date of the publication of Chambry's edition. The edition of the fables by Korais in 1810 brought together all kinds of versions of each fable, without distinction; and later the edition by Halm, in Teubner, from 1852, gave a version of each fable, but a version chosen arbitrarily, frequently from collections by authors. The edition by Sternbach, in 1894, of manuscript E (Pa), a manuscript of the Augustana from a jumbled and aberrant tradition, certainly did not clarify the situation.

[24] J. G. Schneider, Bratislavia 1812; J. F. Boissonade, Paris 1844.

It is the editions published in this century, mentioned above—that is, those by Chambry, Hausrath and Perry—that have provided reasonably reliable texts of the Augustana and have definitively established that there were three fundamental collections of Greek fables in prose; these collections needed to be studied independently in terms of their literary characteristics, their language and their date, and an attempt also needed to be made to establish the relations between them. In fact, the decisive contribution to establishing the greater age of the Augustana and the fact that the other two collections, the Vindobonensis and the Accursiana, derived from this, was made by P. Marc.[25]

But this last point does not interest us for the moment, and we will restrict ourselves to the earlier ones. It is not easy to date a collection of fables, since there are hardly any references or external data in it. More specifically, there is nothing in the Augustana to enable it to be dated any later than the Hellenistic period. The vast majority of the fables offer no local data or datable references; when there are any, they refer to Athens or could be located in various places in the Greek world, particularly Egypt, during the Hellenistic Age. There is talk of Demades, of Diogenes, of the Nile, of an Ethiopian slave, of some animals of African and Asian fauna, of magicians or travelling charlatans, of the goddess Fortune, etc. And we will see in the second part of this volume that there were very powerful influences on the fable from Cynicism and even from Stoicism. But all this all the more certainly gives us a *terminus post quem*: the Augustana undoubtedly acquired its definitive form in the Hellenistic Age.

This leaves two questions to be answered. Firstly, to what extent did our Augustana, the one we reconstruct by studying the manuscripts, modify the ancient Hellenistic Augustana? Secondly, to what extent, in turn, did this Hellenistic Augustana modify its predecessor? This predecessor was ultimately the collection of Demetrius Phalereus, but we might wish to add any number of intermediate stages.

Scholars such as Chambry, Hausrath, Perry and Nøjgaard did not take this problem into account, however, either when fixing the date of the Augustana or when studying the literary and linguistic characteristics of the collection, a theme intimately related to the former. As above, when we were discussing the fables in the Rylands Papyrus,

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[25] "Die Ueberlieferung des Aesopromans", *BZ* 19, 1910, pp. 383 ff. Cf. my "*Estudios*...", pp. 5 ff.

we are now going to present a critical summary of these scholars' opinions, together with our own; this summary may only have a partially chronological order, as various of the authors in question have expressed views on the topic on repeated occasions.

1. Marc saw the Augustana as a collection with a rhetorical and erudite character, from Antiquity, but its conservation was due to the Humanist movement of the 9th century (Photius, Aretas, etc.); the essential elements of the edition would have originated from this time, although the basis is ancient. The originator of this theory of the rhetorical origin of the Augustana was in fact O. Crusius,[26] but it was best expounded and most developed by Hausrath, from 1898 onwards.[27] In contrast with Marc, Hausrath placed the edition of the Augustana in the Imperial Age, without introducing distinctions.

In his view our Augustana collection consists of exercises in style by the rhetoricians of the Imperial Age and their pupils, such as those recommended by rhetoricians such as Theon and Hermogenes in their *Progymnasmata*, in the 2nd century AD. Their technique involved reducing and expanding, introducing ἐκφράσεις, inventing fables or modifying them, etc. In fact, as early as the 1st century AD, Quintilian recommended teaching the art of writing fables in various styles, prosifying those in verse, paraphrasing, etc.[28] Indeed, we possess conserved scholastic exercises, consisting of copies and prosifications of fables, in the Assendelft Tablets, to which we have already referred and which are from the 3rd century AD.

Now we believe is has been well established that fables were used in the elementary teaching of writing in the Imperial Age; and it is true that certain rhetoricians wrote collections of fables in the simple style, or ἀφελής, that was recommended by them, the most well-known being those of Aphthonius. But there is a great deal of difference between saying this and admitting that the Augustana is a "rhetorical" collection, a series of scholastic exercises. This theory has been methodically refuted by Perry.[29] We need not go into the details here, but it is appropriate to say one or two things.

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[26] Cf. "De Babrii aetate", *Leipziger Studien* 2, 1879, pp. 127 ff.; art. "Babrios", *RE* II 2, col. 2655 ff.; his ed. of Babrius, 1897, pp. XXXII ff.

[27] Cf. "Das Problem der aesopischen Fabel", *NJbb* 1, 1898, pp. 305 ff.; art. "Fabel" in *RE*, VI, col. 1704 ff.; introduction to his edition, pp. V ff., etc.

[28] Cf. the texts in the *Testimonia* in *Aesopica* (nos. 97, 98, 101, 102, 103).

[29] *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*, Haverford 1936, pp. 163 ff., *Aesopica*, pp. 296 ff.; by myself, *Estudios* . . ., pp. 8 ff., by Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 480 ff.

Barring a few exceptions, there are no traces to be found in the Augustana of the "writing exercises" of which Hausrath speaks; neither is it true that it is in the ἀφελής style of the rhetorical fable. The element in the Augustana that may be considered rhetorical is, precisely, the use of Atticisms and poetic words, which increasingly expanded into the prose of the Imperial Age, with greater pretentions to ἀφέλεια. This I have clearly demonstrated by comparing the lexicon of the Augustana with that of Aphthonius. The lexicon is the very resource I have used to date the collection, as is explained below.

Hausrath's argument that the rhetorical character of the Augustana is demonstrated because in the manuscripts (in some of them, to be more exact) it is preceded by the brief biography attributed to Aphthonius, while the Vindobonensis collection, to which Hausrath attributes a popular character, is preceded by the *Life of Aesop* in the so-called *W* version (by Westermann), a work with a popular character, is particularly incorrect, since the oldest manuscript of the Augustana, the G or *Cryptaferratensis*, is preceded by another *Life of Aesop*, the so-called *Life G*, published by Perry in *Aesopica*, a *Life* similar to the other, a branch of the same tradition.

Yet above all it is this distinction between a "rhetorical book" and a "popular book" that does not hold up. Though it is untenable nowadays, it appears too many times in the old Aesopic bibliography, so we should say something about it so that the non-initiated do not trip up on that old mistake, which has so hindered the study of the relationship between the collections.

Hausrath plays with an ambiguity. On one hand, he claims that in Antiquity there existed a *corpus* of fables of the rhetorical type and another of the popular type, which would supposedly be headed by the *Life of Aesop* and contain, in a more florid and lively style, plays on words, outlines of romances, folk tales on men and animals, in contrast with the didactic character of the fables of the rhetorical collection. All this is sheer fantasy. But it is more dangerous to identify the rhetorical *corpus* with the Augustana and the popular with the Vindobonensis. Because today it is agreed that the Vindobonensis derives precisely from the Augustana; if we allow the remote possibility that this is not the case, then both derive from common sources. Therefore, the fact that the Vindobonensis was preceded by *Life W* and the Augustana either by *Life G* or by Aphthonius', or by neither, proves nothing. And if the Vindobonensis is in a more vulgar and popular Greek, this is due to the fact that it was drafted in the

early Byzantine era, and was not inherited from the ancient sources. We have amply demonstrated in our *Estudios* that what the Vindobonensis does is to eliminate the learned vocabulary of the Augustana, replacing it with another more popular or vulgar one.

To sum up, Hausrath contributes nothing to the dating of the Augustana, except that he dates it vaguely in the Imperial Age; and he does not even touch on the problem of its relationship with the earlier fabulistic tradition. Yet this is the key problem, when studying the characteristics of the fables collected in it.

2. Chambry is not much more specific; however, he does refer to the real problems and indicates that the study of the language is the best instrument for working these out. In his view,[30] the Augustana dates back to the time of Plutarch and its central core is from before this time, and certainly originates from Demetrius Phalereus. He relies on the fact that the vocabulary and syntax are fundamentally Classical and do not differ from the normal style of the writers of the first centuries before and after our era.

The study of the vocabulary, but in a detailed and not merely impressionistic form, was precisely the instrument that we used to date the collections in our *Estudios sobre el léxico de las fábulas esópicas.*[31] In this work we distinguished very carefully between our current Augustana, the one transmitted by the manuscripts, and the older collection of which this is a reworking, in much the same way as the Augustana was in turn reworked by the Byzantine collections. This is an essential standpoint, one that has not, however, been greatly appreciated by various reviewers and commentators on the book. Our dating of the Augustana, based on the study of the vocabulary, in the 4th and 5th century AD, refers, in effect, to the date of the transmitted text, not to that of its predecessors. Four years after the publication of our book, in 1952,[32] we in fact postulated, after comparing the fables of the Rylands Papyrus with the corresponding fables in Phaedrus, the Augustana, etc., that Phaedrus knew and used an old stage of the Augustana whose *terminus ante quem* was the beginning of the 1st century AD and which was almost identical with our Augustana in terms of content. And we also postulated that, in turn, this old Augustana derived from another even older

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[30] *Esope, Fables*, Paris 1927, p. XLVII.

[31] Salamanca 1948.

[32] Cf. "El papiro Rylands 493 . . .", *cit.*, p. 377.

one, which was at the same time the source of the fables of the Rylands Papyrus.

Our dating of the Augustana of the manuscripts in the 4th or 5th century AD was based, as we have said, on a detailed study of its lexicon, which placed it within what we know of the lexicon of Greek literature at the time of the Empire. In fact, starting from the Hellenistic Age an ever greater difference had been created between popular and literary language, a difference that was mainly translated into matters of vocabulary and syntax. A series of Attic and poetic words (or words that were felt to be such, whatever their literary origin may have been) that were absent from the popular *koinē* entered Hellenistic literary language; and these two sections of the lexicon progressively increased during the Empire, with preference given to one or the other, depending on the styles and the writers concerned, but with the proportion increasing, in any event, as time passed. On the other hand, newly created words entered the same literary language, sometimes creations of an intellectual type (certain abstracts, derivations, etc.), other words from common language, even vulgar ones, which gradually made their way into it.

The first stage of our lexical study of the Augustana was to isolate the words common to all the collections, so that the contrast with the ones exclusive to this collection was more significant. With this approach, it was clear that the basis of the Augustana was Hellenistic literary language: there were 70 Atticisms and 90 poeticisms present which were absent from the popular *koinē*, but existed in the literary one of this time, and, of course, the one that followed. There was additional vocabulary that only entered the literature in approximately the year 100 AD: 12 Atticisms and 27 poeticisms (apart, I emphasize, from those that were introduced by the Byzantine collections). It is a collection drafted in literary, not popular language, then, and in a literary language that had been formed starting from the 2nd century AD; it was a rather anomalous language, however, given the balance of Atticisms and poeticisms.

On the other hand, there are numerous words in the Augustana created both in the Hellenistic Age (93), and in the subsequent one. These latter words are classified among those that appeared starting from the 2nd century (34 words) and those of the late Empire (4th–5th centuries): 16, which give us the date of our edition.

I think this dating is conclusive and that it also sheds some light on the history of the collection. Its basis is the Hellenistic literary

language (undoubtedly as a continuation of the Attic literary language, from the end of Atticism, from Demetrius), but continued by a contribution from a later date. This contribution is mixed; there are learned elements and others that are less so. And within it the terms that are strictly speaking late are scarce; the alteration the collection suffered in the 4th and 5th centuries must have been small. On the other hand, the presence of a significant poetic lexicon, which we missed when writing our *Estudios*, is now explained as the effect of the existence of Hellenistic versions in choliambs that were later prosified.

3. Nøjgaard and Perry's arguments[33] are due, on one hand, to their not taking into account that this dating refers to our text of the Augustana, not to the basis of the collection; on the other, to insufficient knowledge of the linguistic problems of the Greek lexicon of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages and the problems of the lexicon in general. Nøjgaard's statements that the lexicon is of no interest for problems of dating and that the results of my statistics could all be due to the random nature of our documentation do not require any rebuttal as far as the experts on these problems are concerned. Perry's statements that any word from our Augustana could have been used in the 1st century AD and that there is no information on a possible reworking of same after the 1st century AD simply contradict the facts.

With respect to my statements, Perry and Nøjgaard offer very little that is specific. The former[34] supposes that our Augustana must come from the 2nd century AD or, more probably, from the 1st; the latter says it is impossible to date it, but that its structural origins are from before Phaedrus.[35] This, I think, is perfectly acceptable for the "ancient Augustana", from earlier than Phaedrus; if Perry and Nøjgaard had read my article on the Rylands Papyrus carefully, they would have seen that this is exactly what I had proposed before they did so.

It is a more serious matter that in practice they do not distinguish between the Augustana and Demetrius' collection, attributing practically the same character to both. What is more, Perry makes

[33] Cf. Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, I, p. 137, with my reply in *Gnomon* 37, 1965, pp. 542 ff.; and Perry, "Demetrius of Phalerum", *cit.*, pp. 282 ff.

[34] L. c., p. 288, no. 3.

[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

an effort to rescue for the latter collection certain fables that are absent from the Augustana and that appear in various authors of the Empire (Plutarch, Lucian . . .) or in Photius, but always based on the implicit admission that the Augustana is Demetrius' collection, with the exception of some fables that have been lost along the way. Volume II of this book, which studies the history of the fable in the Hellenistic Age, will show that there are considerable differences between Demetrius' collection and the Augustana, and that a complex history lies between the two phases. In any case, shown below are some ideas by certain authors on the literary characteristics of the Augustana and its position in the history of the collections, to conclude this initial "stage" of the question.

2. *Characteristics of the Augustana and its Position within the Fabulistic Tradition*

The problem of dating the Augustana is thus transformed into that of dating the various stages that it passed through; and the problem of its relationship with Demetrius' collection, first of all, and with the other collections, later, is therefore approached on a new basis.

On the other hand, although it is clear that the fable was used in elementary teaching, on account both of its moralistic value, as Theon says, and of its usefulness for the development of style and rhetorical composition, it is no less certain that we have before us not a series of exercises for students of rhetoric, but a collection that these, among other people, could use. Since the old thesis of Crusius-Hausrath-Marc has been rejected by scholars today, we must look for another one to replace it. What was the fable of the collections and, specifically, that of the Augustana? Various ideas have been expressed on this, which it is appropriate to collect together.

The truth is that the second question has generally been posed without paying great attention to the difference between the Augustana collection and the collection of Demetrius Phalereus. In my article "El papiro Rylands 493", from 1952,[36] I proposed—in contrast with Perry[37]—that from the very beginning the collections of fables were created by a literary interest, as is demonstrated by their drafting in verse by Phaedrus and others. In contrast to this view, Perry stated

[36] Cf. p. 347.
[37] *Aesopica*, p. 295.

in the passage cited that what Demetrius proposed was to create a repertoire for the rhetorician; he was nevertheless to a certain extent influenced by the rhetorical theory of early German research. In his later work "Demetrius of Phalerum",[38] Perry reaffirmed his idea, saying that only when the collections were set down in verse were fables considered as a literary genre, and that before this they were simply a collection of "raw materials" to be incorporated into recognizedly literary works: oratory, history and philosophy.

For his part, Nøjgaard[39] did not dare follow Perry along this path. In agreement with myself, he stated that in his view the intentions of the author of the Augustana could not have been too different from those of Phaedrus and Babrius: "he wished to make a personal presentation of a literary genre", in his view. Indeed, he offered a study on the literary characteristics of the Augustana, which we discuss below. Though he also pointed out that in his own time Demetrius Phalereus performed the work of an antiquarian.[40]

On this subject, it must be recorded that the topic of the origin of the collections of fables, of their evolution, etc., has hardly been touched upon. In order to be understood, the collections of fables have to be placed, we believe, within what we refer to as the "anthological genres" of the Hellenistic Age: collections of epigrams, myths, proverbs, etc. On the other hand, the fables in prose of the Augustana must be interpreted as prose versions of fables in choliambic or iambic verses, which, in turn, did no more than continue the iambic tradition (and undoubtedly the choliambic too) of the exemplum-fable in authors of the Archaic and Classical Age. This prosification is in line with the tradition of the exemplum-fable in the prose of the Sophists and Socratics. That is to say, the characteristics and intention of Demetrius' collection and those of his continuers, including the Augustana, must be the object of a new study. Although some work has clearly already been done, which we should mention: that is, the literary analysis of the Augustana by Nøjgaard, and the analyses by Nøjgaard and myself of the position of this collection within the tradition of the ancient fable as a whole. I have also done work to establish its derivation, starting from collections of fables in verse.

[38] Pp. 341 ff.
[39] *Op. cit.*, p. 487.
[40] Cf. p. 478.

Nøjgaard has made a praiseworthy effort—I believe the first of its kind—to establish the literary characteristics of the main collections of fables, that is, the Augustana, Phaedrus and Babrius. Restricting ourselves to the first, he reaches his definition of its characteristics by paying attention to a main type and leaving aside others that we could call marginal. We do not find it appropriate to apply the description of "fable" to the former and deny it to the others, but in any event it is a major step forward to establish that a main type of fables of the Augustana does indeed exist, with clearly definable characteristic of content and form.

The extensive structural analysis of the Augustana[41] by Nøjgaard cannot be summarized here; we can only recommend reading it, though we would point out that what Nøjgaard defines as the structural type of the Augustana certainly refers to most of its fables, but not to all of them. In contrast with the fairy tale, the fables of the Augustana are founded on the principle of two characters set against each other. There is a unitary and linear action, also with unity of place, presented in schematic form, tending towards an end. Though there are fables with only one character and there are those with two characters, all fables contain an interplay of implacable forces, frequently culminating in the final retort of one of the protagonists. Moreover, the characters have arbitrary, commonplace attributes. And, whether there are one or two protagonists, there is definitely an evaluation of moral conflict.

This definition in fact refers more to all fables than to the Augustana, although less schematic, more narrative and picturesque types of fable do exist outside of it. We have already expressed our view on Nøjgaard's degree of success and failings in the previous chapter. It was clearly shown there that the collections of fables represent a literary genre, not accumulations of materials.

There is material in the existing bibliography to afford an initial approach to the theme of the position of the Augustana within the fabulistic tradition. It was clearly not possible to work on this before distinguishing between the Augustana and the other collections and placing its prototypes in the first Imperial Age. From this moment there have been various attempts to establish its possible relationship with other collections: by myself, in my "El papiro Rylands . . .", by Nøjgaard, and by myself again in "La tradición fabulística . . .".

[41] *Op. cit.*, pp. 186 ff.

These are certainly partial attempts, based on incomplete material; even more inadequate is the attempt by Perry at a partial reconstruction of Demetrius' collection, indicating a series of fables eliminated from the Augustana. Needless to say, these predecessors of the study presented in this book must be indicated.

The first thing that must be done is to distinguish the problem of the relationship between the collections, or, more specifically, between the Augustana of the start of our period and the subsequent collections. This is a completely different problem from that relating to the sources of the Augustana: that it was, as is claimed, the point of confluence of the rhetorical and popular *corpus* of fables, which we have already discussed. Yet, above all, we cannot study the problem of the sources of Phaedrus without having in our possession a study that relates the fables by this author to those of the other collections, beginning with the Augustana.

If, as G. Thiele has postulated in a series of important articles,[42] Phaedrus uses various Hellenistic sources, particularly a collection of Cynic fables and another of burlesque myths and romances, then it is clear that this corresponds to the prehistory of all our collections, and not of Phaedrus specifically: these Cynic fables (such as "Heracles and Plutus") and these romances (such as "The Widow of Ephesus") are frequently common to various collections. The same must be said of Hausrath's observations in an article on the same theme[43] and the earlier ones by Christoffersson on Babrius,[44] a study the conclusions of which on the relationship between Phaedrus and Babrius are rendered invalid by the lack of attention to the Augustana, which was justifiable at that time.

In my study of 1952 on the fables of the Rylands Papyrus, using as my basis these fables and their versions in the Augustana, Phaedrus, Babrius and the other tradition, I attempted to establish some landmarks in the history of the collections. The study is incomplete because the Rylands Papyrus only contains four fables, some very poorly preserved, because in one case ("The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter") my report on the versions of the fable was incomplete, and because I was not yet using the study of metrical remnants.

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[42] "Phaedrusstudien", *Hermes* 41, 1906, pp. 562 ff., 43, 1908, pp. 337 ff. and 46, 1910, pp. 376 ff.

[43] "Zur Arbeitsweise des Phaedrus", *Hermes* 41, 1936, pp. 70 ff.

[44] H. Christoffersson, *Studia de fontibus fabularum Babrianarum*, Lund 1904, pp. 27 ff.

Even so, I believe that in said article I advanced a step further than previous studies, which I reviewed and which were mainly those I have just mentioned. Without offering a detailed line of argument here, since we will study the topic directly and with more data in Volume II, I will indicate some of the conclusions, which, moreover, have been mentioned in part already.

The Augustana belongs to a line of the fabulistic tradition that is different from that of the Rylands Papyrus: it is sometimes the case that it is the papyrus that introduced new elements, such as in "The Shepherd and the Sheep", since that version is much less suited to the morals of the fable than that of the Augustana; in "Heracles and Plutus", in which R (the papyrus) introduces considerable variations by abbreviating, changing or making additions with respect to the generally common outline of A (Augustana) and Ph (Phaedrus), and in "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter", in which R introduces an epimythium that alters the original intention of the fable. In contrast, in "The Owl and the Birds" R retains as protagonist the owl, which was made to disappear in the rest of the tradition (except for the two versions by Dio Chrysostom) in favour of the swallow.[45] This has already been stated when discussing the fables of the papyrus.

Apart from this, my conclusions on the relationship between A and Ph were that in "Heracles and Plutus" the text of Ph was the same as that of A, but abbreviated, and that in "The Owl and the Birds" the version of Ph was also derived from that of A,[46] although contaminating it with a branch of the tradition that is independent (or perhaps derived from R). I gave a good example[47] of the contamination of two Greek fables by Phaedrus with I 3 *Graculus superbus et pavo*, a contamination of two fables of the Augustana, H. 103 "The Rook and the Birds" and H. 125 "The Rook and the Crows".

Hence the conclusion that the Greek prose source that Phaedrus calls "Aesop" is a predecessor of our Augustana that was already

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[45] Perry agrees with this interpretation of mine, cf. "Demetrius of Phalerum . . ." *cit.*, pp. 315 ff.

[46] If, as it seems, the version of Romulus whose verse has been restored by Zander, *Phaedrus solutus*, Lund 1921, p. 63, really comes from the lost Phaedrus, another problem is the relationship of the version of Romulus (or Phaedrus) with the Greek one in *PMich.* 457. Cf. G.M. Parassoglou, "An Aesopic Fable", *Studia Papyrologica* 13, 1974, pp. 33–37. In the aforementioned work I did not study the relationship of "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter" and Phaedrus IV 4; "The Shepherd and the Sheep" has no version in Phaedrus.

[47] *Art. cit.*, p. 373, n. 1.

very close to it, although this is perhaps not the only source. Phaedrus, on the other hand, contaminates and, as he himself says, creates freely.[48]

That is to say, as we stated earlier, around the beginning of our era the appearance of the Augustana was very close, as regards content, to the one known to us; the subsequent modifications affected the style and language above all, and were possibly not too serious. But this collection was not the only basis for Phaedrus. Where the material allowed comparison, which we duly carried out, specifically, in "The Owl and the Birds", our conclusion was that not only Phaedrus, but also Babrius was derived from the "Ancient Augustana", that is, from the form of said collection around the beginning of the period in question. Certainly, in the case of this fable "Babrius" is a text from the Bodleian paraphrase (Par. Bodl. 164 Cr.), with clear choliambic remnants; whether from Babrius or not, it is evident that the Ancient Augustana gave rise to a choliambic version in which the protagonist is the swallow. On its relationship with the Rylands Papyrus, see below, II 6, p. 477.

Without using my article, which he does cite in his bibliography, however, in 1967 Nøjgaard in turn[49] attempted to establish the bases of the relationship between the collections. His starting point was a relatively extensive series of fables; it must only be noted that he did not use those of the Rylands Papyrus 493 at all.

His main conclusion is that A and Ph form a group, with very closely related versions of the same fables, which is in opposition to Babrius. There was supposedly an ancient original, from which A and Ph descended, and another which supposedly gave rise to Babrius and the Pseudo-Dositheus. Without entering into the latter thesis—which this is not the moment to discuss—it must be stated that, as regards the Augustana, Nøjgaard does not believe it is the exact model for Phaedrus. Instead of this, he proposes:

a) Generally speaking, the Augustana is closer to the archetype than any other collection.

b) However, it may introduce variations which show that the other collections do not depend on it specifically. For example, H. 70, "The Stag in the Spring and the Vine", in A shows us the stag that,

[48] On the possibility that this source was already translated into Latin, see below, pp. 126 f.

[49] *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 369 ff.

on seeing its image in the spring, becomes boastful about its horns and complains about its legs, only to be hunted by the lion on account of the former; then in Phaedrus and Babrius the fable is about some hunters and dogs. According to Nøjgaard, A is contaminated with H. 78 "The Stag and the Lion" (the opposite may also conceivably be the case, that the other line is contaminated with H. 79 "The Stag and the Vineyard", in which it is the hunters who kill the stag). In any event, in fables such as this, it is clear that Phaedrus and the rest of the tradition come from a model that was not identical to our current Augustana.

c) Nøjgaard indicates that this model, closely related to the Augustana, but not identical to it, is very similar to ms. Pa of the Augustana, that is, to the recension Ia of same, which we will discuss. Not only are there fables in Ph that are in Pa but not in G and Pb (the central mss. of A), but indeed there are others that are absent from both Ph and Pa.

d) On the other hand, Ph and B (Babrius) are independent, they are not related to each other.

As we can see, whatever the judgement is on his conclusions, Nøjgaard has independently reached the same conclusion I have: our collections are ramifications within an extensive *stemma* of collections that have not reached us. He also indicates that the difference between A I and Ia has to do with the ramification of the tradition, that is, that their sources are at least partially independent and their derived lines too. All this is a considerable improvement on Perry's positions in his "Demetrius of Phalerum" of 1962, in which he tacitly viewed the Augustana, without distinctions within it, as merely a descendent of Demetrius' collection that simply lost certain fables that were conserved by the indirect tradition.

Finally, my article of 1969–70 on "La tradición fabulística griega y sus modelos métricos"[50] did not study the relationship of the Anonymous Fables with Phaedrus, but the relationship between the fables of the various anonymous collections and that between these and Babrius and the Babrian tradition (paraphrase, fables in dodecasyllables) in general. This article introduces, we think, a decisive instrument in the research into the history of the ancient collections of fables: the recognition that fables in choliambs are not only to be found in Babrius and the Babrian tradition, but that underlying the

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[50] Pp. 234 ff. of his edition, cf. pp. XCI ff. and 247 ff.

prose of the anonymous fables and those of the Rylands Papyrus are traces of ancient versions in choliambs and iambic trimetres. These metrical traces, generally different in the three fundamental lines (Rylands Papyrus, Anonymous Fables, Babrius and the Babrian line) are a kind of Ariadne's thread which can guide us in the investigation of the relationship between the fables.

Our study was clearly incomplete (it did not claim otherwise). On the other hand, it required clarifications and rectifications, as well as supplements, in the research into the verse. Even so, it drew some important fundamental conclusions:

a) Babrius and the Babrian tradition form an independent line with respect to that of the Anonymous Fables, but both date back conclusively to the same models: there are even fragments of common verse, for example, the χειμῶνος ὀρχοῦ of "The Cicada and the Ant" (H. 114 Ib and Babrius 140). We will return to this point during our discussion of Babrius.

b) The Augustana is not a unitary work, neither is it true that II and III always derive directly from it. In the Augustana there may be two versions of the same fable, sometimes in the same mss., at others in different mss. And certain mss. of the Augustana and even of the other collections may have had direct access to an ancient semi-prosified edition. The variants of our mss. are not always faults, they are sometimes traces of intermediate editions stemming from an old archetype that is difficult to reconstruct. This agrees literally with Nøjgaard's conclusions on the subject of Ib, but goes further. We now have new terms to approach the problem of the Augustana—how the texts of the different mss. have been created—and its relationship with Phaedrus.

This would be a suitable moment to offer here more detailed information on this topic, but first we must say something further on the existence of verse in the Augustana.

3. *Remnants of Verse in the Augustana*

In his edition of Babrius, Crusius had already extracted some metrical remnants (choliambs and iambic trimetres) of the Anonymous Fables and published them separately[51] considering them as imitations of Babrius from the late Byzantine Age. If he had seen that

[51] Pp. 266 ff.

the verses he extracted are but a small part of the existing ones, that they are therefore inseparable from the very text of the Augustana, he would undoubtedly have discarded this ill-considered theory.

Some of the fables that were particularly full of metrical remnants also did not escape the attention of Chambry, Hausrath and Perry, although these authors contented themselves either with indicating this fact or with proposing interpolations of fables of Babrian origin—for fables which frequently have parallel versions in Babrius with completely different metres!

In "La tradición fabulística griega . . ." data may be found on these sporadic observations by Chambry, Hausrath and Perry, as well as a critique of same.

Chambry and Hausrath's observations relate to verses in H. 62, 72, 114 and 257 of the Augustana, and a small number of fables from other collections. It must be pointed out that there are two versions of 114, to one of which verse is attributed; and that 257 is also a second version of 198. In these cases Chambry restricts himself to indicating the presence of the verse, while Hausrath sometimes attributes it to the Byzantine Age, at others (as in 114) to the "rhetorum schola", while at others still (in H. 62) he restricts himself to indicating the presence of the verse. These are emergency solutions, from which general conclusions are not drawn.

As we have said, Perry attempted to draw general conclusions. In his introduction to his edition of the Augustana,[52] for the case of H. 62, "The Farmer and the Serpent", he simply offers the opinion that the fable comes from Babrius, due to the simple fact that it contains a choliamb that is also in Babrius. In fact, Hausrath does no more than copy what is stated by Crusius, who published the Augustana fable as 147b in his edition of the paraphrase. Indeed, we find a fable in political verses, numbered 147a, of which the last is an altered version of δίκαια πάσχω τὸν πονηρὸν οἰκτείρας from the Augustana: but the rest of the text (and that of the version in Par. 147) is very different. As in other cases, the two lines of the fabulistic tradition have simply conserved a common metrical element of the ancient model.

The other cases—as many as seven—are similar to this. Perry takes refuge in the theory that these are interpolations either in the archetype of the principal line of the Augustana (I) or else at the

[52] In *Aesopica*, pp. 301 ff.

end of ms. G; he believes they might originate from either Babrius or Ia (this conclusion solves nothing, however). We have mentioned some of these fables already. The truth is that the only grounds for admitting such and such an interpolation and such and such a derivation is the presence of verse. This line of argument is knocked down as soon as we show that there is verse in most of the fables of the Augustana, and that the presence of two versions of the same fable in a collection is not anomalous. It is interesting, for example, that H. 31, "The Man who had Two Wives" and H. 112, "The Hero", two fables that Perry discusses on p. 306 as fables without verse, quite clearly do contain some.

Our intention here has been to do no more than indicate the precedents of the discovery of verse in the Anonymous Fables, which in some cases date back to Korais and Huschke, in the 19th century, but which had never been put to use. In contrast, in my article from 1969–70, which I have cited, I studied the matter systematically, showing that verse appears very frequently: whether in the Augustana, or in some or other manuscript or recension of same; when it is in the other collections, whether it derives from the Augustana or there are indications that the source of the Augustana has been taken into account. My hypothesis is that there is a common source for all the Anonymous Fables, a source in which the verse is already semi-prosified, since at times the complete verse cannot be restored; on the other hand, there are fables in which there is no trace of verse. And verse is systematically absent from the epimythia, which therefore date from after the versified composition.

Here I can do no more than give an initial idea of the question, which will be studied during the course of the book. A series of problems are raised regarding the metrical characteristics of verse: the reconstruction of the original verse will, of course, differ according to whether more or less rigorous laws are accepted. On the other hand, once we reconstruct—at least to some degree—the system of formulas of the fables, we will see that ancient verse can be found even where it apparently does not exist. My analyses in the article cited must, on the other hand, be systematically revised. In short, the clearest and most transparent remnants of verse are not the only ones: a rigorous analysis leads us to discover much more than is apparent at first sight. Even so, we think it appropriate, here and now, to offer some examples requiring less specialized study, without entering now into questions of the antiquity of the verse, its rela-

tionship with that of the Classical fable or of the Babrian fable, etc.

One of various good clues is the occasional preservation of verse in the final answer of the animal or character, which "closes" so many fables. Let us begin with a very clear example: in H. 8, "Aesop in the Shipyard", the ending is an iambic trimetre, a "closing statement" by Aesop:

ἄχρηστος ὑμῶν ἡ τέχνη γενήσεται

This is sufficient to enable us, immediately, to find beginnings of verse such as

Αἴσωπος ἔλεγε [...

....

ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ Δία [...

....

τρὶς ἐκροφήσει τὴν θάλασσαν [...

or else an ending followed by a beginning:

...] ἐξεγύμνωσε / ἐὰν δὲ δόξει [...

If, with these data (which may be expanded within the same fable) in mind, we take a look at its neighbours in the collection, we will see that, for example, H. 4, "The Hawk and the Nightingale", also finishes with a choliamb, except that a φαινόμενα, which the context makes non-essential, is excluded:

βορὰν παρεὶς τὰ μηδέπω διώκοιμι

There is now an iambic beginning to this same fable:

ὡς ἠπόρει τροφῆς [...

and also endings:

...] ὡς ἔμελλ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι (mss. μέλλουσα)

....

...] ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ἀπόπληκτος
ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς / δρυὸς καθημένη

Similarly, H. 9, "The Fox and the He-goat", has conserved the beginning and ending of the verse in the final answer of the fox:

ἀλλ' εἰ τοσαύτας φρένας [... / ...] τὴν ἄνοδον ἐσκέψω

It was evidently an answer in two verses. Following this guide, we can find beginnings of verses at the very start of the fable by simply

reversing the order of the first two words; and in other places in the same fable:

πεσοῦσ' ἀλώπηξ εἰς φρέαρ [...

....

τράγος δὲ δίψει [...

Furthermore, in the treacherous proposal made by the fox to the he-goat, by only eliminating a γάρ and an unnecessary ἐμπροσθίους, we have the beginning of a choliamb and, some words later, the end of the following one:

ἐὰν θελήσῃς τοὺς [...] πόδας / ...] σ' ἀνασπάσω

We need only consider that this is just a small starting point, which can be expanded to an incredible degree. Let us consider some choliambic endings of fables, both the closing statement of the character and the simple conclusion, without making reference to the existing metrical remnants of the rest of the respective fables:

H. 2 ...] ὡς ἐγὼ (μὲν) σαφῶς οἶδα / κολοιός, ὡς δέ [...
H. 3 ...] μὴ νεοττεύειν
H. 12 ...] σοῦ καλλίων ὑπάρχω [... / ...] τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν πεποίκιλμαι [...
H. 13 ...] χαρᾶς γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, [... / ...] παντός τι καὶ λυπηθῆναι
H. 14 ...] κἀκείνη / ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· ἀλλά [... (mss. πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη)
οὐδεὶς γάρ [...] ἐλέγξει σε
H. 19 ἀλλ' ἐσφάλης τῶν ⟨σῶν⟩ φρενῶν [... / ...] ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι εἴωθα
H. 20 ...] ἀλλὰ κἂν σὺ μὴ εἴπῃς
H. 22 εἰ τοῖς λόγοις ὅμοια τοὺς τρόπους εἶχες
H. 23 ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐδέ [...
H. 25 ...] ἀλλ' ἔγωγε δειλαία, / ἥτις [...

As we can see, this is a restricted group of fables, taken at random. In any case, various observations could be made on it; for example, that although we cannot find verse in the ending in version I of H. 7 καλῶς, ἔφασαν, ἐὰν σὺ ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαλλαγῇς, there is in III: if we remove one or two unnecessary intermediate words, there is a complete choliamb:

ἐὰν ἀπέλθῃς αὐτός, οὐδαμῶς ἀποθνήσκω

Of course, if we leave the beginning of the collection and open it up at an arbitrary point, the same thing happens. Consider, for example:

H. 165 τί γὰρ λύκῳ [υ-] ⟨τὰ⟩ πρόβατ' ἐπίστευον;
H. 166 ...] δώσω, σύ μοι τροφῇ χρήσῃ (mss. καὶ τ. μ.)
H. 184 ...] ἀλλ' ἐμὲ ᾐτίω
H. 193 καὶ τοῦτο λοιπὸν ἦν, ὄνον σ' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων
H. 195 ...] τῇ δρόσῳ λιμῷ διεφθάρη (iamb. trim.)
H. 146 μηδέν' ἀκοὴ ταραττέτω πρὸ τῆς θέας (iamb. trim.)
H. 147 εἰ μὴ ἑώρων [... / ...] ἐξιόντος (δὲ) οὐδενός
H. 149 ...] τί (γὰρ) συγκλεῖσαι / τοῦτον [...] μακρόθεν σ' ἔδει τρέμειν;

Of course, the verse may have disappeared from the ending of the fable and have been conserved elsewhere. For example, at the beginning:

H. 112 ἥρωά τις κατ' οἰκίαν ἔχων τούτῳ (mss. ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας)

Other verses can be found in the same fable:

πέπαυσο τὴν ⟨σὴν⟩ οὐσίαν διαφθείρων
...] καὶ πένης γένῃ / ἔμ' αἰτιάσεις [...

Certain beginnings are very characteristic

H. 153 λέων λαγωῷ περιτυχὼν κοιμωμένῳ / ἔμελλε τοῦτον [... (mss. π.λ. and τ.ἑ)
H. 155 κοιμωμένου λέοντος μῦς (τῷ στόματι) / ἐπέδραμε [... (mss. λ.κ.)
H. 187 ὁδοιπόροι κατ' αἰγιαλὸν ὁδεύοντες (mss. κατά τινα)
H. 102 Ζεὺς καὶ Προμηθεύς [...
H. 88 ἐν (τινὶ) μυρσινῶνι κίχλα [...
H. 71 δρῦς καὶ κάλαμος ἤριζον [...
H. 52 γεωργὸς ὑπὸ χειμῶνος [...
H. 45 ἅμαξαν εἷλκον βόες [...
H. 18 ἁλιεὺς καθεὶς τὸ δίκτυον ἀνήνεγκε / μαινίδα [... (there is something missing, perhaps μετήνεγκε)

We could go on. In this case, as in that of the endings, the study of the system of iambic formulas and of its replacement with another set of prose formulas will show that these best preserved remnants are in fact just the tip of the iceberg. In any case, the degree of conservation of the verse is very variable: there are fables in which its existence is not even certain and others in which it is transparent. Let us look at some of the latter.

H. 28 "The Liar"

πένης νοσήσας καὶ κακῶς διακείμενος (iamb. tr., on the metre, cf. p. 575).
ῥαῖσαι τάχιστ' αὐτόν [...
κἀκεῖνος ἐξαναστάς [...
...] ἀπέχετε τὴν εὐχήν / ὦ δαίμονες [...
....
ἐκεῖ γὰρ εὑρήσει [...
....
δρομαῖος ἧκεν ἐπ' ᾐόν'· ἔνθα δὴ λῃσταῖς (col., mss. ἐπὶ τὴν)
....
εὗρε δραχμὰς χιλίας [...

H. 40 "The Astrologer"

ἀστρόλογος ἐξιὼν ἑκάστοθ' ἑσπέρας
ἔθος εἶχε τοὺς ἀστέρας [...
....
τὸν νοῦν ὅλον ἔχων [– ⏑] πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν
....
παριών τις ὡς ἤκουσε τῶν στεναγμ⟨άτ⟩ων
προσελθὼν καὶ μαθὼν τὰ συμβεβηκότα
ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· σὺ βλέπειν τἀν οὐρανῷ (mss. ὦ οὗτος, σὺ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ βλέπειν)
πειρώμενος [⏑] τἀπὶ ⟨τῆς⟩ γῆς οὐχ ὁρᾷς

As we can see, with minimal modifications almost the whole verse is revealed, in choliambs and trimetres: it is therefore all more noteworthy that there is none in the epimythium.

H. 44 "The Frogs asking for a King"

βάτραχοι λυπούμενοι [⏑ –] ἀναρχίᾳ
πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν πρὸς [...
....
αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν βασιλέα [... (mss. β. αὐ. π.)
....
καταπλαγέντες τὸν ψόφον [...

....
...] ὡς ἀκίνητον
ἦν τὸ ξύλον, ἀναδύντες [...
....
αὐτοῖς ὕδραν ἔπεμψεν [... (mss. ὕ αὐ. ἔ.)
....
κατησθίοντο [...

H. 79 "The Stag and the Vineyard"

...] εἷς (τις) δὲ τῶν κυνηγῶν [...
...] ἀκοντίῳ βαλὼν / ἔτρωσεν αὐτήν [...
μέλλουσα ⟨δὲ⟩ τελευτᾶν ἔφη στενάξασα· (mss. στ. ἔ.)
δίκαια πάσχω [...

H. 91 "Hermes and Tiresias"

...] περιπτάμενος ἀπήγγειλεν
ἰδὼν κορώνην [...] καθημένην
ποτὲ μὲν ἄνω βλέπουσαν, ποτὲ δὲ κύπτουσαν (mss. εἰς τὴν γῆν κύπτουσαν)
....
διόμνυται τὸν οὐρανόν ⟨τε⟩ καὶ τὴν γῆν (mss. τόν τε οὐρανόν)
ὅτι ἂν θέλῃς σὺ τοὺς (ἐμαυτοῦ) βόας ἀπολήψομαι (mss. σ.θ.)

H. 112 "The Hero"

ἥρωά τις κατ' οἰκίαν ἔχων, τούτῳ (mss. ἐπὶ τῆς)
ἔθυε πολυτελῶς [... (mss. π. ἔ.)
....
...] οὗτος,
πέπαυσο τὴν ⟨σὴν⟩ οὐσίαν διαφθείρων
ἐὰν γὰρ [...] καὶ πένης γένῃ

H. 125 "The Rook and the Crows"

...] ἠξίου (συν)διαιτᾶσθαι
οἱ δ' ἀμφιγνόντες [...

....
παίοντες αὐτὸν ἐξέβαλον [...
....
εἰς τοὺς κολοιούς [...
....
...] ἀμφοτέρων (διαίτης) στερηθῆναι

H. 137 "The Dog and the Wolf"

κύων [...] ἐκοιμᾶτο
λύκος δὲ τοῦτον [...
....
νῦν (μὲν) λεπτός εἰμι κἰσχνός [...
μέλλουσι δ' οἱ μοῦ δεσπόται γάμους ἄγειν (mss. δὲ μοῦ οἱ)
ἐὰν ἀφῇς με νῦν [...
....
μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας [...
....
πρὸ τῆς ἐπαύλεως ἴδῃς κοιμώμενον (mss. κ. ἴ.)

H. 139 "The Dog and the Hare"

κύων λαγωὸν συλλαβὼν [... (mss. κ. θηρευτικός)
τοῦτον ποτὲ μὲν ἔδακνε [...
....
...] ὁ δ' ἀπαυδήσας
ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν [...
παῦσαί με δάκνων ἢ [...] φιλῶν, ἵνα (mss. καταφιλῶν)
γνῶ, πότερον ἐχθρὸς ἢ φίλος καθέστηκας

H. 150 "The Lion and the Dolphin"

...] ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῶν θαλαττίων ζῴων
αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν [...
....
μάχην ἔχων πρὸς ταῦρον [...
...] δελφῖν' ἐπὶ βοήθειαν [...

...] ἠτιᾶτ' αὐτόν
ὁ λέων [...
....
ὁ δ' ὑποτυχὼν εἶπε [...

H. 174 "The Mice and the Weasel"

ἡττώμενοι ἐπεὶ συνῆλθον εἰς ταὐτόν (cf. p. 577)
....
αὐτοῖς συνῆψαν. Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς μάχης (mss. ἑαυτοῖς)
....
οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι εἰσελθεῖν (cf. p. 577)

I think it is unnecessary to add further data for the moment. It is clear that by simply following the text of the Augustana, introducing at the most one or two elisions, one or two inversions of word order or else by suppressing one or two superfluous words or adding a particle or an article to complete a missing syllable, numerous metrical passages can be obtained, and this cannot be a chance occurrence. They are sometimes choliambs or iambic trimetres, and are often preceded or followed by other metrical elements, even other complete verses.

On the other hand, as we have indicated, this is only an initial study. By following the paths suggested by the style of the formulas, on one hand, and by using the other two collections in the reconstruction, on the other, we may obtain many more passages. With the help of these resources and their placement in the text, we can demonstrate that a number of short metrical passages—which we have generally not shown here—come from the ancient original in verse form. Thus we find many clauses of the type ⏑ – – ⏓.

Doubts may of course arise with regard to the metre (particularly in connection with the caesuras and the feet) and the prosody (certain abbreviations, in particular). We will leave these to be dealt with in the subsequent study, in which we will define the set of characteristics of the versification that underlies the prosaic collections, seek parallels for it and date it. The conclusions so far obtained will of course make it possible to discover an even greater number of metrical elements.

4. *Recensions and Component Elements of the Augustana*

Except in certain specific mentions of differing recensions, so far we have considered the Augustana as a unitary collection, derived from an archetype. This is an appropriate point for us to show that this is not the case and provide the bibliography on the topic, without entering into a detailed study of same, which we will only be able to do in Volume II.

On one hand, no matter how much authors such as Perry persist in practically identifying the Augustana with Demetrius' collection, there are many indications that it is really an aggregate of different materials. We have already mentioned the studies by Thiele on Phaedrus in which he discusses various sources and we have indicated that, since many of Phaedrus' fables to which he makes reference are also in the Augustana or are similar to others in the Augustana, this conclusion—an obvious conclusion, as will be seen in our Volume II—should be extended to this collection. Although particularly confused, the study by Hausrath himself, "Zur Arbeitsweise des Phaedrus",[53] does present materials on fables of different origins, the Cynics among others.

On the other hand, the drafter of the Augustana must have had access to more than one ancient collection and, when collecting fables here and there, he sometimes did not notice that he was taking two versions of the same fable; we have already stated some of this above. For example, H. 62, "The Farmer and the Serpent" and H. 186, "The Walker and the Serpent", H. 71, "The Oak and the Reed" and H. 239, "The Trees and the Reed", are appreciably the same, with only differences of drafting; H. 28, "The Liar" and H. 34, "The Man who Promised Impossible Things", are practically the same as regards their beginnings, although they differ at the end. These are all fables from the Augustana, although they are sometimes absent from certain manuscripts. There are other cases. The truth is that substantially there is no difference between these cases and others in which the two versions are found in different recensions or different groups of manuscripts. Cf., for example, the variants in H. 39a (I) and 39b (Ia) of "The Swallow and the Birds" or in 114 (I) and 114 (Ib) of "The Ant and the Cicada".[54] As I already indicated in my

[53] *Hermes* 41, 1936, pp. 70 ff.
[54] Cf. more data in *Emerita* 37, 1969, p. 293.

article, there are many different types of cases. One fable, H. 101, has two versions, both present in ms. G, while the others sometimes admit one, sometimes the other. Yet G has the same fable, H. 23, twice, both in the same version: in positions 23 and 239 of the fables of said ms. Evidently the copyist, who had more than one model available, mistakenly thought, in a given moment, that he had not copied this fable. It even happens that two fables, H. 294 and H. 295, are in the single ms. Mb (as well as in the recension III): although it is a ms. of the Augustana, we are in doubt as to whether we should attribute the fable to the collection or not. And this is because a ms. such as Pb (= A), which is central to the Augustana, has fables from II and III and there are mss. of the Augustana that admit the Babrian tradition. It has clearly always been a tradition for the copyists or drafters of fables—as they are both—to work with various models in front of them.

This prompts us to return to the theme of the recensions of the Augustana and, in general, to that of their transmission. Hausrath, following the classic principles of the criticism of texts in order to reconstruct a single archetype, indicated the existence of three recensions, those comprising respectively the mss. C Ph Cas (= Pg Mb Ca),[55] O E (= Pc Pa) and A (= Pb); on the other hand, he does not establish the position in this *stemma* of Cr, which he indicates sometimes goes with one branch, sometimes with another. This is a serious mistake: Cr (G in Perry) is the oldest ms. of the Augustana, from the 10th century, which is in fact undervalued by Hausrath, who uses the first group, the recension that Perry calls λ, as the basis for his edition. In contrast, in Perry's view there is a branch, AG, which is the most valid tradition and when considered together with this, branch λ, though important, is less so. Perry considers that Hausrath's third branch, that of O E, was contaminated by the other two.

The truth is that the books that both writers announced would appear on the manuscript tradition of the fables[56] have never done so and we have to be guided by what they say in abbreviated form in their prologues, by their critical apparatuses, particularly by the very extensive one in Chambry's edition. In any case, judging by our results starting from the study of the metre, they have simplified

[55] We give the sigla used by Hausrath and, in brackets, the corresponding ones used by Chambry, followed also by Perry.

[56] Cf. pp. V and 306 of their respective prologues.

the problem excessively, reducing it to very simple terms and discarding manuscripts or data that do not fit in easily.

This was shown particularly in Hausrath, when he established, together with the true Augustana, a purely paraphrastic recension, Ib, which altered, extended or reduced—he says—the text received; the result was that he practically disregarded these manuscripts. He also established—quite correctly—the existence of a recension Ia,[57] but with the following errors: he attributed it to the Byzantine Age and did not make a separate edition of it. However, he admits that it sometimes has better manuscript sources than ours and uses these mss. to establish the text. To sum up, he attempts to establish a single text, to reconstruct the archetype of the whole Augustana.

Perry makes some progress, as we have seen, but his treatment of the recension that Hausrath calls Ib (and which he does not give a particular name) is unclear. He affirms that apart from the two branches that he admits, it is doubtful whether the other mss. (that is to say, O E and those of the Ib group) transmit anything ancient or simply amendments, although he says he finds it credible that some of these come from an ancient branch; this is not saying much. Only on E (= Pa) does he make some very incisive statements,[58] dividing its fables into various groups: some would be from Ia, others from the branch of G, others from that of λ, others, in short, from one or other of these branches; he only leaves 20 as independent. On the contrary, we will see that E (= Pa) and other mss., particularly A (= Pb) and Ph (= Mb), have direct access to an ancient semi-prosified text. As regards Ia, he insists that it comes from a Byzantine copy. To sum up, he obtains a unified edition of the Augustana based fundamentally on the two branches of the manuscript tradition to which we have referred. Only in very few cases, in which a fable is only found in Ia, does he give a separate edition of this recension.

In our study repeatedly cited, "La tradición fabulística griega . . .", we have presented data questioning the idea that the entirety of the Augustana dates back conclusively to a single archetype. This is a thesis that we must return to in Volume II of this book, studying it on the basis of more data and a better understanding of the metri-

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[57] Cf. his ed., pp. IX and XV.
[58] Cf. p. 309.

cal elements underlying our prose versions. As we have already said, it is precisely the attention to these elements that may form a thread running through all the research into the relationships between manuscripts, recensions and collections in general.

We will restrict ourselves here to stating our previous conclusions in summary form, simply as data to form a point of departure and as considerations to be taken into account by those wishing to look into the history of the fable.

The fact that a manuscript of the Augustana has various models available simultaneously, as we said above, is confirmed by the fact that fables are sometimes even included from recensions II and III or else choliambic versions or versions from the Bodleian paraphrase.[59] The conclusions might be as follows:

a) Sometimes, as we have said, the verse is preserved more faithfully in certain mss.: in E (= Pa), in A (= Pb), in Ph (= Mb), in O (= Pc), in B (= Ma, rec. Ib).

b) Specifically, Ia (by itself or together with Pb) is frequently independent; it is sometimes the case that the text of Ib and/or that of I derives from it. At other times, in contrast, Ia seems to derive from G A or there seems to be a derivation A → G E → Ia, or else Ia seems to be independent; and it is sometimes the case that it has two versions and III comes from one of these (such as with H. 84); moreover, III frequently comes from Ia.

This is an appropriate point to give a few examples, chosen from among those in our article. Thus, in H. 56 only Pb maintains the complete choliamb, which has disappeared in the other mss.: τῶν δαιμόνων ὀργὰς τρέπειν ἀπηγγέλλου, yet in other places, Ia achieves the verse more directly: ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν instead of ἔφη. In a similar manner, in H. 40 Pb maintains the metrical model in ἑκάστοθ' ἑσπέρας which G and Pa convert into ἑκάστοτε ἑσπέρας with a syntactical error, from where in turn, it would seem, Ia takes its ἑκάστην ἑσπέραν, which is correct syntactically, but ametrical. In H. 9, likewise, Pb (together with Ib) conserves important metrical remnants: ἐὰν μόνον θέλῃς (mss. θελήσεις) . . . θέλησον οὖν (τοὺς) ἐμπροσθίους πόδας (ἐρεῖσαι) τοίχῳ, where, however, it must be observed that other mss. of I and Ia, which distort the beginning of the second choliamb, give a better ending: πόδας τοίχῳ / προσερεῖσαι. In H. 40 there is a clear line from Pb, which maintains στεναγμῶν (the closest to

[59] On this and what follows, cf. *art. cit.*, 37, 1969, pp. 292 ff.

the metrical στεναγμάτων) in G Pa τὸν στεναγμόν and in Ia τοῦ στεναγμοῦ.

In any case, the problem of the connection of the different mss. with the metrical model requires a new study. What is unquestionable, at this time, is the occasional archaism of Ia. A very clear example is that of H. 45, where only Mj, a ms. of Ia, maintains the choliamb ὅλον τὸ βάρος ἡμεῖς φέρομεν, σὺ δὲ κράζεις. At other times Ia goes with the main line of I, with some ms. from this collection being the one that alters: this is the case in H. 26 τὸ ῥεῦμα προσδῆσας/ κάλῳ λίθον where G and Pa do not understand the text and alter it and the verse and at the same time: καλῷ λίνῳ λίθον.

All this, which of course requires a new study, suggests that contamination was a normal habit, sometimes even contamination with the ancient semi-prosified model. All scribes believed themselves authorized, in this type of literature, to have a certain freedom, which definitely made each ms. a new version or edition, rather more than a copy. The study of the behaviour of the creators of the Vindobonensis and Accursiana will convince us, once again, of the truth of this statement. As will the contaminations of the tradition of the Anonymous Fables with the Babrian. Indeed, in view of the fact that on occasions a ms. frequently followed various models, as we have seen (Chambry already referred to *mixed* manuscripts), all this is very tangible. With the *Life of Aesop*, popular literature, the same thing happens.

Thus, if Chambry and his followers made advances with respect to their predecessors by editing different versions of each fable independently, they did not arrive at the heart of the matter. The heart of the matter is this: we are dealing with popular literature, from an open tradition, in which the variants are not simply faults or amendments. And among other things, there has never been a single archetype of the Augustana. It is impossible, then, to edit it in the way that has been done until now. And studies are needed on its development through different manuscripts that are less simplistic than those we have studied.

We already expounded these ideas in 1976, in a report presented at the 5th Spanish Congress of Classical Studies entitled "Desiderata en la investigación de la fábula antigua".[60]

I affirmed in this work that the fable belongs to popular, essentially anonymous literature. In parallel to what happens in the case

[60] See *Actas*, Madrid 1978, pp. 215–235.

of oral literature—Greek epic poetry, Spanish "romances", etc.—in each execution of which there is a traditional basis allowing innovations, the same happens in the copying of the manuscripts of fabulistic literature, which was alive throughout Antiquity and throughout the Byzantine and Latin Middle Ages. At any given moment it was possible to proceed freely, consciously modifying the texts; and not only as regards the style, but also as regards the structure, the animal protagonists, the general intention. The so-called collections and recensions owe their origin to this, which even affects the structure of the text of certain manuscripts. The process is reproduced infinitely; sometimes there is copying, sometimes contamination, sometimes innovation, then the process begins again.

Within ancient literature, fables are not alone in this field of popular literature with an open tradition, in which it is not only inadequate to talk of *stemmata* and use the Maasian method, but sometimes even a falsification. This is particularly the case with fables, in which the circumstances vary for the different fables of a manuscript or collection. Yet the fact is, what happens with fables also happens with the various fictitious *Lives* of Antiquity. Perry had to edit the recensions G and W and the papyrus remnants of the *Life of Aesop* separately; likewise, the various recensions of the *Life of Alexander* by the Pseudo-Callisthenes have been edited independently. "The same thing happens with the scholia, which sometimes agree in various families of manuscripts, whereas others add, eliminate or vary, and with the glossaries. Or with the translations of the Bible into Latin, a field in which there is no longer distinction today between the *Hispana*, the *Itala*, etc., rather, the facts are much more complicated". These were our words on the subject.

The editing of these texts presents special problems. It demands a despoilment of the whole of the manuscript tradition, sometimes very extensive, as is the case with fables. Formulas must then be contrived to allow the texts of the various manuscripts or groups of them to be presented in parallel form; in the case of fables, these groups may range from one fable to several. The same text must be shown various times, either in parallel columns, or adding various initials and indications. These formulas have not yet been sufficiently developed, but some tests have been carried out which could appropriately be applied to fables; though not now, but when the study of their manuscript tradition is more advanced. With these tests I am referring, within the field of Greek, to the edition by Erbse

of the scholia of the *Iliad*,[61] the doctoral thesis by G. Morocho, who has studied the scholia in the *Septem* by Aeschylus[62] or the critical edition of Hesychius by Latte. A closer attempt to the one that would be necessary for the fables is the edition of the *Vetus Latina* published by the Abbey of Beuron.[63] It is a matter of giving the various parallel versions, line by line, reserving the tiniest variants for the Apparatus Criticus; this is not claimed to give the "true" readings in the text, although simple errors, which, moreover, are not easy to distinguish, go to the Apparatus. The edition of the *Vetus* adds an Apparatus of Testimonia, which would also have an important mission in the editing of the Anonymous Fables, that of giving the parallels in editions of the same fable outside of the Anonymous Fables.

However, it is not certain that it would be possible with this system to draw together a tradition so complex as that of the Anonymous Fables, or at least the Augustana, satisfactorily and in a synoptic manner. We would perhaps need to have recourse to storing the data on computer to perform computerized analyses with this as a starting point, such as those attempted by Professor Diego Menéndez Pidal for the Spanish "romances", together with Miss Petersen, at the University of California.[64]

IV. *The Vindobonensis and Accursiana Collections*

1. *Older Studies*

As we have already indicated, the Byzantine collections of anonymous fables in prose are those we refer to as the Vindobonensis and the Accursiana respectively, from a manuscript from Vienna and the *editio princeps* by Bonus Accursius. We have also explained that for many centuries the Accursiana was the source of knowledge on the ancient fable. The Vindobonensis has been well-known since the editing by Fedde, in 1877, of the Codex Vindobonensis 130; earlier, in 1810, Furia had published the Casinensis, which Chambry

[61] *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vetera)* Berlin 1969 ff.
[62] *Scholia in Aeschyli in Septem adversus Thebas*, León 1988.
[63] Begun in Freiburg in 1949 with the publication of the *Verzeichnis der Sigel für Kirchenschriftsteller*, by Bonifacius Fischer, 2nd ed. 1963.
[64] Cf. *Revista de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid*, 25, 102, 1976, pp. 79 ff.

places at the start of this collection, but which, as we have seen, in fact belongs to the Augustana.

After miscellaneous and confused editions, such as that by Halm and others, it was only with the aforementioned edition by Chambry in 1925 that we had an independent text of each one of the three main collections. However, Chambry sometimes manufactures a single text starting from those of II and III—that is to say, from the Vindobonensis and the Accursiana—as well as placing the Casinensis at the start of II, as we have just said, whereupon he frequently introduces readings which are either classicist or from the Augustana into his text. Thus, in short, it is Hausrath's edition that, as things stand, is generally relied upon for the text of both collections.[65] Nevertheless, a series of observations do have to be made on it.

Before this, however, we will say one or two things on the date of both recensions, as well as on the state of the question regarding their relations; although our observations on the absence of archetypes for both Byzantine collections, as in the case of the Augustana, will in fact inevitably have repercussions on their dating.

There is general agreement that the Vindobonensis collection comes from the early Byzantine Age. Chambry and Hausrath[66] rely on the old German theory of the "popular" tradition of these fables, their less erudite and learned character, which produces a long-winded and rather impure style, wordy and full of syntactical errors. In fact, Marc and Hausrath himself had established that the Vindobonensis came fundamentally from the Augustana, so that the most that could be argued is that the style of the former collection—and also its vocabulary and syntax—reveal modifications that were made in a period of cultural decline, of the invasion of the written language by vulgarisms. This is exactly what happened.

In my *Estudios*,[67] I performed a detailed study of the entrance into the Vindobonensis of late and vulgar vocabulary, the elimination of Atticisms and learned words in general; even Byzantine forms entered the text, which are datable in precisely the 6th century. A thesis supervised by me on the syntax of the fables, which is mentioned above—by María Pilar Gazo, which remains unpublished—also shows the elimination of Atticist features from the syntax: the speeches in

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[65] On this, cf. my review in *Gnomon* 29, 1957, pp. 431–437.

[66] *Esope, cit.*, p. XLIV; *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*, p. VI.

[67] Pp. 67 ff.

the infinitive mood are replaced with the direct style, the interplay of genitive absolutes and other participles is reduced, the optative declines, etc. There would seem to be no doubt as to this dating.

Perry[68] made an important contribution to breaking the monolithism of the collection. He indicated that the Vindobonensis does not come directly from the Augustana en bloc, but from an intermediate tradition that is partially conserved in the mss. that he calls M (*Monacensis graecus* 525) and S (*Mosquensis* 436). Hausrath's opinion differs;[69] in his view these and other mss. constitute a special class, the III δ, which he considers a Byzantine paraphrase of II. Our opinion, as will be seen, agrees with Perry's;[70] and although this does not influence the dating, it is important to show that the Vindobonensis, like the other collections, was not formed in one go, but through a long process of reworking of the previous collections. This work evidently occurred during the 5th and 6th centuries (Hausrath prefers the 7th) at the times when the Byzantine age was beginning and culture in all its forms declined. It is noteworthy that, at this time, the process of reworking a popular genre, as was the fable, was maintained, precisely in a rather vulgar language. We must stress that the creation of the collection was a complex work, not simply a unitary modification of the Augustana, as I thought when I wrote my *Estudios*. Yet this does not offer grounds, we think, for dating the collection at around the year 1100, as Perry does; the Vindobonensis undoubtedly comes from a very ancient stage of the tradition that is reflected in mss. M and S.

Before returning to this theme, let us move on to the Accursiana. To tell the truth, we have not arrived at a definite dating here. What is true is that, in many cases, it derives from the Vindobonensis, which makes the 6th century a *terminus post quem*; and that its style is again of a classicist, purist type, as I studied in detail in my *Estudios*.[71] This forces us to trace the Accursiana back to one of the two Byzantine renaissances: that of the 9th century, around the figure of Photius, an author who mentions fables in his *Bibliotheca*, on one occasion, or that of the 14th century. We cannot rule out, however, as we will see, that the work began on the former date and con-

[68] Cf. particularly his *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*, Haverford 1936, pp. 174 ff.

[69] *Corpus*, p. XI.

[70] Cf. *art. cit.*, p. 295.

[71] Pp. 99 ff.

cluded on the latter. Today we can see, in this case too, that the task is much more complicated than I proposed in my *Estudios*; my opinion was that the Accursiana, en bloc, comes from the Vindobonensis when the latter presents its own version of a fable, and from the Augustana in other cases.

Leaving aside the vague attempts by Chambry to date the Accursiana in "a still healthy age", in view of the Classicism (which, moreover, is doubtful) of its style, for this collection we have, as we have said, the two datings of the 9th and the 14th centuries. The former is the one proposed by Hausrath and myself; if truth be told, it is only supported by negative data. The latter is the one previously favoured by Paul Marc, who thought that the collection could have been drafted by "skilled philologists of the type of Moschopulus and Planudes" and the one defended by Perry in particular. But just as our grounds for favouring the 9th century are only negative, as has been said, Perry's grounds for favouring the 14th century and his candidacy of Planudes as author of the Accursiana relies on all too insubstantial grounds.[72]

On the other hand, in our article "La tradición fabulística griega . . .",[73] we used an argument in support of the date of the 9th century that may be decisive: if, as it would seem, III used an ancient semi-prosified collection, the same one used by the Augustana and the Vindobonensis, it seems strange that, having reached the 14th century, this collection had not been transmitted to us. It is more likely that it was lost when the ancient codices were transliterated between the 9th and the 11th centuries.

Moreover, rather than indicating a concrete date, we are more interested in establishing how the Accursiana gradually came about starting from the Vindobonensis. It so happens that here, as in the case of the Augustana and, as we have seen, in that of the Vindobonensis, what we have been calling the Accursiana collection is none other than a conglomeration of recensions. Attempting to obtain a single text starting from these, as Hausrath does—not to mention Chambry, who, as we have said, sometimes mixes in II—is as indefensible as attempting to obtain a single text of the Augustana. We find ourselves facing the usual problem. Only on rare occasions, when the forced amalgamation would be too violent, does Hausrath

[72] On all this, cf. the *Studies* by Perry, pp. 204 ff., and my criticisms in *Estudios*, pp. 13 ff.

[73] Pp. 289.

resign himself to making an independent text of recension III γ.

Yet it was in fact Hausrath who, in the prologue to his *Corpus*—since he did not do so in his never-published book *Aesop*—first gave an idea of the multiplicity of recensions and elements within the Accursiana. Apart from III δ, which, as we have seen, he considered as a descendant of II, he talks of III γ, III β and III α. The latter would supposedly be the true Accursiana and the other two collections would be stages in the purification of the Vindobonensis, phases prior to the definitive drafting of the Accursiana.

Now, many years ago I already demonstrated—exhaustively, in my view—that quite the opposite happened.[74] I showed specifically that α and γ are not families of manuscripts, but different recensions, which I already compared then with the variants on the "romances"; and that, specifically, γ derives from α and not the other way around, as γ is the most independent recension of all.

There are in fact agreements between the Augustana and α as compared with γ, but not between the Augustana and γ as compared with α; or else there is a derivation from the Augustana to α and from this to γ, not the other way around. At other times we see the derivation from the Vindobonensis to α and from this to γ, not the other way around. Here are a few small examples:

H. 143: I ἀκούσαντες τῆς ποδοψοφίας / α: ὡς τὸν τοῦ δρόμου κτύπον ᾔσθοντο / γ: τούτους ἰδόντες; I and α: δειλία / γ: missing.

H. 22: II and α: ὃν καθικέτευε / γ: ὃν κατελιπάρει; II: ἐν ἐρήμῳ πολὺν δρόμον ἀνύσας / α: ἐν ἐρημίᾳ πολὺν δρόμον ἀνύσας / γ: ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τὸν δρόμον ἀνύσας

What is significant is that γ also has knowledge of the Vindobonensis and sometimes uses it directly; but a never uses γ.

2. *The Byzantine Collections and their Relationship with Antiquity*

Now everything that has been mentioned so far on the date, style, derivation and formation of the Byzantine collections of fables is of no interest for the history of the fable in Antiquity, which is our theme. If the thesis that I proposed in my *Estudios*, that the Vindobonensis and the Accursiana conclusively have the Augustana as their

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[74] Cf. "Sur une rédaction byzantine des fables ésopiques", *Actes du IX Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines*, III, Athens 1958, pp. 207–213.

only source, is accepted in its entirety—as it is by various authors—then this conclusion would be unavoidable.

This is not the case, however. Our article on "La tradición fabulística griega . . ." opened up a new viewpoint on these issues, as we have already indicated. We will look in depth at this viewpoint and follow it to its ultimate consequences in Volume II of this book. Here we will restrict ourselves to giving some indications, the general direction of which is summarized as follows: just as various mss. of the Augustana tie in directly with the ancient tradition, and are therefore useful in reconstructing this, it is also true that, even if the derivation from the Augustana to the Byzantine collections (and, within these, from II to III) is verifiable in many cases, on other occasions these collections or certain manuscripts from them date back directly to the ancient semi-prosified collection to which we have referred and are therefore useful for reconstructing it. On the other hand, the Byzantine collections, including III δ, sometimes do not derive from the Augustana in the abstract, but from this or that recension or ms. of same, which they can therefore help to reconstruct. That is to say, the study of the Byzantine collections—not carried out comprehensively until now—affects the study of the fable not only in this age, but also in the Classical Age. Moreover, the open type of tradition of the fable in ancient times is repeated in the case of the Byzantine fable; in this respect, there is a perfect cultural continuity.

To begin with the Vindobonensis, the most conspicuous cases are those in which it presents a version of a fable that is thematically quite far removed from the corresponding one in the Augustana, as in the cases of H. 15 ("The Fox and the Grapes" and "The Fox and the Mouse") and 184 ("The Walker and Fortune" and "The Boy and Fortune"). Here two things may have happened: either the Vindobonensis modified the fable of the Augustana more thoroughly than was usual, or else it had access to a different ancient version of the Augustana—we have seen that in this collection there was sometimes a trace of two models. In the two fables of H. 15, the former seems to be the case. There is no trace of any verse, and the introduction of a mouse making fun of the fox who cannot reach the grapes corresponds to a common type of fable. In H. 184, however, there seem to be remnants of verse in both fables, which differentiates them more than the replacement of the walker who falls into a well with a boy (in Babrius 49 it is a worker):

H. 184 I: ὁδοιπόρος πολλὴν ὁδόν [...
...] παρά τι φρέαρ πεσὼν ἐκοιμᾶτο (mss. π. π. τ. φ.)
μέλλοντος δ' αὐτοῦ [...
....
...] ὦ οὗτος, εἴ γ' ἐπεπτώκεις
...] ἀλλ' ἔμ' ᾐτίω

H. 184 II: ἐγγὺς φρέατος παῖς πεσὼν ἐκοιμᾶτο (mss. τις; πεσὼν of I)
....
μή πως κάτωθεν τοῦ φρέατος [...
....
...] καταμέμψονται

There seem to be clear traces of two versions in verse; furthermore, the parts in which the verse is more difficult to reconstruct have the approximate length of a choliamb. There would supposedly be two ancient versions, to which that of Babrius 49 must be added, which precisely presents a half choliamb, τῆς Τύχης δ' ἐπιστάσης, which must have been in the older common model and has been resolved in H. 184 I as ἡ Τύχη ἐπιστᾶσα and in II as ἐπιστᾶσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ Τύχη.

Speaking now in general terms, in my article cited on various occasions,[75] I revealed that at times the derivation of II starting from I is correct: numerous examples can be given in which the verse is lost when crossing over from one collection to another. On the other hand, there are occasions in which II (and III) are contaminated: in addition to the Augustana, they have before them a model in prose with metrical remnants which have not been conserved in this.

This can be demonstrated with the help of facts such as those which follow. In the fable H. 49 we find metrical remnants in II that are also present in I, but also others (which, at times, are retained in III):

ὡς δ' οὐδὲν εὑρεῖν
ὦ δέσποτα Ζεῦ [...
....
...] τὸν λαβόντα τὸν μόσχον

H. 126 is even clearer, where only II conserves the choliamb with the final words of the fox: ἔχεις, κόραξ, ἅπαντα, νοῦς δέ σοι λείπει.

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[75] Cf. pp. 277 ff.

This choliamb is also in the Babrian version of the fable in 77 (and with precisely the same error as the mss. of II, with σε instead of σοι); it may be thought that II contaminated the Augustana with Babrius, although it is more likely that it contaminates it with an ancient version that is also the indirect source of Babrius.

At other times the verse is conserved partially by I and partially by II; by comparing both recensions, the original can be reconstructed. As in the case of H. 66, where the text of I ὁ μὲν ἕτερος φθάσας ἀνέβη ἐπί τι δένδρον κἀνταῦθα ἐκρύπτετο, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος must be corrected with the help of φοβηθείς from II, which, moreover, distorts the end (ὁ μὲν εἷς φοβηθεὶς ἐπί τι δένδρον ἀναβὰς ἐκρύβη ἐν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος . . .). The result is:

ἀνέβη φοβηθεὶς ἐπί τι δένδρον κἀνταῦθα
ἐκρύπτετ', ὁ δ' ἕτερος [...

What seems clear is that the Vindobonensis collection, of a much more reduced size than the Augustana, had recourse to the same metrical model as the latter. Although we will have to study the problem more thoroughly, since we know that we sometimes find traces of various metrical models in the Augustana. On the other hand, at times we find the text of II in III δ, as we already stated earlier, as in H. 22, H. 45 and H. 84. And we must establish from which line of the tradition within the Augustana each fable originates. In our article we have offered some proposals, such as the derivation starting from G Pb Cas ending up as H. 45, from Ia as H. 84.

Things are clearer, if this is possible, for the various recensions referred to by the name of Accursiana or collection III. Its derivation starting from I or II is obvious, in many cases; on occasions it is possible to see the process of further modification of the text through recensions and mss. But above all, using our article as our basis, we are interested in establishing two things here:

a) that there are frequently traces in III or in some of its mss. of the ancient verse which are absent from I or II and which never contradict the verse of these collections, but rather, they complement it; this was the result of direct access by the writers of the Accursiana to the same semi-prosified metrical texts with which their predecessors, the writers of the Augustana and the Vindobonensis, were acquainted.

b) that this conserved verse is often also in Ia and Mh Mk (= W S), mss. of III, which serve as a transitional phase—sometimes at least—between Ia and III (also between II and III).

Thus, in H. 96, it is III and not I (II is missing) that conserves verses such as:

γυνή τις οὖσα θυγατέρων δυοῖν μήτηρ (θ. οὖ. mss.)
ἀνδράσι συνῆψε [...
....
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, μῆτερ [...
....
ἐκεῖθεν (δ') ἐξελθοῦσα [...

In parallel, in H. 199 the metrical remnants of I are doubtful, but these are clear in III:

ὄνος δορὰν λέοντος ἐπενδυθεὶς λέων
φυγὴ μὲν ἦν ἀνδρῶν, φυγὴ δὲ (καὶ) ποιμνίων (ἀνθρώπων mss.)
ῥοπάλοις τε καὶ ξύλοις [...

Sometimes by combining the versions of I and III we obtain an extended metrical passage. Thus, in H. 137, by combining

I: ἐὰν αὖθις με πρὸ τῆς ἐπαύλεως κοιμώμενον ἴδῃς
ἐὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πρὸ τῆς ἐπαύλεως με ἴδοις καθεύδοντα

and III, we obtain ...] ἐὰν αὖθις
πρὸ τῆς ἐπαύλεως μ' ἴδῃς καθεύδοντα

This is perhaps sufficient for our purposes. We will now look at cases in which the verse appears not only in III, but also in Ia (mss. Me Mf particularly) and, possibly, in III δ (Mh Mk).

Thus, in H. 250 the complete choliamb (final closing statement by the pig)

ὄζεις κακῶς καὶ ζῶσα καὶ τεθνηκυῖα (mss. κ. ὄ.)

is in III as well as in mss. of Ia (Me Mf) and III δ (Ml), but not in I.

The agreement between Ia and III also occurs, for example, in H. 16 ἀλλ' εἰ σὺ πολλῶν εὐπορεῖς and in H. 42 ἡ δ' ἄμπελος καλῶς σκαφεῖσα πολλαπλασίονα. At other times the metrical version is in some mss. of III δ at the same time: such as in the passage of

H. 137 that we studied earlier, in which the combination of this datum with that of I gives a complete choliamb; and in fables such as:

H. 59 ...] εἰσελθοῦσα χαλκέως [...
H. 69 ...] ἔμοιγ' οὐκ ἐστὶ λυπηρός [...
H. 81 ...] μηκέτι κάτω κατέλθωμεν [...

Places exist, whether metrical or not, which show us that Ia and III δ serve as the predecessor or model for III. Thus in H. 28 these recensions eliminate the αὐτόν of ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν . . . εὑρήσειν of I, but III goes further (ἐκεῖ τὰς 'Αττικὰς χιλίας εὑρήσεις). In the same way, a beginning in metrical verse of I in H. 79 ἐκρύπτετ' ὑπό τιν' ἄμπελον is transformed in Ia (Me Mf) into ἐκρύβη ὑπὸ ἄμπελον, and from there into III ὑπ' ἀμπέλῳ ἐκρύβη. At other times, as in H. 185, Ia aligns with I and III δ with III. Further examples can be found in our work. Once again, it must be said that this theme requires further study and detailed analysis. Specifically, the position of III δ in relation to II is not very clear; there are certainly occasions when it seems to be an intermediate stage between I and II. When, as in H. 100,[76] it presents innovations with respect to II and foreshadows the text of III, this does not mean for certain that it derives from II; in fables such as these, III may derive from I (through III δ). All things considered, it seems clear that the writers of III had both I and II available. But this, in turn, would demand a rethinking of some very widely held beliefs.

In our Volume II, we repeat, we will return to the theme, which, moreover, cannot be fully resolved without a more in-depth study of the manuscript tradition than that revealed by the Apparatus Criticus of our editions. What we are interested in indicating here, so that the reader of the pages that follow may understand the use we make of collections II and III, is this: these collections were formed gradually, by means of processes of reworking and contamination of various sources. Among these sources are collections of fables in verse that must have been conserved in Byzantium until the 9th or 10th century (or, as is less likely, until the 11th century). These collections must already have been prosified, although they evidently contained more metrical remnants than the Byzantine collections. The authors of these, indeed, did not intend to prosify fables

[76] Cf. our art., p. 290.

in verse, but to continue the tradition of the prose fable. Furthermore, versions of the Vindobonensis and the Accursiana which supplement the verse of the Augustana, that is to say, whose writer had the source of the latter available, conserve prose versions that are identical in part to those of the Augustana, which were therefore already in the common model. These formulas were frequently very well-rooted in the whole fabulistic tradition in prose, derived from ancient formulas in verse, as we will see: a δίκαια πάσχω transformed into δίκαια πέπονθα, etc.

V. *Babrius and the Babrian Tradition*

1. *General Remarks*

Babrius was a very well-known author of fables in Late Antiquity and in the Byzantine Age; he is, we might say, the author par excellence of fables in choliambs. One of his fables (number 84) is transcribed literally in the *Hermeneumata* of the Pseudo-Dositheus, dated 207 AD, whose fables generally depend on a tradition very close to that of Babrius. In his fables Avianus, who mentions the two books of Babrius in his prologue, also depends on him or on a closely related tradition. In turn, these Latin fables by Avianus, from the 4th or 5th century, were very much imitated in the Latin Middle Ages. The Assendelft Tablets, from the 3rd century, which we have already cited, present seven fables from Babrius, on the basis of which the other four fables in choliambs that are included are also usually considered to have come from Babrius. Later, in the Greek Middle Ages, the manuscripts of the so-called Bodleian paraphrase offer prose versions of a series of fables from Babrius, plus another series of prosified fables, which, rather rashly, are usually considered to be from Babrius, and Crusius publishes them as such. The Byzantine fables in *politici* dodecasyllables, which constitute a standardization of the choliamb, depend on this whole tradition in one way or another. On the other hand, in the Byzantine Age there were various imitators of Babrius, of whom the most noteworthy was Ignatius the Deacon, from the 9th century, published by Müller.[77] For this writer, any dactylic or iambic fable is by Babrius, even if it involves restora-

[77] On the imitations of Babrius, cf. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus*, p. LXIV.

tions starting from the Anonymous Fables, as we have already said. We have seen that this tradition of attributing any trace of metre in the Augustana and other collections to Babrius has been continued by Hausrath and Perry. In short, it may be said that these modern authors have been less radical than other Byzantines, for whom Babrius came to be the synonym of Aesop: as is the case of Georgides.

Together with the tradition of the Anonymous Fables in prose—although these derive, in the final analysis, from fables in iambic trimetres or choliambs—there has existed a "Babrian" tradition: fables written in choliambs, and later sometimes prosified. We have given it his name as it is partly that of Babrius himself, that is to say, the 123 fables of the Athous manuscript,[78] partly directly derived from this, partly more or less related. The difference in origin between the two branches is the following: the tradition of the Anonymous Fables consists of the creation of prose versions of iambic and choliambic fables, which presumably took place in the 2nd century BC; these were later altered on various occasions, at times with re-use of the original source. The Babrian tradition, on the other hand, contains choliambic fables following new metrical principles established by Babrius, presumably towards the end of the 1st century AD.

This Babrian tradition coexists in the same manuscripts with that of the Anonymous Fables, although sometimes—as in the case of the Athous—it also has others that are proper to it. Specifically in mss. G[79] and Mb[80] of the Augustana there are, respectively, 31 and 30 fables in Babrian choliambs, which are attributed to Babrius by all scholars, although this is very debatable (see below). Later, the Bodleian Paraphrase appears in its own codices, called Ba, Bb, Bc and Bd by Chambry, who published it together with the Anonymous Fables; but these fables also appear in some mss. of the Accursiana and even in some of the Augustana. The fables in *politici* dodecasyllables are only in the manuscript tradition of the Anonymous Fables: in that of II and III δ, in some mss. of I (Cas, Mb, Pg), in Ma (Ib), in Md and Mm (III γ). We will see, on the other hand, that in a given moment the two traditions converged, contaminating each other in one way or another.

We have raised the issue of the whole panorama of the Babrian

[78] From the British Museum, *Addit. mscr.* n. 22087.
[79] *Cryptoferratensis*, today *Novoebor. Pierponti Morgan* 397.
[80] *Vaticanus gr.* 777.

tradition because it is usual to speak only of Babrius, attributing the fables of the Athous, G, Mb and the Assendelft Tablets to him, leaving aside the problems of the Paraphrases and the dodecasyllables. This is what Perry does in his *Babrius and Phaedrus* and what Nøjgaard does in *La fable antique*, in which he attempts to establish the relationship between Babrius and the Anonymous Fables, on the one hand, and Babrius and the Pseudo-Dositheus, on the other. Crusius himself[81] had established the relationship between Babrius and Avianus with the latter deriving from the former, with a paraphrase as the intermediate stage.

Works such as these, however, leave a series of problems unresolved. Particularly:

a) Are all the fables in choliambs in G, Mb and T.Assend. really from Babrius? Because, in fact, the only guarantee is that some are indeed and all possess the characteristics of Babrian metrics, particularly the accent on the penultimate syllable. Since, in his second prologue, Babrius speaks of his imitators, it could well be the case that not all choliambs with these characteristics are from Babrius. In fact, when Nøjgaard[82] considers certain fables of Romulus and the Pseudo-Dositheus as closely related to Babrius, but not derived from Babrius, he raises the hypothesis of a derivation from Babrius starting from a different line from that of the Augustana.

b) Crusius published the Paraphrase as being from Babrius, while Perry and Nøjgaard left it aside. Yet if it is true that many fables in the Paraphrase (and the dodecasyllables) do not derive from Babrius, it is no less true that some do. We must study and resolve this problem within the tradition of the fable as a whole, and see whether the fables of the Paraphrase and the dodecasyllables that possibly do not come from Babrius have a connection, as may be postulated, with some branch of the ancient tradition.

2. *Babrius*

The name of Babrius only appears as the author of the fables of the Athous, as we have said; when other fables are attributed to him, it is only by conjecture. On the basis of this single manuscript, the first edition of Babrius was published in 1844, by Boissonade.

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[81] Art. *Avianus* in *RE* II, 2, col. 2373 ff.

[82] *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 398 ff.

The Athous clearly offers an incomplete edition of Babrius; the fables are ordered alphabetically and stop at the letter Omikron. This is not the original ordering, as we conserve the prologues by Babrius to the two books of which, as Avianus says, his work consisted and it has been shown that the second, which begins with the word μῦθος, has been alphabetized starting at "M". Precisely this prologue shows that the second book was published years after the first, with a group of imitators having arisen meanwhile. The two books were evidently compounded back into one at a later date, by means of the procedure of alphabetical order; and the final part of this alphabetical version was lost.

What we know about Babrius is deduced from what he says in his two prologues and from conclusions derived from the study of his fables. They are summarized by Perry in the introduction to his *Babrius and Phaedrus*. Babrius was a Roman who lived in Syria or in the vicinity, and this leaves a trace in his fables. As regards his date, it is suggested that "King Alexander", to whose son he dedicated book II, was a minor king of Cilicia named by Vespasian, which places the life of Babrius in the second half of the 1st century AD. In any event, the presence of one of his fables in the Pseudo-Dositheus, as has been said, makes the year 207 the *terminus ante quem* for his life.[83]

Some have preferred to date Babrius in the 2nd century, particularly because the fixed accent on the penultimate syllable is evidence of a pronunciation in which there was no attention paid to quantities; but neither is this impossible in the 1st century. What interests us here, more than this topic, is placing the name of Babrius within the history of the fable. And his two prologues are not of much assistance to us in this.

In both prologues Babrius presents himself to us as an innovator. In the first he tells us: "I am going to place before you a poetic honeycomb, sweetening the hard members of the piercing iambs". There is here, in my opinion, an allusion to modifications that are not only metrical, but also in terms of literary style: Babrius' iambs abandon the virulence of those of his predecessors. Thus I do not think that the words that precede these, that is:

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[83] The fragments of Babrius in *POxy.* 1249 are placed in the 2nd century AD; even so, they do not resolve the question.

ἐκ τοῦ σοφοῦ γέροντος ἡμῖν Αἰσώπου
μύθους φράσαντος τῆς ἐλευθέρης Μούσης

should be interpreted, as Perry and others do, as meaning that Babrius prosified Aesop. This "freer muse" that Babrius "adorns with his flowers" has a very general value, and refers to all previous fables, in prose or verse.

Yet the second prologue is particularly clear. After discussing the invention of the fable by the ancient Assyrians, and discussing Aesop and other fables, he continues:

...] ἀλλ' ἐγὼ νέῃ μούσῃ
δίδωμι, φαλάρῳ χρυσέῳ χαλινώσας
τὸν μυθίαμβον ὥσπερ ἵππον ὁπλίτην.
Ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ πρώτου τῆς θύρης ἀνοιχθείσης
εἰσῆλθον ἄλλοι, καὶ σοφωτέρης μούσης
γρίφοις ὁμοίας ἐκφέρουσι ποιήσεις,
μάθοντες οὐδὲν πλεῖον ἢ 'μὲ γινώσκειν.
Ἐγὼ δὲ λευκῇ μυθιάζομαι ῥήσει,
καὶ τῶν ἰάμβων τοὺς ὀδόντας οὐ θήγω,
ἀλλ' εὖ πυρώσας, εὖ δὲ κέντρα πρηΰνας,
ἐκ δευτέρου σοι τήνδε βίβλον ἀείδω.

Once again he talks of the decorations that he has lent to the choliamb—compared here with a horse, says that he did not sharpen its teeth and, to sum up, talks of his "new muse". He also speaks of his imitators, who have transformed the poetry into griffins. Nowhere does the notion appear that only Babrius made the choliamb the verse of the fable: he simply boasts of his new choliambic style. There is no contradiction with the previous existence of choliambic fables.

Let us now look at opinions on the Babrian authorship of fables that are not included in the incomplete Athous in our possession. Let us follow the conclusions of "La tradición fabulística antigua . . .".

In addition to 18 choliambic fables that are in the Athous, the ms. Mb contains a further 12 that are absent from it, which Perry published as being from Babrius (nos. 124–135—Crusius had already proceeded in this way). This is not definite, in view of the following: fable 131 begins with N, a letter conserved in the Athous; perhaps the same applies to no. 127, which has been considerably altered. What is more, in the mss. there are two fables in iambic trimetres, which are clearly not from Babrius (though Crusius pub-

lished them as being by him, Hausrath and Perry did not).

The case of G is similar: of its 31 choliambic fables, 24 are in A, 3 in Mb, 4 in it alone. Of these fables, Perry published two, numbered 142 and 143, as being from Babrius, in spite of the fact that they begin with letters conserved by the Athous; he left another two out, one because it was in iambic trimetres (it is Ch. 136, from the Paraphrase) and the other undoubtedly because the text was very poorly preserved.

It was E. Husselman[84] who made an important contribution to the interpreting of these matters, in spite of the fact that she also considered Babrius to be the author of all these fables. According to her, the fables of Mb and G, as well as those of the Bodleian Paraphrase, come from the same edition, which offered the fables in alphabetical order, but which was different from that of the Athous. It is well-known that the ancient alphabetical order is only rigorous with regard to the first letter, not those that follow. There were, then, at least two alphabetical editions of choliambic fables, and fables not included in the Athous appeared in one of these. With this we are referring not only to the fables of Mb and G beginning with the letters conserved in this ms. (up to O), but also to those of the paraphrase. Chambry[85] already showed that, although some fables of the Paraphrase come from Babrius, others are radically different from Babrius' version; they originate, he says, from another source.

We therefore have no reason to doubt that some of the fables of the Athous are not from Babrius; yet it is clear that the other collection contained fables from Babrius and others not included in his work. In a given moment, all fables in Babrian choliambs—with the accent on the penultimate syllable—were considered to be by Babrius. Or, at least, they were considered to be homogeneous material, capable of being in a single alphabetical edition; there is no evidence to support the idea that this edition had Babrius' name in its title.

This opinion is confirmed if we consider that, in any case, the reduction of all fables in choliambs to only two ancient recensions is too simplistic a hypothesis. In a work as yet unpublished, of whose contents he has informed me, J. Vaio shows that, in effect, there is agreement between AG Mb and the paraphrases that do not respond to the scheme indicated: for example, A and Mb agree on the

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[84] "A lost manuscript of Fables of Babrius", *TAPhA*, 66, 1935, pp. 104–126.
[85] *Aesopi fabulae, cit.*, I, p. 17.

epimythia in prose, there are errors common to A and another manuscript, such and such a fable is missing here or there. That is to say, there has been extensive contamination, and various writers also believed themselves authorized to add or eliminate fables or to put small collections together. They proceeded, then, very freely with the choliambic fables, whatever origin they may have had, arranging them and contaminating them in various ways. The quotations from Babrius in the *Suda*, however, correspond to another tradition.

The coexistence of fables by Babrius and others not by him in the same recension is an anticipation of the coexistence of the different fabulistic traditions in the mss. of the Anonymous Fables, which we have discussed. It is something that is in the same line as the Assendelft Tablets, to which we have already referred.

We already know that these were wax tablets used by a boy from Palmyra in the 3rd century AD for his school exercises.[86] They contain 14 fables and 7 of them are from Babrius: 3 = Bab. 78, 4 = Bab. 97, 6 = Bab. 117, 7 = Bab. 91, 12 = Bab. 43, 13 = Bab. 123, 14 = Bab. 17.

The text is inferior to that of Babrius, with T.Assend. 13 being especially important because it is incomplete in the Athous, with the ms. breaking off after the first verse. Yet it shows us the alterations to which this whole tradition was subjected. In T.Assend. 12, the tablet has an extended beginning and ending, in 14 another verse is added after verse 3.

Crusius and Perry attribute four choliambic fables of the tablets to Babrius: 1 = Bab. 136, 2 = Bab. 137, 5 = Bab. 138, 11 = Bab. 139. In this case too we believe there are no definite grounds for this. The fable given as number 140 in Babrius' editions is from the Pseudo-Dositheus.

It is our view that in these cases too we are in fact dealing with a Babrian tradition in a broad sense. Just consider that there are three other fables in the tablets that are in prose, with hardly any traces of verse:

8 "The Lion that Aged and the Fox" presents the same theme as Bab. 103, but not the verse. It is not, then, by Babrius, but is closely related to number 6 of the Pseudo-Dositheus, from the

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[86] Cf. D. C. Hesseling, "On Waxen Tablets with Fables of Babrius," *JHS* 13, 1892–93, pp. 293 ff.; J. van Leeuwen, "De codicillis nuper bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae donatis," *Mnemosyne* 22, 1894, pp. 223 ff.

"Babrian" tradition in general. It was published by Hausrath, *Corpus*, II, pp. 117 f., with the Anonymous Fables.

9 "The Lion and the Mouse" is more or less closely related to Bab. 82 and 107 and also to the version in the Augustana; perhaps it is Babrius who splits a common model. It is also related to Pseudo-Dositheus 2 and published by Hausrath, *Corpus*, II, pp. 118 f., with the Anonymous Fables.

10 "The Farmer and the Serpent" has traces of iambic trimetres, so it is not from Babrius.

In short, the teacher from Palmyra who dictated the fables in the 3rd century AD used a mixed edition, which mixed fables from Babrius with others that were not found in him, but were closely related. So the "alphabetizer", the traces of whose edition are in G, Mb and the Paraphrases, had ancient precedents.

In short, in our view Babrius is only the Babrius of the Athous, although the problem of the Babrian tradition in general terms is of course worthy of study.

Yet it is appropriate to begin with Babrius proper. The comparison that Nøjgaard makes[87] of Babrius with the other fabulists, does in practice refer to him: the only exceptions are Bab. 141 (a choliambic fable by Natalis Comes, which Crusius and Perry have accepted as being by Babrius) and Bab. 182 (Paraphrase). We are summarizing Nøjgaard's thesis, which will be studied more in detail in our Volume II.

In Nøjgaard's view, Babrius (together with Pseudo-Dositheus) forms a line that is in opposition to that constituted by Phaedrus and the Augustana. There are no cases in which Babrius derives from the Augustana or in which he uses Phaedrus. On the other hand, both Phaedrus and Babrius offer individual innovations that distance them from the archetype, to which the Augustana is more faithful.

These are significant conclusions—although they have limited material to support them, the comparison of a few fables—which agree with the fact that, in general terms, the Augustana on the one hand, Babrius and the Babrian tradition on the other, present two independent metrical texts, with few agreements. Babrius and his successors clearly subjected an ancient model to a profound reworking. Nøjgaard's *stemmata* show that this ancient model is not exactly the Augustana, that is, it is not a text whose content corresponds to our Augustana from the 5th century AD. It is a text related to the model

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[87] *Op. cit.* II, pp. 372 ff.

of the Augustana and Phaedrus, which it generally modifies. A line, therefore, that deviated from the other, but was related to it (we will see that there are small remnants of verse in common). The separation may have occurred in the 1st century BC.

Our own conclusions, in "La tradición fabulística griega...", referred only to the relationship between Babrius and the Augustana. They were limited to establishing above all that the verse that is reconstructed from the Anonymous Fables is different from that of Babrius. This is the case, as regards the Augustana, in examples studied in said article, such as those of H. 6, 7, 22, 81, 173, 15a, 49, etc., and as regards III d, in H. 259. Yet whether there is metre or not, the tradition of the Augustana is independent from the Babrian one; the former does not come from the latter, nor vice versa. Sometimes there are very far removed traditions, for example, in H. 89, where the Anonymous Fables talks of χῆν and the Babrian tradition of ὄρνις; sometimes they are closely related, as in H. 161, 177.

Nevertheless, metrical agreements are indeed found between Babrius and the Anonymous Fables, although rarely—and the theme must be studied more thoroughly—which are traces of a remote common ancestor. Although the matter is complicated and can only be referred to broadly here: we always have the presence of the ghost of the interference of the Babrian tradition with that of the Anonymous Fables.

The least spectacular examples are perhaps the most reliable. Thus, the comparison of H. 155 γελάσας ἀπέλυσεν αὐτόν with Bab. 107 γελάσας δ' ὁ θὴρ allows us to reconstruct an ancient γελάσας δ' ὁ θὴρ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτόν and in the same fable the κοιμωμένου λέοντος of Babrius shows that there is a simple inversion in the λέοντος κοιμωμένου of I. In a similar manner, Bab. 94 has a τὸν μισθὸν εὐθέως ἀπῄτει which possibly conserves the ancient text, which was altered in I τὸν ὡμολογημένον μισθὸν ἀπῄτει.

H. 249 contains a σὺ δ' ὡς ἀλέκτωρ that agrees exactly with Bab. 65. Now, only Pb transmits the fable; there is a possibility that it is a paraphrase of Babrius.

On the other hand, since not only Babrius, but also the rest of the Babrian tradition, dates back to ancient times, it is by no means strange that we also find metrical agreements here. This is the case of 114 Ib and Bab. 140, coming from the Pseudo-Dositheus: χειμῶνος ὥρῃ; οὐκ ἐσχόλαζον, ἀλλά; χειμῶνος ὀρχοῦ. And also of fables from the paraphrase: cf. H. 9 and Bab. 182 Cr., where A gives πρὶν ἢ

τὴν ἄνοδον ἐσκέψω and the paraphrase conserves the ancient version, πρίν τιν' ἄνοδον ἐσκέψω; and H. 62, which agrees with Bab. 147 Cr. in one choliamb: δίκαια πάσχω τὸν πονηρὸν οἰκτείρας.

Leaving I now, we may mention the fable H. 126 in II, "The Crow and the Fox", in which the final answer of the latter animal (ἔχεις, κόραξ, ἅπαντα, νοῦς δέ σοι λείπει) is identical to that in the corresponding fable by Babrius, number 77. What is more, these fables are very different.

This is all we can anticipate, for the moment. Nevertheless, a topic of the utmost importance remains as yet unresolved, that of the reconstruction of the ancient model from which comes, on one hand, the tradition of the Anonymous Fables (including Phaedrus, etc.), and on the other, Babrius and the Babrian tradition. Such a reconstruction will sometimes concern the content, at others—undoubtedly to a lesser degree—the literal words and the metre.

We must, however, look further into the question and study whether it is so certain that all the fables in the Athous are actually from Babrius and, whether they are or are not all from him, that they represent a uniform fabulistic tradition, independent of the Augustana. We will touch on this topic again in the context of our consideration of the problem of the Babrian tradition, where it will be focused on more clearly.

3. *The Babrian Tradition*

We will now enlarge upon the statements we made earlier on the Babrian tradition, regarding paraphrases, dodecasyllables, different fables in the Assendelft Tablets and in various manuscripts, versions of the Pseudo-Dositheus and Avianus. This tradition has been very poorly studied till now, but is a vastly important one. And one that sometimes appears to be independent from the other, sometimes contaminated by it, or even dependent on it, without it having been feasible till now to establish the facts with sufficient clarity. Reserving our study, as always, for Volume II, we will anticipate here the state of the question.

a) *The Paraphrases*

We refer to the set of versions in prose, with remnants of choliambic verses, which are found in a series of mss. mentioned above, as the Bodleian Paraphrase: those called Ba, Bb, Bc and Bd by Chambry

and various others in which the paraphrases are exceptions and which contain above all Anonymous Fables. The name was given because Ba is a ms. from Oxford, the Bodleianus Auct. F 4.7. The problem of the relationship of these paraphrases with each other, as well as with the dodecasyllables, remains unresolved.

Crusius published the different versions of the fables of the Paraphrase giving them numbers that followed those of Babrius. By this he seems to indicate that he considered that all were derived from Babrius, as is certainly the case for many of them. In his prologue,[88] he studied the liberties the Paraphrase takes with the text of Babrius, but he does not offer any opinion on the fables of the Paraphrase that find no correspondence in the Athous or in Mb.

Chambry, however, was not satisfied with this tacit identification of the Paraphrase with Babrius and indicated that on occasions it is more than doubtful. Consequently, he published the Paraphrase together with the Anonymous Fables, as another new version of the same fables or as independent fables. By this he wished to retain his neutrality with respect to the basic problem.

In the introduction to his edition,[89] when discussing the ms. Ba, he states that only 89 of its 148 fables have themes in common with Babrius and that there are even 11 of these (numbers 19, 21, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36, 64, 65, 101) that differ so much from Babrius—on account of either the language or the details of the topic—that it is impossible for them to have come from him. Of the 78 in common with Babrius, only 20 follow him faithfully, and the others are short summaries. Chambry concludes[90] that it is by no means certain that all of the 59 fables that do not correspond to those of the Athous come from Babrius. This conclusion is unavoidable, as is that of the frequent independence of the paraphrases from the various manuscripts.

However, the subject of the placing of the Paraphrases into the fabulistic tradition has not yet been studied thoroughly. The only study on the subject is in fact the one by myself in "La tradición

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[88] Pp. XIV ff.
[89] *Aesopi fabulae, cit.*, I, p. 17.
[90] Cf. also Perry, *op. cit.*, p. LVI.

fabulística . . .", a study which may offer a preliminary idea, although it should be treated with a degree of caution.

The exposition of this work is very complex, since it introduces the themes of the dodecasyllables and of Babrius himself alongside the paraphrases. However, it is not useful here to put together the whole line of argument in extended form, since we will return to the topic with the benefit of considerably more data and a more exact knowledge of metrical problems in Vol. II. It is interesting, on the other hand, to state what the main conclusions (and doubts) are, offering a few examples.

In fact, with regard to the paraphrases, two circumstances must be distinguished: that in which they correspond to Babrius' topics and that in which they do not. The conclusions of the study of the former must be used as guidance for the latter. This study gives two results, which differ according to the fables concerned: in a first case, the Paraphrase derives from Babrius, something already well-known; the whole of this tradition is in opposition to that of the Anonymous Fables (hereafter AnF) when the latter are conserved, while at other times it is not represented in them. In the second case, however, the Paraphrase proves rather to be a derivation of the same branch of the tradition that produced the AnF, with Babrius representing a different branch. We will attend to the two cases independently and add marginal cases:

a) The paraphrase derives from Babrius. In fact, in Crusius' introduction we can already clearly see the work of the prosifiers. If we have anything to contribute, it is the demonstration, by comparing the Paraphrase with the dodecasyllables, that the paraphrase derives from an early prosification of Babrius, from which the dodecasyllables also come. Indeed, in the paraphrase and dodecasyllables there is often agreement of ametrical elements. To give just one: τίνων χρῄζεις; of Bab. 121.2 corresponds to the paraphrase ἄν τι χρῄζῃς and the dodecasyllables εἴ τι χρῄζεις. On the other hand, we give examples in which some of the versions of the paraphrase derive from others.

It is not at all strange that this Babrian tradition diverges from that of AnF in a series of examples, as this is the case we already identified when discussing Babrius. And it is normal to find fables in which a similar relationship exists within the Babrian tradition: the paraphrase (and the dodecasyllables) come from Babrius through a prosification, but the corresponding AnF is missing.

We present here, however, an especially interesting case, that of Bab. 12 with the corresponding fables of the paraphrase (which we call *e*), and the dodecasyllables (which we call *f*), published by Chambry as Par. number 9 ("The Nightingale and the Swallow").

In this fable, *e* and *f* give a very short version, compared with the long and rhetorical one by Babrius. There are common ametrical elements in their texts (*e*: διὰ τοῦτο τὰς ἐρήμους οἰκῶ / *f*: διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο τὰς ἐρήμους οἰκήσω); there are also metrical elements that are not incompatible with each other and differ from the metrical elements of Babrius (Bab.: σύσκηνος ἡμῖν καὶ φίλη κατοικήσεις... ὁμόροφόν μοι δῶμα καὶ στήγην οἴκει/*e*: ὁμόροφον καὶ σύνοικον ὡς αὐτῇ/*f*: ἵν' ὁμόροφος ταύτῃ). The two possible hypotheses are the following: either that Babrius has been summarized in another choliambic version, later prosified and, finally, continued by *e* and *f*; or that an ancient choliambic fable, a short one, has on the one hand been extended rhetorically by Babrius, and on the other been prosified, retaining certain metrical remnants, and from these come *e* and *f*. The choice between these two hypotheses has to be made following a study of additional materials and in the light of an overview of the fable tradition.

b) The opposite case to that whereby the paraphrase derives from Babrius is that paraphrases (and dodecasyllables) are related to AnF more closely than to Babrius. Thus, in H. 15a and its correspondences in Babrius 19 and *e* Par. 32 Ch., *e* comes from I, but at the end it agrees with Bab. (I: ὄμφακές εἰσί / *d*: ὄμφαξ ὁ βότρυς, οὐ πέπειρος / *e*: τί κάμνω; ... ὅταν πέπειροι ὦσι). The problem—a serious one—that is posed in the fables with this type of relationship is that of whether or not, in contrast to the above, it will be necessary to postulate a contamination of the Babrian tradition by that of the AnF.

c) Exceptionally, there seems to be a case in which *e* (the paraphrase) is independent from *d* (Babrius), but is close to it, while AnF belongs to another branch. This is the case, very specifically, of H. 76, "The Stag and the Lion" (= Bab. 43, Par. 103 Ch.). Here *e* has metrical elements in common with Bab. and different from those of I, but also has agreements with I which, undoubtedly, reached the model for *d* and *e*, but were eliminated from the former. Thus, χολῆς μὲν ἕνεκα καὶ ποδῶν ἐλυπήθη in Bab., undoubtedly an innovation, corresponds in I to ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσὶ σφόδρ' ἤχθεθ' ὡς λεπτοῖς (οὖσι) καὶ ἀσθενέσι and in *e* to τοὺς μὲν πόδας ἐμέμφετο ὡς λεπτοῖς καὶ ἀσθενεῖς.

d) On other occasions it is impossible to judge whether the relationship is of type a), b) or c). Such as when AnF and *e* diverge to some extent, but we do not have the corresponding fable in Bab. For example, in H. 9, "The Fox and the He-goat" (= Par. 40 Ch.), *e* presents certain metrical agreements with AnF (πρίν τιν' ἄνοδον ἐσκέψω, slightly altered in I and II), but there are also traces of new verse (τράγος ἐν θέρει [. . ., κατῆλθεν εἰς βαθύκρημνον [. . ., καὶ μετενόει ⟨δὴ⟩ καὶ βοηθὸν ἐζήτει), yet we are unable to say, of course, whether this comes from Babrius or not. And likewise when Bab. and *e* diverge and we do not possess the corresponding AnF fable: as in the case of "The Nightingale and the Swallow", studied above, and in that of "The Goat and the Goatherd" (Bab. 3, Par. 15 Ch.). And also, of course, when there are metrical remnants in *e* without our having either the version from Babrius or from I: as in Par. 6 Ch., "The Eagle that had its Feathers Pulled out and the Fox".[91]

Now, what we have studied so far suggests that in principle only one paraphrase was made of each fable, from which later more than one might have arisen. The paraphraser worked with an edition of choliambic fables. And this edition is not that of the Athous; this we already know, because the alphabetical order is different, because there are fables in the Athous that are not paraphrased and there are paraphrases that correspond to the themes of fables in the Athous, but come from another different version. This edition used by the paraphraser certainly had some fables in common with that of the edition of the Athous.

It was certainly a heterogeneous edition, in which choliambic fables of various traditions were alphabetized; sometimes these were more independent of AnF, sometimes closely related. What we would need to study now is whether the fables of the Athous, in turn, correspond to a homogeneous tradition or not. Because here too choliambic fables may have been alphabetized that were both from Babrius and not from Babrius, the latter undoubtedly the expanded and rhetorical ones. Or they may all be from Babrius, but he in turn may have absorbed various traditions.

One thing is clear, in any case: that each one of the two collections avoids duplications, which did exist and which can be reconstructed

[91] Cf. *art. cit.*, p. 26.

by comparing one with the other. Then sometimes the paraphrase, as we know, does not come from Babrius, but from another choliambic version. That is to say, there were choliambic fables with the accent on the penultimate syllable, some from Babrius, others not found in him (imitations and, perhaps, models). Starting from this vast amount of material, two alphabetical collections were created, with content that we believe to have been mixed.

A minor exception is, however, the case of four fables from G that are identical to those of the Athous and that are not the model for the paraphrase; these are numbers Bab. 19, 67, 60 and 3. Various hypotheses can be offered for solving this case.[92]

Thus we have transcended the concept of "Babrius" and arrived at that of the "Babrian tradition". Nøjgaard's view of the independence of Babrius with respect to the line of the Augustana and Phaedrus must therefore be revised. And a distinction be made between the conclusions that are drawn for the Athous and those that are drawn for this tradition as a whole.

b) *The Fables in Dodecasyllables*

So, in short, the paraphrases are not only useful for studying the tradition of the fable in the Byzantine Age, but also for studying the ancient fabulistic tradition. We will need to see below whether the same is true for the versions of the fables in *politici* dodecasyllables, a typically Byzantine verse, which are in the mss. of the tradition of the AnF.

These texts, only published by Chambry, have received very little attention. The main exception is Urban Ursing,[93] who studied the language and the metrics, but not the relationship with the rest of the fabulistic tradition. It is interesting to note that the absence of one of the metrical characteristics of these dodecasyllabic fables with the accent on the penultimate syllable, that is to say, the caesura, means that doubts remain as to whether some of those published by Chambry coming from Cd and some of those from Mb may not perhaps be metrical arrangements by Chambry.

In any case, it is clear that the political verses are a derivation in non-quantitative metrics of the choliambs of the Babrian type, with the accent on the penultimate syllable; that is to say, that these fables

[92] Cf. "La tradición fabulística griega . . .", p. 37.
[93] *Studien zur griechischen Fabel*, Lund 1930.

are placed in one way or another within the Babrian tradition. This was already indicated by Perry,[94] when he stated that most of these fables depend on Babrius and on his paraphrases (on the paraphrases, it would be more correct to say). In my "La tradición fabulística griega . . .", I have presented some further information on this theme.

My conclusions align, in general terms, the *f* versions (in dodecasyllables) together with the *e* (Paraphrases); as in the case of the latter, there may be more than one. With some exceptions, which may be debatable, they do not show a derivation of *f* starting from *e*: on p. 14 (H. 31 = Par. 52 Ch. "A Grey-haired Man and Two Hetairas"), I propose that *e* contaminates one of the *f* versions. The normal rule is the one already shown: *e* and *f* derive independently from a semi-prosified version that sometimes comes from *d* (Babrius), at others from a lost choliambic version. It is occasionally the case that there are two *f* versions whose relationship is hard to establish.

Naturally, for the purposes of the general *stemma* of relationships between the fables, the *f* versions stand beside the *e*: sometimes forming a line closer to AnF than to Babrius, as in H. 15a and the other fables mentioned above.

If any difference is to be found between *e* and *f* for the purposes of the *stemma*, it is that on some occasions we have proposed that *f* derives directly from anonymous fables. In our view,[95] this would be the case, for example, with H. 249, in which *f* would derive from I, and *e* from Babrius. It is the fable of "The Peacock and the Rook", which, as we have already said, only appears, within I, in Pb and which could possibly come from the paraphrase. Here we would find ourselves, then, faced with an interesting case: we would possess the first paraphrase of a choliambic fable, from which *f* would derive (while version *e* is absent). Other similar proposals by us, such as the fact that in H. 136 = Bab. 79 = Dod. 186 Ch. "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat" there is a derivation of *f* starting from II (and II from I), while there is another branch that gives *d* → *e*, should be studied further.

c) *The Fables of the Assendelft Tablets and Other Isolated Fables*

In the article to which we are referring here, we carried out a study of the mixed collection of fables, of which there remains a fragment

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[94] *Aesopica, cit.*, p. 310.
[95] Cf. p. 29.

in the Assendelft Tablets and which till now had been taken literally either to be fables from Babrius or to be by an unnamed author and, in fact, disregarded.

This collection confirms that collections existed from ancient times, as we have already said, consisting of fables that were later included, sometimes in one, sometimes in the other of the two alphabetical editions, sometimes in both, sometimes in neither of the two. Specifically, in the Assendelft Tablets, as we know, 11 choliambic fables are transmitted to us, two in prose (with very doubtful metrical traces) and one in iambic trimetres. Each group presents a different case:

a) Seven of the choliambic fables (T.Assend. 3, 4, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14) are also found in the Athous, although we have already said that some reveal important variants which demonstrate that, in any event, the Athous is based on related editions, not on the one used by the teacher at the school in Palmyra. The other four (T.Assend. 1, 2, 5 and 11) are not in the Athous, but they all might have been in the lost final part, since they begin with omikron or the letters that follow: 1 "The Son and the Lion", 2 "The Eagle and the Lamb", 5 "The Partridge and the Farmer" and 11 "The Ass and the Lionskin".

These last four fables have derivatives in the paraphrase, in the dodecasyllabic fables, and in both, always through an intermediate semi-prosified version. The details can be seen in my article, pp. 38 ff. This means that their position in the tradition is similar to that of the fables of the Athous. Yet neither is it absolutely certain that they were in the Athous.

b) Prosaic fables such as T.Assend. 8 = H. 147 "The Lion that Aged and the Fox" and T.Assend. 9 = H. 155 "The Lion and the Mouse" did not become part of Byzantine editions. Here our study shows, in the former case, that this is a version independent of the rest of the tradition that includes I, Babrius and *f*; in the latter, that this is a version closely related to I (but with practically none of the metrical traces of the latter) and far removed from Babrius.

c) Finally, T.Assend 10 = H. 62 "The Farmer and the Serpent" also did not cross over into the Byzantine collections, cf. also H. 186. It constitutes an independent version, in trimeters, with respect to I and Babrius.

Apart from the fables of the Assendelft Tablets, we would still need to refer to a further two: Bab. 140, in reality a fable from the Pseudo-Dositheus, and the fable from the Grenfell-Hunt papyrus, II

84. The former, "The Cicada and the Ants" may appear in the Athous, though we are not aware of this. In our view,[96] it derives from a version in verse from which I could also have come: not at all new, in short. As regards the latter, we have proposed[97] that it is precisely the semi-prosified model of the AnF.

That is to say, in the book used in Palmyra in the 3rd century AD there coexisted a Babrian tradition that had not yet been sorted into the two Byzantine editions, which included a fable not present in either of these, with fables from the ancient tradition, older still than the Augustana. This ancient tradition also survived elsewhere, judging by the Grenfell-Hunt papyrus; if we have accepted that it was still accessible to the writers of the Byzantine collections of anonymous fables, it is not at all strange that a remnant of same should appear in a papyrus from the Imperial Age.

d) *The Pseudo-Dositheus*

There is not much that can be said on the fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus, published, as is known, by Hausrath and one of which is made to appear as number 140 in the edition of Babrius, on account of its choliambs. The truth is that an in-depth study does not exist, although we have already seen that Nøjgaard placed these fables in the Babrian tradition.

This is a small collection of fables that are part of the so-called *Hermeneumata* of the Pseudo-Dositheus, a series of Latin texts with literal translation to Greek which, coming from various manuscripts, are published in the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, III, pp. 1 ff. (the fables on pp. 94 ff.). They are the annotations, sentences and letters of Hadrian, the fables, the treatise *De manumissionibus*, the *Genealogy* by Hyginus, the narration *De bello Troiano*, the *cotidiana conversatio*; perhaps there were originally some other works, all from this type of popular literature. A notice in the recension D attributes the date of the *Genealogy* by Hyginus to the year 207 AD. In the fables there is, exceptionally, Greek text and Latin translation.

The fables are preceded by a foreword not published by Hausrath, in which the theme of their usefulness for life is discussed. This finishes with a "Now I am going to begin (*incipiam*, ἄρξομαι) the fables of Aesop", with emphasis on the theme of their usefulness,

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[96] *Art. cit.*, p. 35.
[97] L. c., p. 42.

and with a new *fabulam incipiam a cervo* = μῦθον ἄρχομαι ἀπὸ ἐλάφου.

These 16 fables—apart from the choliambic one that is published as being from Babrius—have always been considered to be related to Babrius. Goetz already indicated in his article 8), *Dositheus magister*, in *RE* V 2, col. 1606 ff., that two fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus, those published by Hausrath with numbers 2 and 6, are practically identical to the two fables in the Assendelft Tablets that we described as prosaic. And we said above that Nøjgaard placed the fables of the Pseudo-Dositheus within the tradition of Babrius; not as dependent on him, but both coming from a common model.[98] This model, which according to Nøjgaard is sometimes abbreviated by the Pseudo-Dositheus, would also on occasions be that of Romulus, who presents parallel versions of some of these fables. He even proposes[99] that in the two fables of the Assendelft Tablets we can find an outline of the ancient model abbreviated by Pseudo-Dositheus and extended by Babrius.

The topic, however, is more complicated than all this. We will leave it pending study in Volume II, but we will anticipate some elements.

The first thing that must be said is that once again the collection of the Pseudo-Dositheus is a mixed collection, with at least one choliambic fable (usually attributed to Babrius) and others in prose, with or without remnants of metre; this aspect must be studied.

These other fables are occasionally comparable to the Babrius of the Athous, which offers far more extended versions; this is the case with 3 (= Bab. 31), 6 (= Bab. 75) and 16 (= Bab. 108). But the similarity is more in theme than anything else: what exactly the relationship is based on needs to be specified. On yet another occasion, fable 11 is comparable to the Bodleian Paraphrase Ch. 246; that is to say, once again fables coexisted in the collection of the Pseudo-Dositheus that were related to those of the Athous, with at least one from the other alphabetization. Finally, there remain the fables that reveal a relationship with versions of Romulus. This proves—if this were necessary—that these mixed editions of the Imperial Age contained fables that later did not cross over into the Byzantine collections, nor, of course, to Babrius.

So, as with the Assendelft Tablets, we find ourselves with a mix-

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98 *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 398 ff.

99 L. c., p. 401.

ture of archaic, pre-Babrian elements, together with the true Babrian tradition. The date of the collection makes it very useful for an investigation of the history of the fable tradition in the Imperial Age.

e) *Avianus*

Finally (leaving aside Babrian elements in Romulus), we find fables of the Babrian tradition in Avianus, a Latin fabulist who proves difficult to date, but who is placed around 400 AD.

The fables of Avianus in elegiac distichs achieved major diffusion in the Latin Middle Ages.[100] It may be said that Avianus was as popular in the West as Babrius was in the East. His fables represented the poetic tradition of fables, while the prosaic was represented by the prosified Phaedrus and the Anonymous Fables respectively (plus the paraphrases). Surprisingly, Avianus derives precisely from Babrius. And the situation presents itself at first sight as simpler than in the cases we have just studied, since in his prologue the fabulist himself refers to the two books of Babrius; undoubtedly to the original edition, not the one in alphabetical order.

Since it is likely that the alphabetical edition of the Athous contained many elements that were not from Babrius (the short fables), while perhaps elements from Babrius himself are missing, the study of Avianus would be of great assistance in the reconstruction of the authentic Babrius.

This study has not been made, however. Only in the art. by Crusius, *Avianus*, in *RE* II 2, col. 2373 ff., do we find some points of interest.

Crusius gives a report of the correspondences between the 42 fables of Avianus and the Babrian tradition in the Athous, the Assendelft Tablets, the Paraphrases and the Pseudo-Dositheus. In his view the model is Babrius, known by Avianus through a paraphrase in Latin prose, perhaps by Tatianus the Younger, a paraphrase that he abbreviates; this is his hypothesis. It must of course be studied and proven. If the hypothesis were true, we would then recover some fables of Babrius which were lost, either because their first letters corresponded to the lost part of the Athous, or because its alphabetizer rejected them. Of course, this must be combined with all the other information, including that coming from the Pseudo-Dositheus.

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[100] On the success of Avianus in this era, cf. the prologue to the edition of Guaglianone, *cit.* on p. 52, n. 2.

VI. *Phaedrus and the Phaedrian Tradition*

1. *Phaedrus*

When discussing the Augustana, we stated that Phaedrus belongs to the branch of the fabulistic tradition from which this collection also derives; a more conservative branch than the other, the Babrian one, although conclusively have the same roots. We have also seen that, in any case, Phaedrus alters the original models more than the Augustana, which is more closely related to them; he extends, underlines certain points, even contaminates.

On the other hand, we must not imagine things to be within a simple model. Sometimes Phaedrus is related to mss. or recensions (specifically, to the ms. Pa and the recension Ia) which diverge from the Augustana as such. It remains to be added that the precise details of the matter must still be investigated; only the general outlines have been traced. The study by Giordana Pisi[101] contributes some elements regarding Phaedrus' editing techniques, but the examples she works with are not very meaningful, those in which Phaedrus is more closely related to our Augustana.

Phaedrus, who was unknown by Quintilian and other ancient authors who talk of the fable, was cited by Avianus, who mentioned his five books of fables in his prologue, but he then remained virtually unknown until the 14th century. In contrast with Avianus—and with a series of fables in prose which, partly at least, are prose versions of Phaedrus himself—his manuscript tradition is very poor: the Codex Pithoeanus (P), a codex Remensis which disappeared in the 17th century, but which had been studied earlier, and a lost codex from which a series of fables were transcribed by the humanist Perotti in the 15th century. In a sense, the same happened as with Babrius: Babrius himself and the rest of the choliambic tradition were hardly known, making way for the paraphrases.

Thus, in the Western Middle Ages something occurred that is in a sense the opposite to what we find in Byzantium. In Byzantium the Aesopic tradition of fables in prose and the Babrian one in verse flourished alongside each other, even contaminating each other, followed by prose versions of much later origin. We have said that the

[101] *Fedro traduttore di Esopo*, Florence 1977.

Aesopic tradition continued prosifications which were possibly from the 2nd century BC, which derived from fables in verse from the Hellenistic Age. In the West, on the other hand, the Babrian tradition maintained the verse form; this was the very well-known case of Avianus. And the Aesopic tradition kept to the following complicated path: the prosified texts of the 2nd century BC were set in verse by Phaedrus in the 1st century AD, and these verses were again prosified starting from the 5th or 6th century and thoroughly diffused during the Middle Ages, either as anonymous fables, or with the false name of Romulus. Although it is doubtful to what extent this tradition in Medieval prose comes from Phaedrus and to what extent it has extraneous sources. This case is somewhat similar to that of Babrius. Although in the latter there is at least a common "Babrian" line, the descent of choliambic fables, if not from Babrius, from his imitators. To talk of a "Phaedrian tradition" here is risky, since the hypothesis has been put forward that the material from Romulus and other Medieval sources that do not come from Phaedrus may come from a tradition that is independent of those studied until now. We are speaking, therefore, of a "Phaedrian tradition" in a very special sense.

Let us return to Phaedrus. Within this world of anonymous literature that is the collections of fables, Phaedrus appears to us to be a well drawn personality, much clearer than that of Babrius. In both cases we must obviously content ourselves with the information the fabulists give on themselves, as there is practically no external evidence. Yet the fact that the information that Phaedrus gives on himself is more abundant and that he himself relates his fables to his own life reaffirms this.

Babrius is a man of letters attempting to create a new style, florid and not too cutting, for the fable, and who dedicates it to the son of a king; in much the same way that the fables of the Assendelft Tablets were used in teaching, and that those of the Pseudo-Dositheus were provided with a prologue which emphasized their usefulness for life in general. On the other hand, Phaedrus uses fables to make a hidden satire of the world that surrounds him, in the court of Tiberius; in his prologue to the third book, Phaedrus attributes the invention of the fable to the desire to express himself freely under tyranny and he presents himself as a continuer—and victim—of this practice:

Nunc, fabularum cur sit inventum genus,
brevi docebo. Servitus obnoxia,
quia, quae volebat non audebat dicere,
affectus propios in fabellas transtulit,
calumniamque fictis elusit iocis.
Ego illius pro semita feci viam,
et cogitavi plura quam reliquerat,
in calamitatem deligens quaedam mea.
Quod si accusator Seiano alius foret,
si testis alius, iudex alius denique,
dignus faterer esse me tantis malis,
nec his dolorem delenirem remediis.

Phaedrus suffered a sentence as a result of an accusation by Seianus, Tiberius' favourite; it is thought that his first two books of fables were prohibited for some time. And all the scholars have made an effort to find hidden keys in the fables of Phaedrus to decide against which contemporary character, against what situation they were directed. There has been a great deal of exaggeration in this area and it has been certified[102] that there may be some personal allusions, but that fables such as "The Frogs Asking for a King", "The Frogs in the Sun", etc., are from the ancient tradition, not created by Phaedrus to direct against anybody. We might add that this does not prevent Phaedrus from wishing to allude to somebody with these fables, and somebody from feeling alluded to. "The Frogs Asking for a King" (I 2) is placed by Phaedrus in the time of the tyranny of Pisistratus: with the fable the fabulist asks, ironically, for another tyrant not to be sought in his place, since he might be worse. Would it be at all strange here to see an allusion to Seianus or to Tiberius himself?

With partly traditional material and traditional themes, Phaedrus virulently attacks the vices of the society of his time: greed, hypocrisy, taking advantage of the weak, etc. All scholars agree that there is a special virulence in him, a moralism of the Stoic school.[103] His numerous Cynic themes, generally traditional,[104] undoubtedly gain relevance by conscious reference to the contemporary Roman environment.

We find ourselves before an original poet, not a compiler and

[102] For example, by Hausrath, "Zur Arbeitsweise des Phaedrus", *Hermes* 41, 1936, pp. 74 ff.

[103] Cf. Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 50 ff.; Pisi, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.

[104] Cf. the data in Thiele and Hausrath, "Zur Arbeitsweise . . .".

transmitter of traditional, popular, more or less touched-up material. And before an original poet who is not a mere stylist—such as Babrius—but, at the same time, a man of ideas and passion. Corresponding to this is the fact that Phaedrus himself, in his prologue to book IV, distinguishes between fables that are *Aesopi* (that is to say, taken from the *Aesopus*, or the Greek collection of fables mentioned in the prologue to book I) and fables that are *Aesopias*, of the Aesopic type, but new. Perry[105] calculates that these new fables make up a third of the collection; he considers that some fables may come from different sources, others be entirely original, and he gives a tentative list of same. It is interesting to note the observation by Hausrath,[106] that a series of χρεῖαι and elements of Cynic diatribe produced new, original fables in Phaedrus against the misers, the ambitious, the unjust.

Although all this merits further study, it does offer an important starting point for an evaluation of the fabulistic tradition and its progressive enrichment. Though clearly a distinction must be made between what Phaedrus inherits and what he adds.

From now on the figure of Phaedrus is presented to us as that of a continuer, in fact, of an Archilochus or an Aesop, when they deal with the fable as an element of their moral satire; of the Cynics to, as we will see. He even reveals his human type. Phaedrus was a half-Greek, a Macedonian transplanted in Rome, where he lived first as a slave and later as a freedman, although he was in the imperial circle; we may recall the bastard origins of Archilochus, the legend of Aesop the slave, but also a critic and consultant of philosophers and princes.[107]

The information on Phaedrus is certainly not very precise. Phaedrus was freed by Augustus after being brought to Rome as a slave, perhaps, by L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi in 13–11 BC; it is possible that he entered the house of Augustus as educator of his grandson Lucius and was later freed. He definitely had serious problems with Seianus, condemned to death in 31 AD, and other serious enmities besides. After the death of Seianus he published three books of fables—two prior to this—and we do not know the date of his death. Yet it is significant that this Greek freedman was not particularly appreciated

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[105] *Op. cit.*, pp. LXXXV ff.

[106] Art. "Phaedrus" in *RE* XIX II, col. 1479 ff.

[107] On the life of Phaedrus, see Hausrath, "Phaedrus" *cit.* and Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. LXXIII ff.

in the learned circles of the time. Quintilian, who concerns himself with the fable as material for teaching,[108] does not mention him, neither does Seneca, in spite of their ideological agreements.

Thus a Greek freedman imbued with cynicism and stoicism, or moralism in general, a member of the more or less underground opposition to the empire, unearthed the ancient genre of the fable—this popular literature—for his own ends. He translated and adapted an ancient Greek collection of fables, which also produced the Augustana, and extended it with various materials, at least partly original. He thus opened up a path for the penetration of the fable into our Middle Ages, together with the other that Avianus opened later, starting from another tradition, the Babrian one.

As we have said, the studies by Thiele and Hausrath on the sources of Phaedrus are to a large extent invalidated by the fact that they refer particularly to materials that are common to Phaedrus and the rest of the fabulistic tradition; they do not perform the essential task, that of seeing to what extent, on the basis of these same materials, Phaedrus is original. Even so, it is worthwhile to say something further on this topic.

Articles such as those by Thiele and Hausrath, to which we have referred above, shed light on the history of the Hellenistic fable. On one hand, when they indicate the new fables of Phaedrus—as the introduction of the book of Perry does—they place the others, together with the sources that are attributed to them, within the panorama of this tradition; of course, the corresponding fables of the Augustana and others need to be compared. Observations by Nøjgaard, also referred to above, on the originality of Phaedrus as regards moralistic themes and others may be used in the same manner. On the other hand, what these authors contribute concerning Phaedrus' sources, whereas in fact it is a fabulistic tradition that goes far beyond him, may be used for analysing the history of this fabulistic tradition.

In Thiele's opinion, the sources in question would be a Cynic collection of fables, another collection, also Hellenistic, which included myths and novelettes, and, apparently, a traditional collection, properly Aesopic.[109] Hausrath gives as sources[110] the *Vita Aesopi* as well as Hellenistic collections of anecdotes, maxims, romances, etc. As we have already said, he does not believe in the existence of the Cynic

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[108] Cf. p. 67.
[109] Cf. Thiele, II, l. c., pp. 381 ff.
[110] In his art. "Phaedrus" in RE, col. 1480.

collection, though he does speak in a rather confused fashion about Cynic material which would only have been attributed to Aesop at a secondary stage.[111]

All this clearly represents a progression with respect to the positions that see Phaedrus as simply a derivation from the Augustana and this collection as simply a derivation of Demetrius' collection. It is interesting, for example, to consider the question of the presence of Cynic and romance material in the collections. Indeed, Thiele shows that there is continuity between Sophistic elements and other subsequent ones (fables of Prometheus, etc.), and between the Pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic fable (themes of *agon*, etc.). Josifović, referring to the fable as a whole, mentions the presence of elements of these types in it.[112]

Yet it is apparent that these studies have been inadequate. The greatest error is, I find, in postulating that at the origin of the different types of fables there are independent collections corresponding to literary genres, which are in fact to a large extent the result of subsequent classifications. I think that, together with the fables of animals, there must already have been myths, anecdotes, developed maxims, etc., in Demetrius; this is simply because these elements and others besides were considered to belong to a single genre, one from a previous era.[113] There is a continuity, which of course supposes an expansion of the various elements, with others of the same type introduced on different dates. For their part, the Cynic elements are none other than a development of previous themes: a "Cynicization" of the fable occurs, not a mixture of an ancient collection and a Cynic one. The Cynicization is of course greater or lesser depending on the case. Nor can we remove the novelettes from the context of the ancient or the Cynic fable, with which they are intimately bound. Rather than a confluence of different collections into the collections of fables, we must think that these specialized collections of romances, myths, anecdotes, χρεῖαι, etc., are secondary derivatives starting from the matrix genre that is the fable in a broad sense.

This at least is the conclusion, which we anticipate here, obtained from our study.[114] We have already outlined the same ideas when

[111] "Zur Arbeitsweise des Phaedrus", pp. 82 ff.
[112] L. c., col. 34 ff.
[113] Cf. pp. 30 ff.
[114] I refer to my work "Fedro y sus fuentes" published in *Bivium Homenaje a Manuel C. Díaz*, Madrid 1983, pp. 251–279.

discussing the concept of the fable. But it must be emphasized that the analysis by Thiele and Hausrath of the sources of Phaedrus, as well as the analysis of different genres within the fables of this author and of the Augustana and Babrius by Nøjgaard, are useful for the purposes of the history of the Classical and Hellenistic fable that we attempt in this book. We will therefore have to refer to their data in each particular case.

After saying all this, it is necessary to make an inventory of the fables of Phaedrus. His five books were written in different circumstances and on different dates, as we see from his prologues and epilogues, and we have said that they progressively show a greater degree of originality. It must be added that they have reached us in incomplete form, in the sparse manuscript tradition that has reached us in the Pithoeanus (and the Remensis, of which we conserve collations), apart from a Vatican fragment. As we have said, there is a supplement, the so-called *Appendix Perottina*, a manuscript by the Humanist Niccolò Perotti; this includes 30 new fables, together with the 32 already known (plus three poems directed at the reader). But even with this, the edition of Phaedrus remains incomplete. The problem is to what extent the Medieval fables in prose of the so-called Ademari and Wissemburgensis codices, and of the "Romuli", come from Phaedrus. There are various opinions on this, though some fables are indeed certainly from Phaedrus. The approach used by Zander, of looking for the metrical remnants, is sometimes not very convincing, as the senarius affords less certainty than the choliamb. We deal with the problem generally in the paragraph that follows.

2. *The Phaedrian Tradition*

As we have said, two codices exist, the Ademari and the Wissemburgensis, starting from which attempts have always been made to reconstruct the fables of Phaedrus; and there exists an extensive Medieval collection of fables, partly coinciding with those of the aforementioned codices, which in the prologue is attributed to a certain Romulus, son of Tiberinus, who translated the fables from the Greek. We will restrict ourselves to stating the three existing hypotheses.

1. Thiele's hypothesis. Together with paraphrases of Phaedrus, Romulus contains fables from an independent tradition. In his view, these would have come from a popular collection independent of

Phaedrus, the *Aesopus latinus*. But the truth is that there is no evidence of a Latin translation of Aesop prior to Phaedrus and that, on the contrary, Romulus is full of Phaedrian reminiscences.

2. Zander's hypothesis. Romulus is fundamentally a series of paraphrases of Phaedrus, although he recognizes some fables as being from an unknown source and others derived from the Pseudo-Dositheus. He proposes something similar for the other codices, which supposedly contain fables from Phaedrus, others from Romulus (and, therefore, fundamentally from Phaedrus, in short), and some further ones from an unknown date.

3. Nøjgaard's hypothesis.[115] In both Romulus and the two codices there are, together with paraphrases of Phaedrus, fables from an independent tradition, which come from a Greek original translated into Latin in a Phaedrian formulaic language dating from after Phaedrus.

As we can see, in short, there is not very much difference between the various hypotheses; the difference is more a quantitative one, the number of fables that are attributed to Phaedrus, than a qualitative one, since the presence of a more or less extensive independent tradition is admitted.

Nøjgaard attributes great importance to this tradition, which is extraneous not only to Phaedrus, but to all the known ancient fables. The comparison of Romulus II 10 "The Peasant and the Serpent that Brings Happiness" with H. 51, Babrius 167, etc., leads him to postulate a remoteness from all these and a closeness to the fable of *Panchatantra* III 6. He also finds independent features in fable 34 of the cod. Ademari ("The Horse, the Ass and the Man"), with respect to H. 286 (III), Babrius 7, etc. On this basis, he offers a series of rules for recognizing material coming from Babrius in Romulus and the two codices: in short, they are founded on the closeness of the fables in question to the Augustana and, to a lesser extent, to Babrius.

It must be pointed out that Nøjgaard's line of argument is in fact based on just two fables. He may very well be right in his idea that in Romulus we have significant traces of a Greek tradition that is only conserved here by a translation subsequent to Phaedrus; and in the independence of that tradition. But the truth is that a more complete study would be needed of the fables of Romulus and the others in order to confirm this hypothesis. If, on the other hand, it

[115] *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 404 ff.

were true, a Phaedrian tradition would not in fact exist. There would be Phaedrus on one hand (conserved in verse or reconstructed starting from the prose); on the other, a different line from the two fundamental ones that we have come to recognize in the Greek fable. Although an exception would of course have to be made for the fables closely related to the Pseudo-Dositheus, that is to say, to the Babrian tradition. To sum up, the theme is insufficiently explored at the present time.

VII. *Other Collections of Ancient Fables*

1. *The Fables of the Rhetoricians*

Today all the specialists agree that the ideas of the German school championed by Hausrath on the rhetorical origin of the fable in general and, more specifically, of the collections of anonymous fables, are incorrect. It is no less certain that the fable was used in the Imperial Age for teaching in the schools of rhetoric and even in elementary teaching in general. The statements by Quintilian,[116] the direct evidence such as the Assendelft Tablets and the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus II 84, and, finally, the declarations of a series of rhetoricians, starting from the 2nd century, in their *Progymnasmata*,[117] leave no doubt regarding this.

In the *Progymnasmata* of Hermogenes, Aphthonius, Theon and Nicolaus, in a period of time spanning from the 2nd to the 4th century AD, as well as in isolated declarations by these authors and others, there is a whole theory of the fable as a literary genre and on its use in teaching, for training in literary composition and imbuing, at the proper time, a moral teaching.[118] It was at this point that the fable was transformed into a genre "for children"; while at the same time the ancient exemplum-fable (in Plutarch, Lucian, etc.) and, of course, the fable of the collections continued to be cultivated, independent from the rhetoricians.

In these we find a series of fables, sometimes as exempla, sometimes forming collections. By way of examples of the genre, we find

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[116] Cf. p. 62.
[117] Collected by Perry, *Aesopica*, pp. 236 ff.
[118] Cf. Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 28 ff., 38 ff., 482 ff.

fables in rhetoricians such as Libanius, Themistius, Julianus, not to mention those of the Byzantine Age. The problem is that of discovering to what extent these fables are an example more of the indirect tradition of the fable—so important in the Imperial Age and in need of an in-depth study—and to what extent they depend on special collections made by the rhetoricians to meet the requirements of the schools.

Of all these special collections, basically the one with which we are most familiar is by Aphthonius, a rhetorician of the 4th or 5th century and the author of a collection of fables published by Hausrath:[119] forty fables of short and uniform composition, which are not certain to have all come from him. Aphthonius founded a school, and the fables of the rhetoricians Nicolaus Myrensis and Doxopater are dependent upon him. There is also the collection of 14 fables of the Codex Brancaccianus, published by Sbordone:[120] one of them only found in it, in I and in Aphthonius (19: "Fable of the Rook that Exhorts not to Wish for Things too Great"). Moreover, the fables of the codex are in a more pompous style than those of Aphthonius.

This collection is central to the whole problem of the rhetorical fable: a prior study of same is necessary, a study that has not been carried out. Two things must be established first: that Aphthonius attended to a need of the rhetorical schools, which these, undoubtedly, had satisfied previously by going to the standard collections; and that Aphthonius himself worked on the pre-existing tradition, although it cannot be ruled out (and it is still likely) that he used branches of same that have not reached us, and introduced his own innovations.

It would also be extremely useful to compare Aphthonius' fables with those of the rhetoricians we have mentioned (of these, Libanius was his teacher).

Aphthonius' fables clearly possess a didactic intent. In them the system of adding a promythium and an epimythium simultaneously has been used throughout. The promythium always says: "Fable of the. . . . that exhorts to . . .". The epimythium is a very short maxim, also of the didactic type; drafted in prose, its style and length are comparable to the final epimythia consisting of an iambic trimetre

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[119] *Corpus*, II, pp. 133 ff.
[120] Cf. p. 66, n. 7.

that appear in the Codex Brancaccianus. It would not be strange for this collection to continue a model altered by Aphthonius and for this whole tradition to date back conclusively to a more or less independent line of fables in verse or fables combining verse and prose.

Whatever the truth of this may be, what does prove clear is that Aphthonius has subjected his fables to considerable remodelling. They stand out for their brevity, within a structure that we may describe as traditional; and for their "simple" or ἀφελής style, precisely the style recommended for the fable by the rhetoricians. In our *Estudios*[121] we highlighted their difference from the Augustana in this respect, a conclusion that was accepted by Nøjgaard.[122]

This ἀφελής style is characterized by antitheses and parallelisms, the absence of complex periods and even the rare use of indirect style; but particularly by the vocabulary, very different from that of the Augustana. It contains some poeticisms and Atticisms, but ones that are neither recherché nor difficult, with the prevalence of the lexicon common to all Greek, but not vulgar. They boil down to a not excessive purism, mixed with an at least apparent naturalness. Our comparative tabulation of the lexicon of Aphthonius and that of the Augustana shows that the former prefers Attic terms with respect to poetic ones and has a small number of terms from the *koiné*, which are a creation of same (it maintains the ones derived from the Ionic dialect, which have a literary character).

The reduction in the number of poeticisms, as well as the remodelling and abbreviating of fables, makes it very difficult—if not impossible—to find metrical remnants in Aphthonius that help to establish his relationship with the ancient collections. The study must mainly be carried out by paying attention to the themes. And it is a study which has not been carried out at the present time. For the moment, the situation of Aphthonius within the family tree of the fabulistic tradition proves an enigma: whether it is in the traditional branch, which culminates in the Augustana, or is its derivative, represented by Babrius and his school. Or whether it contaminates both branches or presents some special characteristic.

A first glance at the collection of Aphthonius in Hausrath's edition gives rise to a certain perplexity, since in it there are features

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121 Pp. 221 ff.
122 *Op. cit.*, II, p. 483.

of the two branches and other original ones. It is worthwhile to offer some preliminary indications at this point, so that the reader may appreciate the complexity of the problems of the tradition of the collections of fables. It is clear that a greater freedom and originality in the use of various collections, innovations, etc., can be attributed *a priori* to a rhetorician who makes a collection with a defined purpose than to authors who fundamentally follow a standard collection. Only Babrius must have found himself in a similar situation, on founding a new branch of the tradition.

Without going into a detailed study of the fables, at first sight we find the following cases in them:

1. A fable of Aphthonius is at the same time in I and in Babrius or the Babrian tradition; a case that occurs very frequently: cf., for example, Aphth. 1 "The Cicadas and the Ants", 7 "The Maiden and the Lion", 8 "The Lion and the Fox", 10 "The Ass and the Lionskin". The problem is that of seeing which of the two lines is followed in detail or, in any case, what the treatment is by Aphthonius. It is noteworthy that he sometimes separates himself from both: this is the case in 25, where the heron is replaced by the crane, in 31, where it is the owl and not the birds that removes the false feathers from the rook. 24 "Doctor Frog", is different: this agrees with Babrius 120, while H. 287 introduces the worm.
2. More or less parallel cases. In Aphth. 13, "The Horse", there is a correspondence in Babrius 29 and the other branch is represented by Phaedrus, *App.* 19. In 12, "The Two Cocks", there is a correspondence in Ib and Babrius 5 is similar. At other times the correspondence is in III and Babrius, the Paraphrase or Dositheus: this is the case of Aphth. 17, "The Stag" (H. 275, Par. Bodl. 156 Cr.); of Aphth. 24, "Doctor Frog" (= H. 287, Bab. 120). In Aphth. 34, "The Lion and the Man", the correspondence is between Ib (H. 264) and the paraphrase (194 Cr.). In these cases, as in the previous ones, we give only one example of the two traditions: Phaedrus, Pseudo-Dositheus, Romulus, etc. may also intervene.
3. Aphthonius has a correspondence in a single branch (which may evidently depend upon our incomplete knowledge of the tradition). Only in AnF: Aphth. 18, "The Stag and the Spring", 27 "The Bees and the Shepherd", 30 "The Pig, the Goat and the Sheep" (also in Max. Tyr.), 19 "The Rook" (as well as in the

Rhet. Branc.). In these cases it is the Augustana: 18 = H. 77, 19 = H. 2, 27 = H. 74, 30 = H. 87, cf. 189. In contrast, we have some fables of Aphthonius only found in Babrius or in the tradition dependent on him: Aphth. 5, "The Goat" (Bab. 3), Aphth. 11 "The Crab and its Mother" (Bab. 109), Aphth. 16 "The Bulls" (Bab. 14), Aphth. 37 "The Vine" (Par. Bodl. 181 Cr.), Aphth. 38 "The Farmer and the Fox" (Bab. 11), Aphth. 26, "The Two Mice" (Ps.-Dos. 16).

4. On occasions Aphthonius is accompanied by Syntipas: in various of the fables of the previous paragraphs, but also in others. In Aphth. 6, "The Ethiopian", we have III (H. 274) and Synt. 41; in Aphth. 12, mentioned already, we have Ib and Synt., but the version by Babrius is closely related. Aphth. 22 "The Olive and the Fig" is only found, outside of Aphthonius, in Syntipas 31. It is clear that as long as the position of Syntipas within the tradition is not clarified, the information is of no use to us.
5. Finally there are fables that only appear in Aphthonius: 3 "The Kite and the Swans", 4 "The Hunter with Birdlime", 9 "The Ass", 20 "The Fox", 28 "The Eagle and the Serpent", 40 "The Crow". Of these fables, 28 seems to derive from Aelian, *NA* XVII 37, the others from very well-known fables, altered by Aphthonius or his predecessors: for example, in 9 it is the wolf that is going to take out the thorn from the ass's paw, and not the other way around.

There is, then, an important theme pending investigation, if we are to establish the position of the fables of Aphthonius in the tradition and consequently gain a better knowledge of this same tradition.

2. *Syntipas*

To finish, we must give an idea of the collection of fables attributed by the mss. to Syntipas, that is to say, to the fabulous character known as Sindibad, Simbad, Çendubete, Sendebar, who is originally the Indian Siddhapati and whose fictionalized life in which fables and anecdotes were inserted was a recurrent theme throughout Medieval literatures.[123]

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[123] Cf. p. 721.

The Greek collection was published by Hausrath in 1950[124] and by Perry in 1952[125] independently, on the basis of two codices of Moscow, from the 14th and 15th centuries respectively, and another from Munich, from the 14th. It contains 62 Greek fables translated from the Syriac, but in turn these Syriac fables derive from the ancient Greek tradition, which is the reason why they are interesting for the study of the latter.

The name of Aesop was changed to *Iosepos*, or Josephus, in Syria and this is the authorship that is attributed to the fables in the Syriac codices; he even reached the point of being identified with Flavius Josephus. Now, in the Syriac literary tradition these fables appear together with the *Life of Syntipas* or Sindibab, which we have discussed. Perry[126] thinks the reason for attributing the fables to Syntipas was the loss of an initial page on which they were attributed to Iosepos; as the Life of Syntipas followed, they were attributed to him. Perry believes that Manolis Andreopulos, the translator of the *Life of Syntipas* into Greek towards the end of the 11th century, was also the translator of the fables, further evidence of the interest in the fable in Byzantium from the 9th to the 11th century, in which we place the origin of the Accursiana.

The problem for us is that of establishing the relationship between the fables of Syntipas and the ancient tradition. Here the main work has been done by Perry, who attributes some fables to the tradition of the Augustana (sometimes with some hesitancy), others to Babrius and the Babrian tradition. He has doubts with regards to fables 9, 23, 55, 59 and says that 31 perhaps comes from Aphthonius, 62 from the *Life of Aesop*, the others are of uncertain origin. In fact, some fables of Syntipas exist which appear new to us: 4 "The Rivers and the Sea", 6 "The Hunter and the Wolf", 10 "The Hare in the Well and the Fox" (an imitation of H. 9), 17 "The Imprisoned Lion and the Fox" (cf. H. 100), 21 "The Hunter and the Dog", 30 "The Wild Ass and the Donkey" (cf. H. 272), 38 "The Dog and the Wolf" (cf. H. 148), 45 "The Pony", 48 "The Cyclops" (a myth), 49 "The Hunter and the Horseman", 54 "The Young Man and the Old Woman" (erotic romance, the Syriac fable is very different). Perry

124 *Corpus*, II, pp. 155 ff.
125 *Aesopica*, pp. 511 ff.
126 *Op. cit.* p. 518.

suggests that some of these may be of Syriac origin,[127] which is not unlikely.

To sum up, we find ourselves in circumstances similar to those we have seen in the case of Aphthonius: sometimes one line of the tradition is followed, sometimes the other, sometimes there are original elements. And the detailed study has not yet been carried out.

On the other hand, the problem cannot be solved without having recourse to the Syriac fables themselves, of which Perry gives an inventory and which were published by Sister Bruno Lefèvre.[128] These are three Syriac recensions that partly agree and partly do not; there is also another, transcribed in Hebrew letters, and also Arab translations (these very incompletely published). Sister Lefèvre gives a report on 90 fables, all of which require study, including those that are not in the Greek version (related to the recension transcribed in Hebrew letters). Perry has attempted to establish the parallelism of all the fables with the Greek fables of I, Babrius, etc.; and the same has been done by Sister Lefèvre, referring to the numbers of the edition by Halm. But it is not clear to what extent this has been achieved; it must be taken into account that never more than one source is cited and that a fable may, for example, be in I and in Babrius simultaneously, with the problem of to which it is more closely related then remaining unresolved. On the other hand, as we have said, there remains a long series of unpublished Arab fables. Moreover, it is not certain that this whole tradition is exclusively Greek, as we have already indicated that oriental fables may have been mixed in.

In any event, the mixture of animal fables with some elements of the type of proverbs, romances and myths leads us to the environment of the ancient collections of fables and of collections that are not exactly identical to those that are known to us. The study of Syntipas may help us to reconstruct the enormous variety of the fabulistic tradition in Antiquity, as well as its contaminations, variations, etc. The Assendelft Tablets, Aphthonius, etc., offer evidence in this direction; as does Syntipas, since, leaving aside the added Syriac fables that he may contain, he refers to Greek fables in the state in which they were when the translation into Syriac took place (from

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[127] Cf. p. 516.

[128] *Une version syriaque des fables d'Esope*, Paris 1941. Not known by Perry until the last moment.

which come the Arab version and the Hebrew transcription). The date of this translation is placed between the 9th and 11th centuries, depending on the different authors;[129] that is to say, the dates of the translation from Greek to Syriac and from Syriac to Greek must have been close to each other. By this date the Augustana, the Vindobonensis, Babrius and his paraphrases existed, but not the Accursiana, which was undoubtedly in the process of formation. And other collections certainly also existed that left a trace in Syntipas and dated back, clearly, to Antiquity.

3. *Fables on Recent Papyri*

Apart from the Rylands Papyrus 493, there are some fables of Babrius on papyri and also a few from independent or unspecifiable traditions.

I will cite firstly, as it has been known from early times, the fable in the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus, II 84, republished by Hausrath, p. 119, entitled "The Murderer". It is a variation of fable H. 32, except that the latter does not show traces of verse, whereas that of the papyrus (which is from the 5th century AD, a school exercise) is in partly prosified iambic trimetres. It is clearly a remnant of the ancient tradition of the fable in verse.

In addition, there is the discovery of remnants of a collection of fables on a papyrus from the end of the 2nd century AD, published by B. Kramer and D. Hagendorn.[130] The final part of the corresponding fable (*PColon.* 64) is conserved, with an approach that we cannot specify exactly, in Phaedrus I 19, *canis parturiens* (also in Justinus 43, 4, 3). There follows a fable that begins by discussing the friendship between a wild ram and a monkey, a topic that finds no correspondence among the well-known ones. And the new version of "The Swallow and the Birds" in *PMich.* 457 (*Studia Papyrologica* 13, 1974, pp. 33 ff.).

It would seem in any case, to the extent that this can be judged, that these fables come from a tradition close to the Augustana, although in the second case there is no correspondence found in it, in the form in which it has been conserved for us, and there is one in Phaedrus, conclusively a derivative of this collection.

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[129] Cf. B. Lefèvre, *op. cit.*, p. III.
[130] *Kölner Papyri*, II, Opladen 1978, n. 64.

VIII. *Conclusions*

These are the fundamental collections that conserve ancient material and can best help us to reconstruct the history of the fabulistic tradition, although it would be necessary to add some conclusions derived from the study of the fable in Byzantium.

Of course, the study of the innovations to which the ancient tradition was subjected in the Latin Middle Ages remains pending, as does the study of the confluence of Latin and Greek traditions that took place then and in the Renaissance, the arrival of oriental elements through Arabic versions, the passage of all this material to the Romance and Germanic literatures and their evolution in them. But this study can best be carried out when matters relating to the ancient fable are clarified.

For this clarification we nevertheless need to add an element to those mentioned so far: the fables in the indirect tradition that appears in so many authors of the Hellenistic Age, the Republic and the Empire. Only rarely has such and such a fable from this tradition been studied. Yet it is essential to take them into account every time we attempt to trace the evolutionary *stemma* of a fable. In the full knowledge that these fables of the indirect tradition may come from a given line of tradition or represent more or less vague memories affected by contaminations and adaptations. But only when the relationship between the different fables of the indirect tradition and the collections is established will we be able to say that the history of the evolution of the fable in Antiquity has been reconstructed.

Supplement

Note that this is a general and provisional inventory, completed in Vols. II and III where, on the other hand, in this English edition fables and supplementary documentation are added, introduced sometimes by Van Dijk, sometimes by myself, as indicated. They are only partly anticipated in this volume.

A general overview of the problems can be seen in F. R. ADRADOS, "Desiderata en la investigación de la fábula antigua", in *Actas del V Congreso Español*. . ., 1978, pp. 215–235; "Les collections de fables en époque hellenistique et romaine", in *La fable, Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique*, Geneva, pp. 135–186; "Problemas de crítica textual en la transmisión de la fábula grecolatina", in *La crítica textual y los textos clásicos*, University of Murcia, pp 131–148; and "La fábula en Bizancio, entre Grecia, el Oriente y el Occidente", *Studi italiani di Filologia Classica* 11, 1993, pp. 195–204.

For the inventory and its characteristics, there is information in some of the works cited above, particularly in:

N. HOLZBERG, 1993, the origins of the fable and its history from Hesiod, Demetrius' collection, the Imperial exemplum-fable, Phaedrus, Babrius, the Augustana, etc., with a good bibliography, but avoiding the theme of the relationship between the collections.

See in ADRADOS 1984 the parts regarding the Archaic Age (F. LASSERRE, pp. 61–103), Babrius and the Byzantine fable (J. VAIO, pp. 197–224) and the Medieval fable (F. P. KNAPP, pp. 253–306). From IDEMA and others, 1993, I must highlight the chapter on Phaedrus, pp. 13–21. I make an evaluation of these works, together with others in the specialized bibliography on collections, fabulists and transmitters of fables in general, in the appropriate places in this volume and Vol. II.

Also G.-J. VAN DIJK, "Fables in Ancient Historiography", *Bestia* 5, 1993, pp. 27–42; 6, 1994, pp. 118–135 (notes); id., "There were fables before Aesop", *Reinardus* 11, 1998, pp. 205–214.

However, I am interested in indicating here the criticism of my ideas on the dating of the Augustana by M. J. LUZZATO, "La datazione della collectio Augustana di Esopo e il verso politico delle origini", *JOB* 33, 1983, pp. 137–177; and my reply F. R. ADRADOS, "La fecha de la Augustana y la tradición fabulística antigua y bizantina", *Prometheus* 18, 1992, pp. 139–199. I continue to believe that the Augustana is a collection that grew during the course of Antiquity, the edition from the 4th or 5th centuries being the one that has reached us; the remnants of verses are Hellenistic. Luzzato, on the other hand, places the Augustana in the 10th century and believes that the metrical remnants come from Byzantine political verses. I refer the reader to my arguments in this book (Luzzato does not know Vol. II and has misunderstood Vol. I) and the article cited.

On the general theme, see also M. PUGLIARELLO, *Le origini della favolistica classica*. Brescia, Paideia, 1973.

On the use of fables in teaching starting from Antiquity, cf. B. F. FISHER, *A History of the Use of Aesop's Fables as a School Text from the Classical Era through the Nineteenth Century*. Ann Arbor 1991. From Aristotle onwards the fable was used in rhetorical theory and practice, then from the 1st century BC. The *Progymnasmata* adopted it, as did the schools of grammar. Phaedrus and Babrius made it respectable as literature. Only from the 3rd century was a distinction made between the fable used in teaching to read and that of the schools of rhetoric. The situation changed

in the 3rd century; the Ps.- Dositheus was the first collection to be used in school. The scholastic tradition of the fable continued in the Middle and Modern Ages.

The publications by VAN DIJK (first of all *Ainoi*, also "*Addenda ad Aesopica.* Unnoticed and Neglected Themes and Variations of Greek and Latin Fables", *Bestia* 6, 1994, pp. 95–117) and myself, from which the Supplements added to the documentation on the fable given in this volume have been taken, will be included in Vol. III. Here I wish to make reference to my *El cuento erótico griego, latino e indio. Estudio y Antología*, Madrid, Ediciones del Orto, 1994, where an important component of the fabulistic tradition is studied and published (in Spanish translation).

I add some other publications of mine:

"Más fragmentos nuevos de poesía griega antigua", *Studi in onore di Adelmo Barigazzi, Sileno* 10, 1984, pp. 1–10.
"Documentación suplementaria de la fábula greco-latina", *Euphrosyne* 18, 1990, pp. 213–226.
"De la fábula griega a la fábula latina en dísticos elegiacos", in *La favolistica latina in distichi elegiaci*, Assisi 1991, pp. 27–43.
"Fábula y cuento popular de tradición antigua en los Balcanes", *EC* 100, 1991, pp. 63–80.
"Literatura sapiencial antigua en la Haggadah y Pedro Alfonso", *Illinois Classical Studies* 18 (*Studies in Honor of Miroslav Marcovich*), 1993, pp. 229–236.
"La fábula en Horacio y su poesía", Myrtia 9, 1994 (1996), pp. 131–151.
"Nuevos fragmentos papiráceos de fábulas esopicas", *Emerita* 67, 1999.
"El ratón y la comadreja, und nueva epopeya paródica (P. Med. 70.01 R. and P. Vindob. G 19813 + 29814", *Mus. Crit.* 1999.

PART TWO

THE GREEK FABLE UNTIL DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS

CHAPTER ONE

THE ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE FABLE IN THE CLASSICAL AGE

I. *General Remarks*

Our study on the terminology and definition of the fable in chapter II of this work, though not complete, already anticipates many elements regarding the situation of the animal and vegetable fable within fabulistic literature as a whole. Here we are going to trace some more precise lines in order to show how this type of fable adapts itself to fit the general characteristics of the fable, both prior to the collections and of the collections themselves; and to indicate deviations or anomalies, if there are any. Now, we are not going to look in depth at the problems of the compositional structure of the animal fable, because it seems more appropriate to deal with these together with those of the rest of the fable.

We know that already before Demetrius' collection the animal fable was included within the not very well-defined complex of the fable in general. In my exposition I have attempted to demonstrate the existence of a series of concentric circles, only partly consecutive in chronological order, which must be taken into consideration in order to define the fable:

a) The introduction of a second stage to reinforce or specify or argue in favour of a first stage, that is to say, of the general course of the story or declarations of the impressive type. Here we have the entrance of the "exemplum" in the broadest sense of the word, but also the maxim, the simile, the allegory, etc.

b) Within this type, the "exemplum" is a special case; the animal fable is included here, but also the human fictitious or historical anecdote, the traditional myth, the popular one of the type of the old wives' tale and intermediate genres.

c) In turn, within this complex, we find another more reduced one, starting from Archilochus and even from Hesiod, which leaves out the myth as such. There is an approximate formal unity of the

animal fable and the human anecdote, which tend to be described as *logos* and have a satirical or "comic" purpose.

It is this latter type that came to be integrated into the collections of fables and offered the model for the creation of further fables, sometimes based on ancient motifs, including those of types a) and b). It is a model for which the denomination of "Aesopic *logoi*" was invented, together with which there were the "Sybaritic *logoi*" and the "Libyan *logoi*". They were differentiated primarily, it seems, by beginnings of the type "Aesop said", "a Sybaritic said", "a Libyan said" (there is also a trace of "a Carian said" and there are other parallel types, see below).

The idea that, starting from a given moment, the "Aesopic *logoi*" were the authentically animal ones, does not seem correct; some of these refer to Aesop, but consist of a non-animal aetiology, such as those of Plato, *Phaedo* 60 b and Aristotle, *Mete.* 356 b; and there is at least one "Libyan" animal fable, that of Aeschylus 139 R. ("The Eagle and the Arrow"). Apart from the fact that it was customary for fables, whether animal or not, to continue to be called simply "*logoi*". Only the collections made general use of the denomination "Aesopic *logoi*", including in it the variety of material we have mentioned.

We emphasize, then, that the animal theme did not define a genre in itself; but it is indeed true that it made itself progressively more central to the genres that were taking shape. This is more so in type c) than in b) ("exemplum" in general) and a) (second stage elements).

It is interesting, in any case, to review the animal fables of the Classical Age in order to see to what extent they fit the general characteristics of the fable or what characteristics they have. But this is not so easy to do. Apart from the fact that the transmission of Classical literature is highly fragmentary, as we know, what this means is that not only have many fables undoubtedly been lost, but others have reached us in a very mutilated form; there is a problem of boundaries between what is a fable and what is not, which in a way places us in a vicious circle. On the other hand, even if we consider this problem solved, the following three points must be studied consecutively:

a) The only problem posed by the fables transmitted as being by Classical authors is that of studying them and interpreting them where the transmission is incomplete or dubious.

b) There are animalistic elements (and, of course, others besides) from the Classical Age that are fabulized and enter the collections.

This does not mean that they were already fables in the Classical Age. Although debatable cases do exist: a simile or an allusion from the Classical Age may correspond to a fable from the collections and in turn derive from a fable already existing, although not transmitted, in the Classical Age.

c) The animalistic fables in the collections that are not proven to be from the Classical Age may indeed come from it. Defining which are from the Classical Age and which not, establishing possible differences between the former and the others (that is to say, expansion or restriction of the concept of the fable) would be the maximum success to which research can aspire. Yet clearly we will have to be satisfied with approximations. On the other hand, we will use certain approaches later, which make the attribution of a fable to Demetrius' collection and therefore to the Classical Age likely, but we cannot use these yet.

To begin at the beginning, sometimes it is easy to separate the animalistic fable from the animal maxim or the simile; this does not mean that the maxim or the simile cannot come from a fable or, the other way round, engender one at a later date. The same is the case with the non-animalistic maxim and simile, with the story of an event, etc., which can be fabulized.

Types such as in Archilochus 37 A.: "The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog just one decisive one" are animal maxims; they seem not to refer to a concrete fable, but to the role of the fox in many fables. This is also, perhaps, the case of Theognis 293 f.: "Not even the lion always eats meat; but the hour of impotence reaches even him, in spite of his strength", unless this a direct allusion to H. 147, "The Lion and the Fox".

Of course, these maxims have a figurative meaning; they are similes or allegories at the same time. There are others in a similar vein. Such as "How could a bird that devours a bird be pure?" by Aeschylus, *Supp.* 226 (perhaps H. 23 "The Cocks and the Partridge" comes from this).

The same can be said of the statement in Xenophanes 15 D. that if the oxen and lions had known how to paint, they would have made their gods similar to themselves, which is perhaps where H. 264, "The Man and the Lion" comes from.

There are similes that provide clear evidence of the previous existence of a fable, particularly that of "The Trees and the Torrent" in Sophocles, *Ant.* 710 ff. (cf. H. 71 and 239) and that of "The

Tailless Fox" from Timocreon 3 *PMG* (cf. H. 17). But it is already more debatable whether in the two similes by Theognis that we give below there is an allusion to known fables (H. 136 "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat" and H. 62 "The Farmer and the Serpent", cf. H. 186) or only similes from which the fables were later derived:

> Thgn. 347 ff.: Like a dog I crossed a ravine, the current of the torrent taking all my possessions.
> 601 ff.: Damn you, enemy of the gods and traitor to men, cold and perfidious serpent that I kept at my breast.

The first example at least does not correspond to the fable exactly. And the same must be said of Solon 11, which is only vaguely reminiscent of "The Fox and the Old Lion":

> Solon 11.5 ff.: Each one of you walks with fox's steps, but all together you behave like a simpleton.

At other times the similes are conclusively independent of any fable, although at a later date a fable may have derived from them. Thus in:

Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 104 ff., the vision of the two eagles, which symbolize and prophesy the destiny of Agamemnon and Menelaus; 718 ff., the simile of Helen and the lion cub, from which H. 225 "The Shepherd and the Wolf Cubs" undoubtedly derives (the theme of perverse nature, first hidden in the young animal and later revealed); 357 ff., the simile of the net from which neither the large fish nor the small can escape, altered in Babrius 4.

Theognis 213 ff., etc., and other authors,[1] the theme of the octopus that adapts to the colour of its surroundings.

Aristophanes, *Eq.* 864 ff., the simile of Cleon, who behaves like the fishermen who stir up the water to fish (fabulized in H. 26).

A special case is that of the *Batrachomyomachia*, the epic burlesque poem that is usually attributed to the 5th century BC and is possibly more recent. It is clear that this is a developed fable, that of the frogs and the mice. The only doubt is as to whether the later version of this fable (in *Vita Aesopi* G 133) has been taken from the *Batrachomyomachia* or from the fable from which this derives.

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[1] Cf. "El poema del pulpo y los orígenes de la colección teognídea", *Emerita* 26, 1958, pp. 1 ff.

II. *The Animal and Vegetable Fable in the Classical Age*

1. *In the Sources*

a) *Presentation of the Fable*

At this point we can begin to review the exemplum-fable which is to be found in the sources of the Classical Age, either explicitly narrated or referred to; or which we have supposed to have existed as the basis of a maxim, simile or burlesque epic story. For a complete catalogue, see Chap. II 5.

There are many questions that we can raise with regard to these fables. Following a graduated order, first we will discuss their introduction into first stage contexts and their purpose in connection with same (without entering in depth, as we have said, into formal problems). Then we will discuss the division of the fable into the central type and the marginal, aetiological one. Later, the subdivisions of the first (*agon* of action, only verbal, pure dialogue, absence of *agon*). Finally, the number and type of characters, including consideration of the animals that intervene. The question of the "comic" character of the fable must also be discussed (but cf. more details in Chap. II 3).

We must bear in mind that the Classical fables retrieved in this way frequently reappear in the collections, which offers us—although not always—precisely the possibility of reconstructing fragmentary fables or simple allusions; and that in the following section we will offer a few indications on what it is feasible to infer regarding the Classical Age from fables of the collections for which there is no evidence in this age, but which are likely to have existed.

To begin with, we will say that it is normal for a fable to appear as an "exemplum", that is to say, as a second stage referring to a first one that precedes and follows. This first stage emerges reinforced after the fable; the latter justifies a piece of advice or a reproach, explains a de facto situation. And this irrespective of whether this is explained in an epimythium or is deduced from the final words of a character (the "closing statement" of the fable), or, simply, from the action.

Now, it is clear that fables were memorized in terms of their theme, more than in terms of their form, although certain constants were also followed as regards their formal expression. All this is similar to what happens in the case of the non-animalistic fable. For the animalistic fable we have the testimony of Aristophanes, when

in *Vespae* Bdelycleon asks his father Philocleon, who is going to the banquet, what tales or stories he knows to tell the diners. After making him discard the old wives' tales on the Lamia or Cardopion, the dialogue continues (1179 ff.):

> Bdel.: Do not come to me with stories, tell me things of men, those that we say every day, those of home.
> Philoc.: In truth from the fables of house, I know that: "There were once a mouse and a weasel".

These fables were reserved for use on appropriate occasions, just as we do today with anecdotes, jokes, etc.; although in the very fact of somebody's knowing them there was the implicit possibility that they would give them definitive form as fables, as Plato (*Phaedo* 61 b) says Socrates did in prison. Indeed, we have an exemplum from the Classical Age, the Attic scholium of the crab and the snake:[2]

> Thus said the crab, catching the snake by the tail: a friend must go straight and not think bent things.

It is clear that this fable, which already had a fixed poetic form, needed to be adapted to fit a "first stage" in which somebody criticizes another person when he could be the object of the same criticism: people in glass houses, as we would say. But this first stage might vary, depending on the occasion.

In this case, then, we find ourselves dealing with a fable without a first stage; a first stage needed to be applied to it in order for it to be told. This was not the case, on the other hand, when a fable was "epicized", as happened with the *Batrachomyomachia*; or inspired a comedy, in the case of *Pax*, clearly inspired by the flight of the beetle to follow the eagle to Zeus' lap.

With the exception of these cases, we always find the fables of the Classical Age with a first stage, either explicit or implicit; that is to say, with a concrete first stage, not just a generic one.

Of course, since the "first stage" may vary, it would not be at all strange for the same fable to appear to us with more than one of these. Thus, in *Epode* IV of Archilochus, "The Lion and the Fox" refers to the prostituted Neobula who "devours" her lovers, while in Plato, *Alcibiades* I, 122e refers to the gold that enters Lacedaemonia and does not leave there. Clearly, sometimes there may be a refer-

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[2] *Carm. Conv.* 9.

ence either to a "first stage" or to the fable in itself and by itself. Thus, in *Vespae* 1445 ff., Bdelycleon tells the fable of "The Eagle and the Beetle" in connection with the people that summon him to appear before the court of justice: it is a "second grade" narration, Bdelycleon tells that Aesop narrated the fable in a situation of difficulty like his own. Then, in *Pax* 129 ff., Trygaeus alludes to the fable in order to justify his conduct when he is about to fly to the gods on a beetle. Or consider "The Eagle and the Fox", which in *Epode* I of Archilochus is a threat against Lycambes, while in *Aves* 651 ff., it gives a parallel with the society of Pisthetaerus and the birds.

We now already see the two types of presentation in which the exemplum-fable appears in Classical authors. That is, when it is used in the traditional way and it is not wholly reduced to a mere allusion to the existence of a fable. There is a direct or first grade presentation and an indirect or second grade one.

The first is the customary one. In a given situation, after a first stage expressly referred to, the fable is introduced, which leads us back, explicitly or implicitly, to the first stage. Archilochus attacks the perjurer Lycambes and continues: "This is a fable widely known among men . . .", narrating the fable of the eagle and the fox; the conclusion is "thus punishment might reach you". The opposite situation may also occur, whereby somebody answers with a fable. Thus, in Herodotus I 141, once the Lydians had been defeated by Cyrus, the Ionians and Aeolians request the friendship of the latter. And Cyrus tells them the fable of the flute-player who was unsuccessful in making the fish jump out of the sea at the sound of his flute; when he finally catches them and they jump onto the bank, he tells them: "stop dancing, since before I played you the flute and you did not want to come out to dance". Herodotus explains the intention of the fable: Cyrus does not accept their proposals, since before they had not accepted his friendly advances.

A second grade presentation is one in which reference is made in a given situation to somebody who at one time was in a similar situation and told a fable, which can therefore also apply indirectly to the current one. The type has a number of variants.

It is in its fully developed form in the case of "The Eagle and the Beetle", as it is narrated in *Vespae* 1445 ff., as we have just said. When accused, Philocleon tells the story of Aesop being accused by the Delphians and of how he then told them the fable in question, which demonstrates that the weak person who is the object of

injustice can defeat the strong one in spite of everything. Aristophanes' irony consists in the fact that Aesop was wrongly accused (the theme also appears in *Life*), whereas the accusations against Philocleon could not have been more correct.

A comparable fable is that of "Aesop and the Dog", which Philocleon tells the baker woman run over by him in *Vespae* 1399. If it is analyzed well, we have: Philocleon, when harassed by the baker woman, tells her the parallel of Aesop attacked by a dog on leaving the banquet and his words to the dog; that instead of gossiping, what she should do is buy food. That is to say, Aesop does not tell a fable, but rather comes out with an amusing phrase, an Αἰσώπου γελοῖον. Although it can also be analyzed in another way: Philocleon comes out directly with a fable in which Aesop takes part.

Sometimes fables are transmitted to us presented as "second grade", without giving us an indication of the "first stage". This is the case in two exempla by Aristotle, *Rhetorica* II 20: "The Hedgehog and the Fox", told by Aesop to the Samians who were judging a demagogue; and "The Horse, the Stag and the Man", told to the citizens of Himera by the poet Stesichorus in order to warn them against the tyranny of Phalaris. Or else there is simply no first stage, as far as we know, as in the case of the two anecdotes regarding Demades and Demosthenes, when they told, respectively, the fables of "Demeter, the Swallow and the Eel" and "The Shadow of the Ass"[3] to arouse the attention of their audience. Clearly the possibility cannot be ruled out that somebody might have used these fables on a similar occasion, introducing them with a "second grade".

At other times, on the other hand, we do have the "first stage", but the indirect introduction of the fable is limited to attributing it to somebody. Thus, when Aristotle[4] talks of the impossibility of legislating against the excessively powerful, he tells the fable of the lions and the hares, simply attributing it to Antisthenes. Plato goes further in *Phaedrus* 258e, in which the aetiological fable on the origin of the cicadas, told on the basis of a very clear first stage, is attributed to an "it is said that . . .".

This system of presenting fables in a more or less explicit "second grade" spread during the 5th century, with fables being attributed, above all, to Aesop. This is the origin of the expression Αἰσώπειοι λόγοι which we have already discussed, and is in a certain sense

[3] Cf. H. 63 and Plutarch, *Vit. X Orat.* 848 a.
[4] *Politica* 1284 a.

implicit throughout our collections that are attributed to Aesop. However, we have seen in the previous chapter that in the 5th century there was also talk of Sybaritic, Libyan, Carian, Phrygian fables, etc., and it is likely that the key to the classification lies in the initial words "a Sybarite said", "a Carian said", etc.; though it is possible that on some occasions tentative specializations were achieved in the content.

This system, or intent, was soon abandoned, being absorbed by the "Aesopic" fable as such. Even so, there are some examples of non-animalistic Sybaritic fables by Aristophanes; there is a Carian fable in Timocreon 8 *PMG* ("a Carian said", the fable of the fisherman, who himself is Carian, and the octopus); and Aeschylus fr. 139 R. "The Eagle and the Arrow" is a Libyan fable, although the literal expression "a Libyan said" is missing from it.[5]

It is easy to observe that from the direct or first grade type it was easy to cross over to the indirect, second grade, as soon as a fable was related in a given situation giving its source: a fabulist or poet, a historical character or some member of a foreign town. First grade fables are older historically. The others spread mentioning the former ones or introducing new fabulistic material that was actually or supposedly of foreign origin. The success of the system lay in the attribution of fables to Aesop, undoubtedly an attempt thereby to define more exactly a genre whose limits proved rather vague.

The custom of attributing fables to Aesop, who would supposedly have narrated them either on a given occasion as an instrument of defence, advice, sarcasm, etc., or not telling us on what occasion, was initially an occasional recourse in the narration of fables, including those well-known from earlier times, whereas later the authors of the collections considered Aesop as the author of all fables, at least of their *materies*, as Phaedrus says. Of course, this custom has its origin in the legend of Aesop, the *logopoios* or "narrator of fables", whose life is placed by Herodotus, II 134–135, on Samos in the late 7th century and early 6th century BC, judging by the synchronisms. Another problem is that of studying to what extent this figure of Aesop has a historical foundation (if indeed it has) and to what extent it is corrupted with Greek beliefs or legends or with Oriental precedents. We will deal with this topic in III 4. It is not wholly relevant to our current intentions.

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[5] On this theme, cf. Nojgaard, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 475 ff.

b) *Aetiological Fable and Agonal Fable*

Let us now look at the main types that exist within the whole of the animalistic fable of the Classical Age, insofar as we know this directly, as regards the content and organization of the fable itself and its relationship with the first stage to which it is applied.

Here we have to repeat what we pointed out in the previous chapter: there is a central type and a marginal one, the aetiological fable. Let us begin with the latter, by far the worst represented.

As in the other case, the aetiological animalistic fable is only one part of the aetiological fable in general. Although aetiologies are sometimes considered rather as myths, as with the famous myth in the *Protagoras* (which, moreover, gave rise to various fables in the Collections), it is clear that in the 5th century certain aetiologies were explicitly attributed to the genre of Αἰσώπειοι λόγοι. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the passage of the *Phaedo* 60 b in which Socrates, observing that pleasure and pain are inseparable from each other, says that if Aesop had caught on to this, he would have made a fable, and specifically an aetiological fable; this is subsequently explained. This is certainly a non-animalistic fable, as is another aetiological fable also attributed to Aesop by Aristotle, *Mete.* 356 b. But there is at least one animalistic fable of the aetiological type that is explicitly attributed to Aesop: that regarding the origin of the crest on the head of the lark (Aristophanes, *Aves* 471 ff.). And others exist from the Classical Age, although they are not attributed directly to Aesop: why the beak of the eagle grows (Aristotle, *HA* 619 a 16 ff.) and the one already referred to of the origin of the cicadas and the fact that they spend their lives singing without eating or drinking (Plato, *Phdr.* 258 e). There are many other similar fables in the collections, either coming from the Classical Age or imitating these.

What is most striking about the aetiological fable is the fact that it may only refer to a single character. His strange physical features or his strange behaviour are simply explained by something that occurred in the distant past, or also by a gift or a punishment from a god, normally Zeus. In short, an *agon* or confrontation does not necessarily exist, although, particularly in the Collections, these fables tended to be contaminated with those of the agonal type, whereby there is a petition to Zeus or a rebellion against him and a punishment. Along with this possibility of the single protagonist and the lack of *agon*, another feature of aetiological fables is that they represent

an explanation of reality, they do not exemplify a form of behaviour that must be followed. In any event, the closeness of this type to the paraenetic is at a secondary level: if Zeus endowed man with respect and justice, as he did according to the myth of Prometheus in the *Protagoras*, this justifies his rational character and, in a certain sense, commends rational and just behaviour. If certain animals were endowed with a certain nature (in the fables of the Collections), from which in vain they tried to escape, it can be deduced that one must follow one's own nature. As in the case, for example, of H. 50 "The Weasel and Aphrodite": if the weasel, in love and transformed by Aphrodite into a woman, cannot avoid the temptation to pursue a mouse, as a result of which it transformed back into a weasel, the paraenetic conclusion is obvious. But this is, we must stress, a secondary type.

In any case, the theme that animals have a fixed nature forever is one of the features that link the aetiological fables with the others. Another feature is undoubtedly the "comic" character of both; the aetiological fable refers to physical peculiarities, or those of character of a type that are, in a certain sense, extravagant and laughable. On the other hand, the explanatory character of aetiological fables is not exclusive to them, as it is also sometimes found in the central type. In short, we must accept the facts as they are: both the central type and this marginal one—with all their common ground and all their differences—were attributed to Aesop starting from at least the 5th century BC.

The non-aetiological type is, however, the fundamental one. It is centred in the *agon* or confrontation between two animals or between an animal and a man (we will leave the purely human type aside for the moment); an *agon* from which either an explanation or a paraenesis, although sometimes also a lamentation or sarcasm, may be deduced. The *agon* is sometimes diluted, ending up as a simple dialogue. There are also occurrences—although these are undoubtedly secondary and of course in a minority—of fables with a single character (central to aetiological fables), in which this character reacts when faced with a given situation. In any case, although these subtle differences may be introduced—which we must study more closely—I believe that a useful simplification would be to state that the central type of the fable is the agonal type, just as we have called the marginal type aetiological.

For the moment, let us leave aside the character of the *agon* and

the intention of the fable in connection with the "first stage". In an initial classification we may distinguish the following types: the purely animalistic (or vegetable) agonal fable; that between an animal and a man; the fable with a double *agon* (with or without the intervention of a man); and the "situation" fable, in which the animal responds to a situation it is facing.

a) Animal *agon*. We have the hawk and the nightingale facing each other in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 202 ff.; the eagle and the beetle in passages already mentioned of Archilochus, Semonides and Aristophanes; the fox and the old lion in Archilochus and Aristophanes, perhaps in Solon and in *Alcibiades* I in Plato; the eagle and the fox in Archilochus and Aristophanes; the frogs and the mice in the *Batrachomyomachia*; the frogs and the weasels in the allusion in Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1182 ff.; the fox and the hedgehog in Aristotle, from whom we have also cited the fable of the lions and the hares, coming from Antisthenes; "The Sheep and the Dog" appears in Xenophon, *Mem.* II 7.13–14; in an Attic scholium already mentioned, "The Crab and the Snake". The reference by Timocreon to the fox without a tail undoubtedly refers to a confrontation between this fox and others, as in its derivative H. 17. We also cite the fable of the eagle and the serpent in Stesichorus 103. The "vegetable" examples must be added: "The Trees and the Torrent" in Sophocles (a rare Classical example of a fable with an "inanimate" element) and "The Laurel and the Olive" in Callimachus. There is always a binary scheme in these fables, although in "The Eagle and the Fox" there is intervention by Zeus, who undoubtedly favours the punishment of the fox, and in "The Laurel and the Olive" there is, as arbiter rejected by all, the bramble, which in a certain sense could be interpreted as a second *agon*.

b) Animal/human *agon*. Sometimes the *agon* is between an animal and a man, who is occasionally the narrator himself: as in "Aesop and the Dog" by Aristophanes and "The Fisherman and the Octopus" by Timocreon. Apart from this, we have the fable in Herodotus already mentioned of the fisherman and the fish; the simile of Theognis, certainly derived from a fable, of the farmer and the serpent. A fable by Archilochus is of this type, that of the wasps, the partridges and the farmer, except that here one of the two parties consists of two animal species.

c) Fables with double *agon*. This double *agon* frequently requires three animals or two animals and a man: it is a complication, cer-

tainly, of the original scheme. If our reconstructions of the Epodes of Archilochus are correct, *Epode* III belongs to this type: the stag is hurt by the lion and, persuaded by the fox, approaches his cave, where he is finally devoured. Cf. the details in II 5, p. 376, as well as in II 6: the monkey is chosen as king after triumphing over the camel in a dancing contest, but is ridiculed by the cunning of the fox. The double *agon* can be clearly seen in the fable told in Semonides 9: "A heron, on finding a hawk that devoured a Maeander eel, took it off him". Though here the first *agon* is little more than the indication of a situation or starting point for the second, which is clearly the central one. Likewise, the fable from Stesichorus and Aristotle, in which the horse, faced with the stag, has recourse to help from the man, who brings it under his control, has a double *agon*. Now, there may be a double *agon* and even, exceptionally, a triple *agon*, in fables with two characters, such as the one of the eagle and the fox by Archilochus, or the one in H. 9, "The Fox and the He-goat". Cf. below, and also II 5 and II 6.

d) Situation fables. Just as the situation that starts off a fable may develop until it is transformed into a prior *agon*, it may also be the case that there is no *agon* as such, but the response by somebody to a situation. "The Eagle and the Arrow" by Aeschylus may be analyzed as a confrontations between the arrow and the eagle, or as simply a plaintive response by the eagle to being killed "for its own feathers". This situational fable, which has been amply developed in the Collections, is rare in the Classical Age. See, however, that of the fisherman and the octopus in Simonides 9. Perhaps the simile by Theognis of the dog that was carried off by the torrent belongs to this type; although it is not certain that it presupposes a fable, if one did exist, we could not fail to make a binary analysis, with the dog and the torrent (as in "The Trees and the Torrent" in Sophocles). As regards the fable of the mule that boasts about his mother the mare and forgets about his father the ass (referred to by Archilochus 232 A. and perhaps by Simonides 515 *PMG*), this in fact has a single character in the derivative H. 285, but it is by no means certain that this was so in the oldest model.

c) *Variants of the Animal Fable*

Within the line already anticipated, some variants may be presented on the agonal fables appearing in the Classical Age. However, we only aspire here to a provisional presentation of the picture, since

the direct evidence of those fables is terribly fragmentary, since we will not examine problems of form and structure in depth here (here will be discussed in Chap. II 5) and since data must be added on the fables of the Collections from this period; moreover, their identification presents difficulties. The theme of comic elements in the animalistic fable plus other themes, on the other hand, will be reexamined in Chap. II 3, in which we will study the connections between iambic poetry and the fable in general.

Taking all these precautionary statements into account, it is still interesting to consider the data on the agonal fables appearing in the Classical Age separately—in a broad sense—although their structure is sometimes not particularly clear.

The *agones* of these fables may be pure action or action mixed with speeches or may simply consist of speeches; but there are also other more complicated schemes, including those in which an *agon* of pure action (sometimes, described briefly, it is a simple initial "situation") is followed by another more complex one. The final speech, the "closing statement", frequently gives the meaning or moral of the fable, but it may also be the case that this is simply inferred from the action. And there is a type in which an *agon* of action, or of whatever type, is followed by a "closing statement" by one of the characters or somebody who is external to the *agon* (whom we refer to as a "survenant"); and another type, in which after the *agon* there is a new action, which decides and gives meaning to the whole affair. In short, there is considerable variety.

We may give the following as examples of the most simple types. We will not give the references of the passages when these have already been quoted.

In "The Hawk and the Nightingale", from Hesiod—leaving aside the structure, which is totally different from that which later predominated—the *agon* has a physical aspect, let us say; the hawk has captured the nightingale and is carrying it in its talons; and another aspect, which is, in a certain sense, that of a dialogue. The nightingale cries out and the hawk utters the "closing statement": "why are you screaming, you wretch? you are in the power of one much stronger: you will go wherever I take you, no matter how good a singer you are. If I so wish, I will make you my food, or else I will release you. Those who attempt to confront those more powerful are stupid".

Something similar must be surmised, for example, in "The Crab and the Snake". We are only told the final "closing statement" of

the crab: "My friend must be straight and not think bent"; yet it is clear that this precedes a fight between the two animals and that the snake has directed a warning at the crab that should apply to himself.

It is clear that the action in examples such as these is a preceding moment, and becomes equivalent to what in other fables is pure situation. When we do not find a trace of words, we are in fact dealing with a fable told in abbreviated form or transformed into a simile, etc., such as "The Trees and the Torrent" by Sophocles, "The Farmer and the Serpent" by Theognis (the versions in the Augustana, except for H. 71, introduce speeches). Or with a fragmentary fable, such as that of the hawk, etc., in Semonides.

Yet the fable of "The Fisherman and the Fish", by Herodotus, is also a type that later met with great success. Here, after the situation is described, there is an *agon* of action: the fisherman plays the flute, the fish do not come out; and another second *agon* of action: the fisherman throws the net, the fish are caught and "dance" on the bank. This pure action is completed with the "closing statement" by the fisherman: "Stop dancing, since when I played the flute you did not want to come out to dance". The final *agon* of "The Monkey and the Fox" in *Epode* VI by Archilochus is similar, although the transmission has left too many lacunae and prevents us from being too specific.[6] The fox deceives the monkey, teaching him (with a speech?) about meat in the trap; the monkey falls into the trap. And the fox "closes": ". . . oh monkey, with a rump like that one?"

Another type that became very widespread is that in which an action is counterbalanced by a retort, which is the "closing statement". As in "Aesop and the Dog", by Aristophanes. When Aesop leaves a banquet (situation), a dog barks at him threateningly and Aesop answers: "Dog, dog, if with your gossip you bought flour somewhere, I think you would act wisely". The scheme is repeated in the fables of the Sybarites and in others.

There is yet another, in which an *agon* containing at least one speech is concluded with an action. For example, in "The Monkey, the Camel and the Fox" by Archilochus, the first *agon*, in which the monkey insults the camel and the latter dances, is concluded when the other animals send him off with a beating.[7] And also in "The Horse, the Stag and the Man", by Stesichorus and Aristotle, after

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[6] Cf. my edition, p. 27, frs. 74–76.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 46, frs. 67–69.

a de facto clash between the horse and the stag, there comes a dialogue (which Aristotle tells in the indirect style) between the horse and the man, which concludes with the man gaining control of the horse. It was evidently a hidden *agon*, like various of those mentioned, moreover.

All these *agones* are either simple or followed by a conclusion, in which there is always some oral intervention, frequently giving the meaning of the victory and defeat, although sometimes pure action is sufficient for this. At other times the ἀγὼν λόγων, the purely verbal confrontation, is arrived at. In "The Fox and the Monkey" in *Epode* VII by Archilochus, the monkey boasts of his ancestors and the fox answers with a jibe. In "The Laurel and the Olive" by Callimachus, both trees exalt their own merits; and when the bramble proposes that they accept his arbitration, the laurel rejects this sarcastically.

In "The Sheep and the Dog" by Xenophon, the former complain that the master gives the best food to the latter, who justifies himself. In "The Hares and the Lions", the fable from Antisthenes told by Aristotle, the proposal by the hares about equality is rejected sarcastically by the lions. We said earlier that "The Crab and the Snake" implied an *agon* of speeches, although it did not exactly present this; it is a variant, as is the other in the fable of the sheep and the dog, in which the sheep complains not to the dog, but to the master.

These types produce other derivatives. As well as the multiplication of *agones*, there is also the possibility of transforming these into more complicated ones. Such as in Archilochus, in "The Lion, the Stag and the Fox". In a first *agon*,[8] the fox asks the stag to enter the lion's cave; he enters and the lion wounds his ear, and the stag flees. This is a very complex *agon*, whereas the following one contains a speech by the lion, who asks the stag to enter again, then comes the entrance and death of the stag.

Another derivation is the transformation of the fable from a purely agonal one into a pure debate or dialogue. This debate is the one that is already apparent in "The Wasps, the Partridges and the Farmer" by Archilochus (we are left with the "closing statement" by the farmer). The debate is more clearly non-agonal in "The Fox and the Hedgehog" by Aristotle. The dialogue is double: the hedge-

[8] Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 42, frs. 46 ff.

hog offers help, but the fox does not accept this; when the hedgehog asks the reason why, the fox says that his lice are already satiated and that new ones would be worse. It is the "closing statement" that contains the satirical point, the moral of the fable.

This genre of the debate or dialogue was also successful. There is a link between this and yet another type: that in which a single character comments on a situation.

In fact, in the fable mentioned, the hedgehog is a "survenant", a character that presents himself from outside and makes a comment, without actively taking part in the action; this role is not very far removed from the one performed by the fox in "The Lion, the Stag and the Fox" and in the two fables of "The Fox and the Monkey". "Aesop and the Dog" may also be analyzed in this way. Now, there are other fables that are clearly situational, which have already been cited: that of "The Eagle and the Arrow", by Aeschylus; when wounded by an arrow made with his own feathers, the eagle exclaims: "I perish by the work not of others, but of my own feathers". And that of "The Fisherman and the Octopus" in Simonides, in which a Carian fisherman, on seeing an octopus, says: "If I get undressed and enter the water to catch it, I will freeze, and if I do not catch the octopus, I will make my children starve to death". This is in turn a very prolific type of fable, as the comment on a situation by a single character (mostly accompanied by a "survenant"), a comment which is often a lament about himself, as in this case.

The main types of fable were, then, already represented in the Classical Age. Other anomalous types were added to them in the subsequent age, while some of them tended to be standardized and others, on the contrary, to spread extensively. This is a topic that we will study at the appropriate time. The types range from the aetiology to the *agon* and from this to the simple debate and the comment on a situation. When there is an *agon* as such, there is action accompanied by words or words alone; in the former case, words are an instrument of action, normally a deception. But the victory or defeat may be only verbal, consisting of a declaration by one of the characters that closes all discussion.

In short, questions of inferiority or superiority are discussed, without the need for these to be transformed into the death or flight of the opponent; it is sufficient for him to be disarmed morally, made to appear ridiculous, proved wrong (as in "The Sheep and the Dog"), etc. And the battle may also remain poised, as victory may be simply

the condition of not being defeated, as in "The Crab and the Snake". Or the combat is interrupted and the satire falls upon the one wishing to mediate, as in "The Laurel and the Olive". However, we must stress, there may be a transition to the theme of the comment on a situation.

d) *The Animals of the Fable*

It is the nature of the different animals or plants that is compared, in terms of the superiority or inferiority of same. As we see, there is a long series of animals that already appeared in the fable from the Classical Age; not many more were added in the Hellenistic fable, mainly some Oriental animals and some small animals, such as the flea, the mosquito, the turtle, etc., which personify the Cynic.

The nature of the animal does not change. The fable of the old lion and the simile of Helen and the lion in Aeschylus make this very clear. These animals generally have fixed characters (we will see some exceptions), and characters that are generally traditional; these are sometimes in Homeric similes, sometimes in proverbs, stock phrases and similes from the Classical Age.

Power is represented by the lion, the eagle and the hawk; here there is continuity with respect to similes, dreams and prophetic visions in Homer and later periods.[9] These regal animals, of unquestionable strength, as they appear in Homer, are found in a different situation here.

It is true that the hawk is master over the nightingale's life, that the lion devours the stag, the eagle the fox's cubs. But the hawk's victory is criticized by Hesiod, as this is proper to the animal world, not the human one into which Zeus introduced justice.[10] On the other hand, the old lion is deceived by the cunning of the fox and the sacrilegious eagle is punished by Zeus, while in another fable he is unable to escape the vengeance of the beetle.

In these first Greek fables, the victory of the strong is used rather to criticize the foolishness of the weak, who do not know how to rid themselves of them, as in the case of the stag. Or else the strong animal is punished, by being accused of being unjust; this is per-

[9] Cf. my articles "El tema del águila de la épica acadia a Esquilo", *Emerita* 32, 1964, pp. 267–82, and "El tema del león en el *Agamenón* de Esquilo", *Emerita* 33, 1965, pp. 1–5.

[10] *Works and Days* 276 ff.

haps a feature of just a few fables which have been conserved, since it is absent from many of the Collections, which simply make an example of the victory of the strong. It is certain that the evil character of the eagle comes from the Akkadian model followed in this fable.[11] The treatment by Hesiod of the theme of the strong animal is also anomalous. On the other hand, the wicked character of the snake is a constant element; it is in the two Classical fables in which it takes part, in the fables of the Collections and in all kinds of mythical themes, similes, etc. In fact, more than the label of power, it is that of treachery that the snake has had stuck to it.

As we have said, powerful animals suffer defeat in the fable. The small and dirty beetle takes his revenge on the eagle thanks to his cunning, as does the fox on the eagle with the help of Zeus; this same fox escapes from the old lion. And if the lion devours the stag, it is on account of the latter's foolishness. In fact, it is this theme of the victory of ingenuity over force that predominates, without denying the existence of the power of the strong. The trick is to take account of this power, to know how to dominate it.

Apart from their abuses, which may result in bad consequences for them, these powerful animals have other features that are equally negative.

The trees succumb before the torrent due to their obstinacy, while the weak reed survives. The powerful, full of vanity, are satirized again and again in the figure of the monkey, vain and without substance; that is to say, not all those who seem to be something, not all kings or noblemen, actually are so.[12]

As is well known, the fox is the animal that dominates the fable. In "The Eagle and the Fox" he plays a rather anomalous role, as the weak animal, the victim of the eagle; he is able to take his revenge, however, by appealing to Zeus. This is a role inherited from its ancestor in the Akkadian fable, the model of the one by Archilochus, about the snake. In the other fables in which he takes part (including almost all those in the Collections) the fox is characterized not so much as being weak but as being astute, wise, crafty. He always comes out well with his ruses, triumphing over more powerful adversaries,

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[11] Cf. "El tema del águila . . ." *cit.*, as well as the further bibliography on this fable (in C. García Gual, "La fábula esópica: estructura e ideología de un género popular", *Estudios ofrecidos a Emilio Alarcos Llorach*, I, Oviedo 1977, p. 319, n. 26.

[12] On the features of the monkey in the Classical Age, cf. C. García Gual, "Sobre πιθηκίζω hacer el mono", *Emerita* 40, 1972, pp. 453–460.

such as the lion, ridiculing the vain monkey, offering a very wise answer to the hedgehog who imprudently wants to remove his lice.[13]

In fact, we find a certain moralism in our fables, mixed with an element that we might call realism. It is accepted that the reality of life is that the strong prevail. But this must be known in order to try to avoid one's own ruin; the fable is directed at the weak or, to put it another way, at the average man from the lower social classes. You must try not to be caught, like the nightingale or the stag; you must use ingenuity to escape from the powerful; obviously, you must not allow treacherous friends to act like the snake, nor damage yourself like the eagle that died "on account of its own feathers", because then there remains no alternative but to complain. On the other hand, if the strong applies his power without scruples, the astute weak animal also applies his ingenuity without scruples. The fox does not mind making fun of the monkey or the stag. In this world there is no pity, either from the lion for the stag or from the fox for the monkey, or from the fisherman for the fish. It is not a chivalrous world; it is a world in which force and ingenuity are set against each other, or, to put it another way, in which the ancient and heroic values are either branded as immoral, or else skilfully outwitted.

This realism to which we refer appears in other fables too. The sheep are foolish to demand the same treatment as the dog, who defends them from the wolf, and they must give in at the end; likewise the hares in relation to the lions. The fox prefers his parasites to new, worse ones. And there is mockery of false heroes or the false powerful, such as the monkey. The mule is the object of mockery for remembering his mother the mare, but not his father the ass. The dog that guards the house is fat and has a shiny coat, but bears a scar from the chain, which demonstrates that he is a slave. The wasps and partridges make self-seeking proposals, which the farmer rejects. The mice that put on some showy horns are defeated, precisely because of these, by the weasels.[14]

Of course, one cannot be too clever. The horse that wants to defeat the stag with the help of man finds himself becoming his slave: an example of foolishness. He is like the eagle that perishes "on account of his own feathers". And the bramble that attempts

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[13] On these features of the fox and their meaning in the society the fable reflects, cf. C. García Gual, "El prestigio del zorro", *Emerita* 38, 1970, pp. 417–31.

[14] If in *Vespae* 1182 ff. reference is made to fable H. 174.

to reconcile the laurel and the olive is ridiculed for not having weighed his own strengths against theirs.

e) *The Intention of the Fable*

There is social criticism in the fable, then, but above all there are rules of life, advice for the ordinary man who wants to keep afloat in the hard struggles of everyday life. In fact, there is direct or indirect advice. This is sometimes offered directly in an epimythium, a "first stage" that emerges after the fable; at other times it is from the fable itself (at least in the form in which the texts have reached us) that the conclusion must be deduced. Yet in both cases the advice may be lacking, and rather, there may be satire, lament, exposition of facts, etc., which may of course be related to this advice. Let us look at this in more detail.

In cases such as these, the epimythium—when there is one and it is known to us—may emphasize the theme of the advice or the gnomic theme, the exposition of a truth (or simply the exposition of the outcome). "Thus punishment might come to you", Archilochus says to Lycambes, for example. The two fables told by Aristotle have epimythia that begin with οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ("The Horse, the Stag and the Man") and ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑμᾶς... ("The Fox and the Hedgehog"), formulas which later spread through the fables of the Collections (cf. II 6).

The epimythia are, respectively: "So you watch out too, he said, in case by wanting to avenge yourselves on your enemies, what happened to the horse might befall you, because you already have the bridle by having chosen a general with full powers; if you grant him an escort and you let him mount, you will have become slaves of Phalaris"; and "Thus, he said, oh Samians, this man will do you no more damage, because he is rich; if you kill him, others will come, who are poor, who will spend the rest and will steal from you". As has been said, at other times there is no epimythium as such, but a narration of what happens in the first stage as a result of the narration of the fable: The Ionians begin to fortify their towns after the warning contained in the fable of the fisherman and the fish, the sheep agree to the dog being honoured above them.

At other times, it is the victim that introduces the "closing statement", complaining of the consequences of his behaviour, such as the eagle that dies "on account of his own feathers" or (in the Augustana) the farmer that is bitten by the serpent. Also, again in

the Augustana (H. 122), in "The Gardener and the Dog", referred to by Menander.[15]

There are, then, many ways of expressing the same thing and there may be variations between representative (maxim, exposition of a truth), impressive (warning, advice) and expressive language (satire, lamentation). But it is basically always the same: the fable is told "against" something, discouraging, criticizing. And the defeated animal, whether weak or strong, is satirized, his unsuccessful behaviour plunges him into ridicule because, in the words of Hesiod, it is "foolish" (ἄφρων). Clearly, this ridicule is not only expressed in words, but also in actions, such as when the monkey falls into the trap and leaves his rear exposed.

This central characteristic of the fable only seems to be absent from the situation fable, such as that of the octopus. After seeing the octopus and his resulting difficulties in trying to catch it and his eventual failure, the fisherman complains. It is similar to "The Eagle and the Arrow", but here there is not any previous behaviour that is remotely criticizable, only the harshness of reality. This is an evolution that bears fruit later in the fables of the Collections.

On the other hand, we must not forget that, together with all these agonal fables, we have the aetiological ones. Apart from their other function, agonal fables explain reality; the animals are symbolic. But the roots of aetiological fables are purely explanatory; only later were they contaminated, as we have said, in order to introduce a critique or a guiding principle. In the Classical Age this practically did not occur yet. But the fables could be symbolic; the aetiology of the cicada, for example, refers to the way of behaving of the men dedicated to the Muses. Although not always, as the aetiology of the lark is not like this.

To start with, it is appropriate for us to look at the "first stages" to which the Classical animalistic fables refer, to the extent that we know them or can conjecture about them. In Hesiod, the purpose was to dissuade Perses from following the path of injustice; however, a fable is told in an anomalous way, describing those who oppose the powerful as foolish and only later is it clarified that this is the conduct of beasts, not of men. Archilochus, for his part, uses his fables to threaten the perjurer Lycambes, to reject the advances of the prostituted Neobula ("The Old Lion and the Fox"), to satirize

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[15] *Dysc.* 633 ff.

the local politicians of Paros in the figure of the monkey; the fable of the lion, the fox and the stag was undoubtedly used to make fun of the ingenuousness of somebody who has fallen into the trap of the powerful. Theognis attacks an unfaithful friend with the theme of the snake; Archilochus attacks self-seeking people with the fable of the wasps, the partridges and the farmer, the vain and boastful with that of the mule. Other fables ("The Hares and the Lions", "The Sheep and the Dog") make fun of the pretension to equality of the weakest, and advise them to act prudently. The second, specifically, is told by Socrates to Aristarchus so that he can use it to argue against his workers, who complain that only he is idle; the first is a retort to those who claim absolute equality.

In short, there is always a position against somebody, although some advice on behaviour can sometimes be deduced from this. The same applies to other fables. "The Trees and the Torrent" is a criticism of the inflexibility of Creon in *Antigone* and a presage of his fall; the fable of Stesichorus warns those of Himera not to give a bodyguard to Phalaris; the story by Aesop about the fox and the hedgehog warns the Samians not to condemn a demagogue to death, just as "Aesop and the Dog", in Aristophanes, is the response to a pointless attack. At other times, there is no explicit indication about the first stage, but it can easily be guessed. "The Crab and the Snake" was told at the banquet to those who made criticisms or gave advice when they "lived in glass houses", for example.

Of course, all this does not imply a fixed form in the conclusion of the fable. This may simply consist of action, as we have seen, or of an oral "closing statement". In both cases there may or may not be an epimythium, linked to the first stage, in which the narrator in turn draws his conclusions. On the other hand, the "closing statement" may be by the victor or the victim. It may be sarcastic, therefore, or else a warning or a lament about himself. But, whatever the case is, it may be preferred to give a sentence with a general scope, describing how the customary course of the world is. "Home is best", concludes the turtle in "Zeus and the Turtle".[16] And it may come from a positive form, giving some advice.

Let us look at some examples. The hawk in Hesiod is satisfied with a sentence: "It is foolishness on the part of those that attempt...". But the victor may be satisfied with sarcasm: "Oh monkey, with a

[16] Cercidas, cf. Gerhard, *Phoenix von Kolophon*, p. 247, cf. H. 108.

rear like that?", says the fox to the monkey in Archilochus; "your words lack claws and teeth", say the hares to the lions; "stop dancing", the fisherman tells the fish. "The Crow and the Fox", in the Augustana (H. 126), which is possibly ancient,[17] also finishes on a note of sarcasm, as does "The Dog and the Hare" (H. 139, cf. Sophocles 885 R.). Although some advice may be given directly, such as by the crab to the snake or by Aesop to the dog, simply to show a truth; the dog tells the sheep that, without him, they would not even be able to eat.

f) *The Classical Animalistic Fable, Between the Comic and the Tragic*
As we are seeing, the agonal fable is an essentially dramatic fable which only loses this character in a few cases within the Classical Age. There is a physical or dialectic confrontation, with a conclusion. It was only later that the collections included fables with a simple dialogue or a simple situation, which are resolved with a witty phrase. In a certain sense, fables are pieces of abbreviated theatre; this is the case with almost all those from the Classical Age and many of the Collections.

At the same time they are used, let us say, to advise a form of behaviour or, rather, to advise against a form of behaviour. They are "exempla" within a very extensive genre that embraces the myth, the anecdote, etc., and which, as we have seen, progressively narrowed its limits. More specifically, they are a particularly impressive resource within a genre, that of lyric poetry (and before the didactic poetry of Hesiod) whose purpose is, precisely, to act upon others, by dissuading, advising, reproaching, satirizing. Theatre, Comedy and Tragedy consist, in short, in exempla or paradigms of behaviour to be followed or rejected. To present solutions to our problems, although they are sometimes painful or sometimes utopian.

In another Chapter (II 3) I will establish the position of the fable within this complex of literary data. But we will make a few points here, with reference to the animalistic fable from the Classical Age, insofar as we know it.

We will do no more at this point than anticipate what will be explained in greater detail later on. The Greek lyric, including Hesiod, brings together themes that only later were classified as tragic and

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[17] Cf. Perry, "Demetrius of Phalerum . . ." *cit.*, p. 327.

comic. In Archilochus, the weeping for the dead Parians in a shipwreck or the grief over human destiny—so unpredictable—are accompanied by a satire on himself when he lost the shield or on general Glaucus with his hair shaped like a horn. Now, within the literature of "exempla", there appear those we would call "tragic" and those we would call "comic". Sometimes the difference is not so much one of fact as of viewpoint. Oedipus, when expelled from Thebes, is the object of lamentation in the tragedy; Cleon, expelled from Athens, is the object of laughter in the comedy. Mixed situations exist, in the fable at least, prior to the scission between tragedy and comedy, which is so characteristic of the Greek literature, but starting from a later date.

This is the case of certain types of poetry with which the animalistic fable is closely related; the Iamb particularly has links relating it closely with future comedy. On one hand, as regards the animalistic theme in itself; we will discuss this later. On the other, as regards certain internal features.

If we begin with the agonal fables, the "comic" approach is the dominant one; already the very situation of being "against someone" that is proper to almost all fables, with their use of sarcasm, attack, etc., which we have discussed, predisposes them to this.

Firstly, there is a comedy of situations. The mice put on horns to fight with the weasels and are defeated because of this. The eagle flees from the beetle's repellent balls, the lion must have recourse to the fox's tricks to find food. The camel dances ridiculously and the monkey believes he is really a king because he has won a dance, while in another fable he boasts of noble ancestors; it all ends up in ridicule. Just as it is ridiculous that the mule remembers his mother the mare and not his father the ass, that the wasps and partridges want to play the role of the oxen, that the fox that has been left without a tail wants to persuade the others to cut theirs off, that the bramble tries to mediate between the laurel and the olive, that the crow claims to be able to sing, that the sheep claim to be equal to the dog or the hares to the lions, that the snake gives advice to the crab. At other times it is the fight itself that is comic, as with the frogs and mice in the parody that is the *Batrachomyomachia*.

This ridiculing of situations is frequently accentuated in the final "closing statement", which contains mockery and derision; sometimes it is only here, and not in the situation itself, that we find the comic element, as is the case of "The Fisherman and the Fish", with the

supposed "dance" of the latter, and in "Aesop and the Dog". We have already referred to the sarcastic endings of many fables; this sarcasm is sometimes combined with threats or dissuasive advice.

It is the powerful character—although he is less powerful than he imagines—that usually looks ridiculous and experiences defeat, the same as in comedy. This is the case particularly with the eagle in "The Eagle and the Fox" and "The Eagle and the Beetle" (where there is, in passing, a certain irony on Zeus himself); and with the lion, who is deceived by the fox or is only able to eat the stag with the help of the latter. These are examples not so much of wickedness (although in "The Eagle and the Fox" there is a moralizing vein) as of lack of intelligence. The supposed strengths of those such as the monkey are passed over, and they are uncovered as what they really are; Stesichorus' horse can be included in this category. And the same is the case with the professedly "smart" animals, such as the mule, the wasps and the partridges, the fox without a tail, the crow, the sheep, the hares. There is also mockery for victims who owe their misfortune to their own foolishness, such as the stag devoured by the lion.

Human weakness and foolishness are the object of laughter in the comedy; in the fable too, represented by various animals. Yet at the same time comedy presents the comic type of hero: a character who is seemingly weak, but is actually clever, tricky, who prevails at the end with his cajolery, and who is in fact seeking a better order, liberation from the powerful or from oppression in general: a Pisthetaerus, a coarse joker, etc. Despite the fact that this character in turn has his undeniable blemishes and is not taken too seriously.

This role is basically represented in the fable by the fox. The role does not always appear, however; the fable may be played out between the foolish and the powerful ("The Hares and the Lions"), the foolish again and those who give them a just response ("The Sheep and the Dog", "The Wasps, the Partridges and the Farmer", "The Snake and the Crab", etc.). But it does frequently occur.

It must be observed that the fox does not appear in his own role in all our fables; in those of the Collections he sometimes also appears in secondary roles. In "The Eagle and the Fox" it is as the weak animal that triumphs over the strong, but without cunning; he simply resorts to praying to Zeus. In this and in all other respects, this fable has a mixed character. In "The Tailless Fox", the fox plays a role to which we have already referred.

Elsewhere it is the intelligent and tricky animal that meets with

success, whereas at other times he acts purely out of the desire to make fun of somebody. Thanks to the lies of the fox the lion gets food, but the fox himself does not fall into the trap. On the other hand, he makes the monkey fall into a trap and then makes fun of him, and does something similar with the crow. But he also summarily mocks the pretensions of the monkey to nobility. In a situation that we might refer to as "tragic", when he is full of lice, he nevertheless retains his humour and his *sang-froid*: it is better to leave the lice where they are.

The theme of the victory of the clever weak is also encountered with the role assigned to other protagonists. Particularly the beetle, in "The Eagle and the Beetle"; similarly the reed, which by bending defeats the trees. The theme appears in the Classical Age in non-animalistic fables ("Boreas and Helios", H. 46, in an epigram by Sophocles in Athenaeus 604 F) and is very frequent in the Collections.

As we have said, fables exist that we might call tragic, although in general they are not exempt from more or less comic elements. In principle, those fables that present an *agon* or a situation finishing with the lament of the defeated weak are tragic: "The Eagle and the Arrow", "The Fisherman and the Octopus", "The Farmer and the Serpent", "The Gardener and the Dog". Also those of the type of "The Hawk and the Nightingale", in which the strong prevails brutally, as in the allusion, or rather simile, by Theognis about the dog carried off by the torrent and in "The Dog and the Hare" by Sophocles. Tragic elements are contained in the fable of "The Trees and the Torrent", where the former are uprooted; and, particularly, in "The Eagle and the Fox". In this we see perjury and sacrilege, the death of the fox's cubs (in the Augustana also of those of the eagle) and there is a threat of punishment for the ungodly.

Now it is customary, as we have said, for elements that we would describe as comic to intervene in these fables; indeed, the very presence of animals invites this. Everything finishes well, as in a comedy, in "The Eagle and the Fox" and both Lycambes and the eagle are involved in sarcastic comments: Archilochus is like a cicada that screeches and causes a bad reputation, the eagle is just like the cowardly eagle in the vision in *Agamemnon*.[18] There is criticism of the conduct of the hunted nightingale, described as ἄφρων, foolish, of

[18] Cf my works "Nouveaux fragments..." and "El tema del águila..." already cited.

the stag, as we have said, of the trees, who do not know how to bend in time. Even the eagle that dies "on account of his own feathers" is seen in this light. And even the imprudent farmer who shelters the serpent at his breast. The hare captured by the dog still has the humour to ironize on this and the situation of the gardener bitten by the dog he is about to save, or that of the fisherman who hesitates over whether to catch the octopus or not, cannot avoid being laughable, as they are situations midway between the tragic and the ridiculous.

Tragic themes and conclusions are not lacking in the agonal fable, but comic treatments tend to dominate or at least to blend in with them. These dominate totally in the aetiological fables. Aetiologies are applied to explain rarities: the crest on the head of the lark, the fact that the tortoise carries his house on his back, that cicadas supposedly neither eat nor drink, that pain and pleasure follow each other, that man is physically inferior to animals. These are bizarre things, we might say, which have bizarre explanations. We see the lark burying its father in its own head, the tortoise being late to Zeus' party, the lovers of the muses transformed into cicadas, pleasure and pain chained together, Zeus and Prometheus guilty of oversights during the creation of animals and man. Nor is there an absence of tragic themes mixed in; these are present in some of the aetiologies related to man, in particular. But the intentionally comic vision dominates. It is this feature, we think, that has mainly contributed to the inclusion of these narrations in the fable genre, from which they are very far in other aspects. On the other hand, this prevalence of humour is what brought the animalistic fable together with various anecdotes and motifs and isolated it, on the other hand, from the myth in general, which tended to be classified as tragic.

Thus, in short, the creation of the concept of the fable—not only the animalistic fable—in the 5th century, as part of a more extensive ancient grouping, would in a certain sense be a reflection of the same tendency that operated in the differentiation of the dramatic genre into comedy and tragedy, which I have discussed extensively in my work on the theme.[19]

[19] *Fiesta, Comedia y Tragedia*, Barcelona 1972, 2nd ed., Madrid 1983 (English translation *Festival, Comedy and Tragedy*, Leiden 1975).

2. *The Classical Fable in the Collections*

a) *How do we Isolate the Classical Fable in the Collections?*

It is wholly evident that the Collection of Demetrius Phalereus, which brought together the Classical fable and which survives, in more or less modified and expanded form, in our Collections, necessarily had to contain more fables than the small number of which traces remain in the Classical sources. The problem is that of reconstructing this Collection, separating the ancient material from the recent in the fables that have reached us.

At the present time we are unable to effect this separation; it consists fundamentally in a process of identification of the fables showing recent features in terms of their content, form, and other motifs. We can provisionally qualify as ancient those fables of the Collections that show no traces of content or forms that we have stated to be non-existent or rare in the Classical Age; that is to say, we must deny this quality on principle to fables without a comic character or a doctrine that is "against something", to situation fables with a single character, to fables with structures that are very far removed from the rather simple ones we have considered. Of course, fables deriving from ancient themes (similes, oracles, maxims, anecdotes), which they have fabulized, are not ancient; we will give an account of these in our Chap. II 4.

Fables with a Cynic or Stoic content must clearly be eliminated. But here the process is not a mechanical one, as there are some very debatable cases. Firstly, because themes such as that of φύσις or nature are common to both the ancient fable and these philosophies; it is precisely on account of these common elements that the fable was adopted by Cynicism; other themes are certainly more discriminative. Secondly, because an ancient fable may be modified in the collections; we need only consider that Zeus does not appear in H. 1 "The Eagle and the Fox" and the fox ends up eating the eagle's young, that both animals use cunning in H. 4, "The Nightingale and the Hawk", and that it is the spirit of the monkey that is subjected to criticism in H. 83, "The Fox and the Monkey".

It is therefore easy for us to rule out the possibility of certain fables coming from the Classical Age, such as H. 82, "The Flies", a "situation" fable with a single character; the flies, which, when caught in the honey, complain about dying for a small pleasure: a Cynic theme. Something similar can be said of H. 80: the captain

of the ship that has survived a storm talks of the τύχη that may sink it again. In H. 9, "The Fox and the He-goat" (which is left by the former in the well after helped him get out), the Cynic touches regarding fortune (συντυχία), appetite causing ruin (ἐπιθυμία) and the lack of intelligence or (φρένες) of the he-goat, might be considered secondary. But the structure is very complex—in three acts, something that does not occur in the common type of fable (that of Herodotus, Aristophanes, Xenophon, Aristotle) that is included in the collections; the clearly evil character of the fox also has no precedents in earlier times.

Examples such as these and many others are probably late. This is also the case with others offered by fables derived from fables that we know to be Classical. Thus fable H. 10, which tells of how the fox was scared when he saw the lion for the first time, but later became accustomed to him and reached the point of speaking to him, undoubtedly originates from "The Lion and the Fox"; yet it is a far from agonal fable, and is in fact a situation fable with a single character, whose theme, "people can get used to anything", has no relation with the ancient fable. The curious thing is that another fable derives from this, this time a clearly Cynic one, that of the rich man and the tanner (H. 221, the rich man gets used to a bad smell).

The fabulists find new variations on the theme of the sick lion in his cave. Phaedrus I 21 makes the animals revile and butt him; the kick by the ass hurts the lion most. In another fable by the same poet, IV 14, the lion claims to be just, but whatever the animals answer, he eats them all—even the monkey, who takes on the new role of an astute animal here. Yet Babrius 107 varies this last theme, placing the emphasis on the injustice of the powerful; here the lion is in his cave with the monkey and the fox and when the monkey shares out the hunt among the visitors at the expense of the fox and the latter complains, the lion blames the monkey. That is to say, magnificence is at the cost of others and the fox plays a rather uncharacteristic role.

There is, however, no fixed rule for separating the imitations dating from a later time from those of the Classical Age.

There is other supporting evidence, however, yet once again this is inadequate. According to the thesis we will sustain, the remnants of metre in the anonymous fables we have discussed date back to the third century BC, to a date a little after Demetrius. The fables

without a trace of verse are therefore from later. This does not mean that certain fables with metre cannot already be from a secondary stage, Cynic specifically. Such things may be said as regards the formulaic style of the fables of the Augustana and others.

As we can see, it is not easy to reconstruct Demetrius' Collection, which could, on the other hand, contain fabulizations of Classical themes, that is to say, fables that belonged to other genres in Classical times. Although we will return to the theme with more elements for consideration later on, it is clear for the time being, we think, that our collections, which contain innovations with respect to Demetrius, are full of secondary and late elements. Such late elements include complex structures or, on the contrary, others of the situation type; themes that are not "against something", but simply dialogues or explanations, maxims, etc.; that is to say, remote from the agonal, which on the other hand even extends into certain aetiologies; animals in different functions to their traditional ones; morals of the Cynic type in relation to fortune, scorning wealth, beauty, pleasure and power; obsessive emphasis on nature, reason, truth; the presence of the sexual and scatological, etc.

Sometimes, by comparing the different versions, we can see the line of evolution, and the oldest version can be reconstructed—a task which has barely begun. Yet the limits between the ancient and the modern are not always clearly defined. The worst aspect of this question is undoubtedly the fact that we are conclusively condemned to seek to identify the fables in the Collections that are ancient by attributing this characteristic to fables that are similar to the ancient fables that were directly transmitted, on account of their structure, theme, intention, the function of the animals (and which animals they are). Therefore, if other types existed in ancient times that have not reached us, but were indeed in the Collections, it is difficult to retrieve them. And borderline cases exist, created by the fact that—although rarely—in the Classical Age there were already non-agonal fables (simple dialogues or situations) and fables with an anomalous structure generally.

Although we are constantly referring to the Collections here, the same of course applies to well-known fables in the Hellenistic and Roman Ages that are not included in the Collections and are to be found in the authors who maintained the use of the exemplum-fable. Just as there are ancient fables that did not reach the collections and ancient themes that were fabulized in same, there are ancient

fables that reached later authors without crossing over into the collections; both fables that definitely appeared in Classical times and, we suppose, others which have not been proven to be from this period.

b) *Some Examples of Fables of the Classical Age in the Collections and in Late Authors*

With these limitations we can offer some examples of fables that are possibly ancient, yet have reached us only in the circumstances to which we are referring. This will at least show that the fable—and specifically, the animal or plant fable—was much more plentiful in the Classical Age than the meagre direct evidence reveals.

In any case, it is important to point out that in this study we proceed with a certain amplitude, even without relying on total certainty. Even in fables created by the Hellenistic Age in imitation of other ancient ones or by means of fabulizations of maxims, etc., from the Classical Age, the very fact that these are recorded in the fable genre means that there are ancient elements in these new fables.

Thus, the most appropriate place for the study of certain elements of the fables of the Collections, whether animalistic or not, has been in our chapter I 2, in which we have discussed the definition of the fable and the anomalous fables; likewise, certain other fables may be studied most profitably when discussing the Hellenistic elements in the Collections. Yet, once these exclusions have been made, the remainder—whether whole fables or elements of fables that we find in the Collections without evidence of their appearing in earlier times—also merit the attention of those wishing to find out about the traditional characteristics of the animalistic fable. Particularly insofar as there is no clear-cut interruption of continuity with the fable that is proven to be from the Classical Age. Of course, where we find fables that closely agree in terms of their form or content with non-animalistic fables with a recent character, we suppose these to be newly created and far removed from the Classical Age.

On the other hand, we will give a report on those animalistic themes, or treatments of same, that we do not discuss here when considering the Hellenistic fable; they will complete the treatment of the Classical animal fable if we feel that some of these, for one reason or another, may come from that date.

We believe that the most practical way to proceed consists in establishing groups of fables, types, within those appearing directly

in the Classical Age, and looking for correspondences within the fables of the Collections. It has therefore been established that the fables we give as examples either existed in the Classical Age or were created based on the models of that time. Clearly, there may be variants on the structural details and even other important ones, such as mixed types in which situation fables and various agonal fables converge; or the use of the ancient outlines to expound the Cynic ideology, for example. We do not attempt, of course, to trace a definite boundary, which would, moreover, be impossible. Nor to say everything there is to be said on the theme.

Below we present eight types of Classical fable, together with examples of these in the Collections. We do not go into the characteristics of the Classical types, which have already been given; we indicate some details of the structure of the fables of the Collections, albeit sparingly.

Fable Types

1. "The Old Lion and the Fox"

The powerful uses deceit that is frustrated by the cunning of the weaker animal; the former is usually taunted at the end. This is also the case of "The Eagle and the Beetle". Examples:

H. 6 (= Babrius 45): "The Wild Goats and the Goatherd". The goatherd wants to win over the wild goats that he has trapped with his own in a cave by giving them better food. They escape and reply to the complaints of the shepherd that it is clear from his behaviour that it will be them that he will leave no food if he comes to own some new goats tomorrow.

H. 7 (Babrius 121, Plu. *Mor.* 490 c, etc.): "The Cat and the Hens". The cat masquerades as a doctor, but the hens are not deceived. When he asks how they are, they answer: "Well, if you go away".

H. 81 (= Babrius 17, Phaedrus IV 2). The cat pretends to be dead, hanging from a nail, so that the mice are taken in. A mouse comments: "Friend, although you have become a sack, I will not approach".

H. 148 (= Babrius 97, cf. T.Assend. 97 and Syntipas 38): "The Lion and the Bull". The lion invites the bull to eat, but wants to devour him; but the latter, on seeing large cauldrons and spits, leaves. To the lion's question, he answers that he sees some preparations

not for sacrificing a sheep, but a bull. Note that the theme of the fight between the bull and the lion is familiar to Homeric similes and Archaic art.

H. 162 (= Avianus 26, Syntipas 55, etc.): "The Wolf and the Goat". The wolf invites a goat, that is standing on a peak, to come down to pasture on the grassland. She answers: "you do not invite me to pasture, the fact is, you need some food".

H. 166: "The Wolf and the Sheep". Wounded by the dogs and thirsty, the wolf asks the sheep for water, promising to give her food. She answers: "If I give you drink, I will be used as your food".

H. 168 (= Babrius 132, Avianus 42): "The Wolf and the Lamb". The lamb that has taken refuge in a temple is told by the wolf to come out, because if the priest catches it, he will sacrifice it to god. The lamb says that it prefers this to being devoured by the wolf.

Phaedrus, cod. Ademari 61 (= Romulus II 10, Wiss. 5): "The Kid and the Wolf". The wolf imitates the goat's voice, so that the kid will open the door to him, but the latter treats him as an enemy and does not open.

As we can see, these fables have common characteristics. The situation is shown, there is an action attempting deception by the powerful and a sarcastic answer by the weak; or else a response by way of an action, followed by a sarcastic answer to a question from the powerful. The latter may be sick or in a bad situation, as in "The Old Lion and the Fox", and invite the weak one to approach; a variant is that he himself approaches disguised as or imitating another animal. This theme of the disguise, present in Archilochus in the theme of the monkey, is very frequent in the fable of the Collections. It may be connected with the same origins as the fable, cf. Chap. II 2.

2. "The Eagle and the Fox"

We have said above that "The Eagle and the Fox", derived from an Akkadian theme, is an atypical fable, in which the powerful is only defeated through the intervention of the divinity and not by the cunning of an animal. The result is that the theme of the powerful defeated by the weak is often found in the Collections, but that of the cunning of the latter tends to be added.

A comparable theme is only found in "The Mouse and the Frog", which appears in H. 302 but in fact comes from the *Life of Aesop* 133 and, definitively, from the *Batrachomyomachia*. The mouse, tied to

the frog's leg, drowns, but first curses it and announces that he will be avenged; indeed, the frog is devoured by the kite. It is clear that all this is anomalous within the fable, as it is a theme of epic parody. In the *Batrachomyomachia*, the sequence of the episode, in which the treacherous intention of the frog is not clear, although the mouse appeals for divine vengeance, is the war between frogs and mice.

Below we will see some fables in which the theme of the astute action of the weak is introduced; there is either a closing action or sarcasm by the weak, or else the lament of the strong defeated by his foolishness through paying attention to his presumed victim:

H. 99 (= Rhet. Branc. 3): "The Kid and the Wolf". The kid asks the wolf to play the flute so that he can dance before dying. The dogs arrive and the kid survives; the wolf complains with sarcasm against himself: "This is what I deserve, since being a butcher I should not imitate a flute-player".

H. 145 (= Babrius 98, Aphthonius 7, Diodorus Siculus XIX 25.5–6): "The Lion and the Farmer". The farmer convinces the lion, who is in love with his daughter, so have his teeth pulled out and claws cut; then he sends him off with a beating.

H. 254 (= Babrius 177 Cr., Libanius 2) "The Tortoise and the Hare". The tortoise wins the race against the hare due to the negligence of the latter and his own steadfast determination. Rather than deception, there is higher intelligence and application. This is undoubtedly the adaptation to an ancient scheme of a Cynic theme, which we will study, that of the victory of the small.

Babrius 44: "Three Bulls and a Lion". Here the lion, who is the weak one, arranges things so that three bulls argue with each other, thereby succeeding in devouring them. The atypical role of the lion demonstrates that the scheme is an ancient one, but the fable new (although the theme of the bull/lion fight is ancient).

Nicephorus Basilacas (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* I, pp. 423 ff.): "The Bull Deceived by the Lion". The lion persuades the other to pulled out his horns, whereupon he devours him. The same conclusions.

At other times the theme is contaminated with others. Thus, in the complex fable H. 267 (from Achilles Tatius II 22; there are some themes in Babrius 112) "The Mosquito and the Lion". The mosquito bites the lion without the latter being able to defend himself, but while he is boasting, he is imprisoned in a spider's web. This is the theme of the weak winner contaminated with that of the boastful defeated, which we will see later on.

However, a series of fables exist that are indirectly related to these schemes, simply containing taunts against the powerful. Above all, they are Cynic developments. Here are some examples:

Cod. Ademari 37 (= Wiss. III 3, Rom. III 3, cf. H. 272) "The Proud Horse". The ass laughs at the boastful horse that has ended up doing farm work and flounders about in the mud.

Syntipas 6: "The Hunter and the Wolf". With the help of the dogs, the shepherd captures the wolf that was devouring the sheep and reproaches him for his cowardice.

Phaedrus V 3: "The Bald Man and the Fly". The bald man, who is unable to get rid of the fly and slaps himself to hit it, denigrates it as a drinker of human blood.

Babrius 105: "The Wolf and the Lion". The lion steals a sheep from the wolf and when the latter complains, he says that nobody has given him the sheep either.

These fables are late, as we have said. They belong to a mixed genre, which includes agonal motifs, that of the defeat of the boastful, etc., together with a moralist position. It starts off definitively, however, with the theme of the criticism of the powerful, that is, of the type "The Eagle and the Fox" and also "The Fox and the Monkey".

But even discounting this last variant, it is clear that the scheme of "The Eagle and the Fox" has always been an odd one. It has been contaminated with motifs of deception, coming from other types, making its characteristics resemble the normal ones of the fable.

3. "The Fox and the Monkey"

A theme that is not very frequent, but enormously characteristic, is that of the fox and the monkey, present in two fables by Archilochus. Although here we are referring above all to the one in *Epode VI*, in which the monkey king falls into the fox's trap and we see that he is simply a monkey under his lionskin. The fable in *Epode VII*, in which the monkey is derided by the fox, who does not believe in his supposedly illustrious ancestors, does not present the monkey to us as king, but is simply the theme of foolish boasting, which we refer to as the theme of "The Fox and the Crow", that is, type 4.

Moreover, type 4 is clearly linked to this, just as this is linked to 1 and sometimes 2, portraying the weakness of the supposedly strong, who is deceived. In the fables of the Collections, there are links between this type and others; for example, the *agon* in which each

one exalts his own merits. Thus from H. 244 "The Peacock and the Rook" comes H. 245, "The Peacock and the Crane", of the agonal type and with Cynic morals. Yet it must be added that Phaedrus I 3 "The Proud Rook and the Peacock" has corrupted the theme with that of the disguised animal who is driven away, that of H. 103.

Let us now give some examples:

H. 2 (= T.Assend. 2, Aphthonius 19, Syntipas 9) "The Eagle, the Rook and the Shepherd". The rook wants to be like the eagle and plunges down onto a he-goat; but he gets entangled in his wool and is captured by the shepherd, who clips his wings and takes him to his children. The final sarcasm of the shepherd: "As I know very well, he is a rook, but according to what he wants, he is an eagle".

H. 103 (= Babrius 72, Aphthonius 31, Phaedrus I 3, Philodemus, *Rh.* II, p. 68 S., Horace, *Epist.* I 3, 15, Diogenes Laertius VI 80, where it is attributed to Diogenes the Cynic): "The Rook and the Birds". Here, in contrast with the *Epode* by Archilochus, the competition for sovereignty over the birds is about to take place and Zeus is about to choose the rook, which has disguised himself with feathers. But each bird takes back his own and the impostor is unmasked. There is no closing statement of derision. This theme of the animal that disguises himself and goes with others, who reject him (and who is sometimes also rejected by his own kind later) is common, cf. for example H. 131, "The Rook and the Pigeons".

H. 199 (= T.Assend. 11, Aphthonius 10, Avianus 5, Lucian, *Pisc.* 32 and elsewhere): "The Ass and the Lionskin". The ass, dressed in a lionskin, scares the animals. The lion admits that he himself would have been scared, if he had not known it was an ass.

H. 244 (there is an echo in Phaedrus I 3): "The Peacock and the Rook". Here it is the peacock that claims he should be chosen as king on account of his beauty, and the rook replies: "And if you are king and an eagle attacks us, how are you going to defend us?". This fable is derived from the previous one with a Cynic tendency (the theme of useless beauty).

There are many derivatives from this. I will cite one, Babrius 110, "The Dog and his Master". The master, who is going to go off on a trip, says to the dog: "Why do you open your mouth expectantly? Prepare everything, you are coming with me". And the dog replies (copied from the Cynics): "I have everything with me; you are the one lagging behind".

4. "The Crow and the Fox"

As we have just said, this derives from the previous type, in which somebody boasts of what they do not have and meet with a sarcastic retort, except that here the theme of the king or powerful is not present. In fact, the type is exemplified by the second fable of the fox and the monkey in Archilochus, that in *Epode* VII: the fox replies sarcastically to the monkey, who boasts of his ancestors. This theme is closely imitated in H. 75, "The Dolphin and the Monkey"; see below.

On other occasions the theme refers to the boastful weak defeated by the strong; it is a variant of 5, the type of "The Hawk and the Nightingale". Or else the theme of the powerful does not come into play at all.

This theme of boasting sarcastically rejected is often found in the Classical fable. Besides that of the fox and the monkey and that of the crow and the fox (there appears to be archaeological evidence to support this dating), we may recall that of the snake and the crab (the latter criticizes a defect in the former that he also possesses), the mice and the weasels (the former are defeated by putting on a helmet with horns), the dog and Aesop (the former utters vain threats), the mule (boasts of his mother the mare and forgets his father the ass). A theme related to this—in fact the continuation of it—is that of the false and absurd pretensions of some animals, such as the fable of the sheep and the dog (the former claim they should receive the same treatment), the hares and the lions (the former in turn claim they should be granted an unrealizable equality), the wasps, the partridges and the farmer (the ox does what these animals offer better and more cheaply).

Note that there is always the constant of the criticism of those who are not satisfied with their nature, as also happens in types 3 and 1; the animals are always those whose position in society or aspirations are above their true nature. But the theme of the domination of the strong, in 2 and in 5, also refers to nature; it is foolish for the weak to expect it to be ignored.

Let us look at some examples in the Collections. A first group comprises animals that boast foolishly and falsely and die or else are the object of sarcasm:

H. 75: "The Dolphin and the Monkey". The dolphin saves the monkey, who has been shipwrecked. The latter, on the back of the dolphin, says he is an Athenian from a noble family, and answer-

ing a question from the dolphin states that Piraeus is a close friend of his family. The dolphin lets him drown.

H. 159: "The Wolf and the Horse". The wolf gives the horse barley, which he of course cannot eat. The horse mocks him: if the wolf liked this food, he would not prefer the ears (that is to say, hearing the horse eat) to the stomach.

H. 287 (= Babrius 120, Aphthonius 24, Avianus 6, Themistius in *RhM* 32, p. 458): "The Worm and the Fox". The fox asks the worm, who is bragging that he is a doctor, why he is not able to cure his own limp.

Avianus 38: "The River Fish and the Sea Lamprey". The river fish, who has ended up in the sea, boasts of his nobility to the sea fish. The lamprey tells him that if they were both caught and sold, then a noble man would pay a high price for him, but a common person would only spend a few coppers on the other. As we can see, the theme of the *agon* is already entering the scene here.

Par. Bodl. 148 Cr.: "The Boastful Swallow and the Crow". The swallow boasts about himself and his ancestors. The crow answers: "What would you have said if you had a proper tongue, since you speak like this with a short tongue?"

Below are some examples of the series in which the agonal motif is most clearly present; there is a confrontation in which the weak believes himself strong, the result of which is his death or ridicule:

H. 84: "The Ass, the Cock and the Lion". The lion flees from the song of the cock (a traditional motif, cf. a derivation in *AP* VI 217); the ass then comes out to his encounter confidently and is devoured.

H. 135: "The Dog and the Fox". The dog pursues the lion, but the latter turns round and roars, whereupon the dog flees. The fox says: "You idiot, you pursued a lion, yet you could not even bear his roar". This is a variation on the theme of the lion pursued by dogs in Homeric similes.

H. 140 (= Babrius 84, Romulus IV 8): "The Mosquito and the Bull". The mosquito, who has settled on the bull's horn, asks if he wants him to leave. The bull answers: "I did not notice when you came, nor will I realize when you leave". Note that there is a very similar Babylonian fable, that of the elephant and the mosquito,[20] which seems to prove the Antiquity of this.

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[20] In E. Ebeling, *Die babylonische Fabel und ihre Bedeutung für die Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1927, p. 50; and Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus*, p. XXXII.

H. 149 (= Babrius 113): "The Lion and the Farmer". In order to hunt the lion, the farmer locks him in his stable, but has to free him when he begins to devour the oxen. His wife criticizes him: "It is quite right that you have suffered; why did you want to contain an animal that you should have feared from a distance?" There is some corruption with the theme "It is right that I have suffered", cf. type 8.

H. 151 (= Babrius 82): "The Lion Scared of the Mouse". A mouse strolls past the mouth of a sleeping lion and the fox reprimands the lion for fearing a mouse. The lion answers: "I was not scared by the mouse, but rather I am angry at his audacity".

Syntipas 38: "A Dog that Pursued a Wolf". "I do not fear you, but your master", says a wolf who seemed to be fleeing from a dog, who is very proud of having put the wolf to flight.

A variant on this is the theme that you must not boast of your victory too soon:

H. 266 (= Aphthonius 12, Syntipas 7): "Two Cocks and an Eagle". In a cockfight, while the winner boasts, he is snatched by the eagle and the other mates with the hens.

H. 267 (from Achilles Tatius II 22, cf. Babrius 112 "The Mouse and the Bull", which combines with 140 "The Mosquito and the Bull" and 155 "The Mouse and the Lion"): "The Mosquito and the Lion". As we have seen above, this combines the theme of the strong defeated by the weak with that of the death of the boastful; the mosquito, winning against the lion, is caught by the spider while boasting.

Syntipas 30 (cf. H. 272): "The Wild Ass and the Donkey". The wild ass boasts to the donkey that he is free and bears no loads, but the lion arrives and devours him, while the donkey survives.

Finally, as an example of the theme of vain aspirations, we cite:

H. 114 (cf. Lucian, *Ep. Sat.* 402): "The Ant and the Beetle". The beetle, who has not worked in the summer, asks for food from the ant when winter comes. He answers: "If you had worked when you reproached me for toiling, you would not be without food". As we have already stated (cf. p. 84), there is another variant in the Augustana, "The Ant and the Cicada", with a similar intention; there is also a tradition of this in Pseudo-Dositheus 17, Romulus XCIII, Aphthonius 1, Syntipas 43, Rhet. Branc. 1, Libanius 3, Thphyl., *Ep.* 61.

5. "The Hawk and the Nightingale"

Fables in which the strong summarily imposes force, rejecting the pleas of the weak, as in Hesiod, are rare or non-existent. The same is the case as with type 2, with the motif of cunning or deception—which fail here—being introduced. The Hesiodic fable itself introduces this motif in its version in H. 4: the nightingale unsuccessfully tries to persuade the hawk that he is too small to satiate him, and to look for larger birds. The following are similar:

H. 18 (= Babrius 18, Avianus 20): "The Fisherman and the Sardine". The fish begs the fisherman who has caught it to allow it to escape, so that he can catch it again when it is bigger. Answer: "I would be the greatest of fools if I were to leave what I have in my hands to seek an uncertain hope".

H. 41: "The Fox and the Dog". The fox enters the sheepfold and pretends to caress a lamb. He replies to the dog that asks him that he is being a wet-nurse and playing with the animal. The dog threatens him with trouble unless he frees the lamb.

H. 161 (= Babrius 94, Aphthonius 25, Phaedrus I 8): "The Wolf and the Heron". The heron has removed a bone from the wolf's throat and asks for reward, so the wolf says that he has already received enough by taking his head out of the wolf's mouth. This is of course a derivative theme.

Another variant is when the strong animal attempts to persuade the weak one that he is right, but cannot help eating him up when his line of argument fails:

H. 16: "The Cat and the Cock". After the two accusations by the cat, rejected by the cock, the former answers: "And if you have plenty of answers, am I not going to eat you for that reason?"

H. 160 (= Babrius 89, Phaedrus I 1, Basil., *Ep.* 189): "The Wolf and the Lamb". A very well-known fable, with an identical theme and also an almost identical final "closing statement".

A variant on this theme within the Classical fable is that of "The Stag, the Horse and the Man" in Stesichorus and Aristotle. Here the animal defeated in a first *agon* proceeds with counterproductive cunning by seeking an ally (the man), who ends up dominating him. His foolishness (comparable to the sort found in other types of fable) simply makes him change owners. As far as I can see, this type does not occur in the Collections, except in the version of our fable in same (H. 238). On the other hand, fables such as H. 150 ("The

Lion and the Dolphin") and others in which the ass or the fox helps the lion to hunt have inherited the theme of the useless ally.

6. "The Fox and the Hedgehog"

This type is that of the fables of debate, in which two theoretical positions, so to speak, are contrasted (verbally, or on the basis of some results). There are no set boundaries with fables of other types, since there is debate between the hawk and the nightingale, the wolf and the lamb, the eagle and the fox; in these fables it is the action that is important, whereas in those of debate, as we have said, it is first and foremost a matter of elucidating the advantages and disadvantages of two positions, two animals or two plants. The hedgehog claims to benefit the fox by removing his lice, but the latter is of a different opinion; and his victory is purely dialectic, the hypothesis that if the lice are removed worse ones will come does not occur. A similar case is that of "The Two Dogs". In "The Laurel and the Olive" a decision is not even reached. It belongs to a type already referred to in 3, in which two opposing characters each claim to be superior.

We have seen that the ἀγὼν λόγων or debate appears in other examples of the Classical fable, and always with the same characteristics; as is the case in fables that we have included in type 4, on account of other features, such as "The Partridges, the Wasps and the Farmer", "The Sheep and the Dog", "The Hares and the Lions". Of course, there are links with other types. Such as when the question of the superiority and inferiority is decided by action, as in "Boreas and the Sun" and "The Trees and the Reed", in the Classical fable and in versions of the Collections. In fact, there is no *agon* as such in these fables either, as it is an external agent (the wind or the torrent) that decides.

This derivation of the agonal fable that is the fable of debate occurs, of course, not only in the Classical fable but also in the Collections. Let us see some examples, in addition to those already mentioned on the subject of type 3. They are, in any case, lesser fables:

H. 43 (= Babrius 211): "The Frogs". When the pond dries, a frog suggests to another that they set up home in a well. The latter answers: "If the water dries up here, we will not be able to leave".

H. 248 (= Babrius 65): "The Peacock and the Crane". Each animal argues in favour of his superiority; it remains implicit that the

second is right. This introduces a Cynic motif, scorn for beauty.

H. 251: "The Sow and the Bitch". The bitch glories in the fact that she has given birth to many pups; the sow says she gives birth to blind animals.

Phaedrus IV 25: "The Ant and the Fly". The fly praises himself and is rebutted by the ant.

There are plenty of examples of this genre of the debate on one's own excellence in the Collections; not only those mentioned on the subject of type 3, in which the illogical aspirations of one character are rebutted. Regarding this type and its exemplification, we refer the reader to Josifović, *art. cit.*, col. 28 and to Thiele, "Phaedrus-studien III", *cit.*, pp. 376 ff.

Examples may also be given of the type in which it becomes clear who was right a posteriori. As in H. 70 "The Frogs", in which the frog that refuses to be persuaded to leave the road is flattened.

7. "The Eagle and the Arrow"

This is of course the type constituted by the "situation" fables, which we have already mentioned. The normal plot is one whereby somebody finds himself in an unfortunate situation, generally on account of his foolishness, and complains of this, as in the case of the eagle wounded "by his own feathers", the farmer bitten by the serpent that he had sheltered at his breast, the fisherman who simply complains of his situation on seeing the octopus. There are variants, of course, such as in "The Dog and the Hare" (in Sophocles 885 R.), in which the latter says to the dog that has hunted it and is first biting it, then licking it, to stop biting or kissing it to decide whether it is a friend or not.

These situation fables proliferated a great deal in the Collections; they were very frequently used to expound *khreiai*, proverbs, etc., often of a Cynic or moralist character. On the other hand, the type frequently appears in a very contaminated form, mixed with the motif of the *agon*, with a sarcastic "closing statement" (such as that of "The Dog and the Hare"), etc.

A first group of situation fables—the most traditional—is the sort ending with the victim's lament. Here are some examples:

H. 117: "The Hunter with Birdlime and the Snake". While the hunter stalks a thrush, the snake bites him. Lament.

H. 130 (= Par. Bodl. 150 Cr.): "The Crow and the Serpent". The

crow catches the serpent, who bites him. Lament (this fable and the previous one seem to be derived from "The Farmer and the Serpent").

H. 141 (Par. Bodl. 151 Cr., Antipater of Thessalonica in *AP* IX 3): "The Walnut". A walnut tree at which passers-by throw stones complains of its fate.

H. 262 (= Babrius 38): "The Woodcutters and the Oak". The oak complains not so much about the woodcutters as about the wedges that they use made from its own wood (identical theme to that of "The Eagle and the Arrow").

H. 265: "The Dog and the Snail". The dog complains of his ignorance, which has made him swallow a snail, mistaking it for an egg.

Babr. 29 (= Phaedrus, *App.* 21, cf. Lucian, *Asin.* 42.3): "The Old Horse". The old horse who has ended up in a mill complains of his fate. The version in Aphthonius 31 introduces a "survenant", as in the sub-type that we will study below.

Now, here are some fables showing a variation in the answer, in similar situations:

H. 52: "The Farmer and the Dogs". The farmer, who is out with the herd in a remote place in winter, is hungry and starts eating the oxen. The dogs conclude that it must be time to leave: how is he going to respect them?

H. 189 (= Aphthonius 30, Aelian, *VH* X 5, Clem. Al., *Strom.* VII 6.304): "The Piglet and the Fox". The piglet complains to those who are taking him to town. When questioned by the fox as to why he is squealing and the ewe and the goat are not, he answers that it is wool, milk etc. that are sought from them, from him meat. There is an explanatory development here of the theme of the lament (and an atypical function of the fox).

Babrius 24 (= Phaedrus I 6): "The Sun and the Frogs". The happiness of the frogs at the Sun's wedding is answered by the lament of the toad—a "survenant", like the fox in the previous fable—worried about the time when the Sun has children.

At other times, instead of using the lament, the victim uses a reproach, as in "The Dog and the Hare". This is the case in:

H. 224 (also in *PRyl.* 493, cf. *Emerita* 20, 1952, p. 354): "The Shepherd and the Sheep". While the shepherd is shaking down acorns, the sheep eat his clothes. Reproach by the shepherd to the sheep.

H. 232 (= Babrius 51): "The Shorn Sheep". The badly shorn sheep tells the shearer not to cut so short if he wants wool and to

sacrifice her once and for all if he wants meat. Copied, certainly, from "The Dog and the Hare".

Babrius 48: "The Hermes and the Dog". The stone Hermes is satisfied that the dog does not lap his oil or urinate on him.

Yet another type: at the lament of the character that appears in the first stage, a "survenant" adds that he has more reason to complain:

H. 45 (= Babrius 52): "The Oxen and the Axle". When the cart axle screeches, the oxen turn round and say: "And you scream, when we take the whole weight?"

H. 201: "The Ass and the Frogs". At the laments of the ass who has fallen into the pond, the frogs say: "What would you have done if you had been here as long as we have?"

Cod. Mb (in Perry 273): "The Flea and the Ox". The ox finds consolation from his servitude by rubbing his back, and this kills the flea.

Finally, as has been said already, there is a mixed type including an *agon* that finishes with the lament of the defeated:

H. 74: "The Beekeeper". Somebody steals the beehive and the bees sting the beekeeper. He complains.

H. 78 (= *Tetr.* II 17): "The Stag and the Lion". Escaping from some hunters, the stag is killed by a lion. Lament of the stag.

H. 79 (= *Tetr.* I 51): "The Stag and the Vine". The stag, who has hidden from some hunters behind a vine, is discovered when eating their leaves and is caught. Lament of the stag.

H. 152 (*Tetr.* II 13): "The Lion and the Bear". The two animals fight for a fawn, which is taken by the fox in the meantime. Lament of both.

H. 153: "The Lion and the Hare". The lion stops chasing the hare to go after the stag. Once this fails, he returns to the first, who has escaped in the meantime. Lament of the lion.

Cod. Ad. 30 (cf. H. 126): "The Partridge and the Fox". There is a double *agon* of deception: the partridge is hunted and then escapes. Both complain.

8. Aetiological Fables

To finish, let us recall the existence of the aetiological type, in which the story pure and simple, without speeches, predominates, although on some occasions it is contaminated with a debate. Here are some examples:

Aphthonius 3: "The Swans and the Kites". The kites used to sing formerly, like the swans. But when they wanted to imitate the neighing of the horses, they lost the gift of song.

H. 175: "The Ant". The ant was a greedy man whom Zeus transformed into an ant.

Phaedrus IV 16: "Prometheus Drunk". Explanation of the origins of the effeminate and lesbians, due to the negligence of Prometheus, who was drunk when he made the first men.

Phaedrus, *App.* 5–6: "Prometheus and the Lie". Explanation of why the truth is slow, but the lie has no feet.

In these examples and in others that may occur, it is easy to see that the same themes are conserved as in the Classical Age: the explanation of peculiarities and anomalies in animals, and also in men, as a result of their creation by Zeus and Prometheus.

3. *Conclusions*

We may conclude very briefly. There are some clear constants in the animalistic fables, irrespective of whether those appearing only in the Collections come from the Classical Age or are imitations of same. There are of course various modifications (this we will see even more clearly), yet in substance, as regards the themes, the animals, the "comic" and critical features and the structure and composition, the central core of the animalistic fable constitutes a very cohesive unit.

In the final analysis, it is dominated by the theme of the confrontation between animals that have a constant nature. Force and ingenuity are the factors that prevail; the winner boasts or taunts, the defeated moans and groans. And there is criticism of the strong who allow themselves to be defeated by the ingenuity of their weaker enemy, and the latter when they fall under the power of the strong on account of their own foolishness. Their attempts to arouse compassion are also criticized.

Criticism, along with the acceptance of these principles, is the driving force behind the fable. It shows how we must behave and must not behave, and this through satire or through the spectacle of the defeated; the latter feel self-pity, but for the others this is simply a reason for teaching lessons or for jeering.

Thus there are comic features linking the agonal fable with the

aetiological, which also teaches how the world is, although it does not give any advice other than to accept nature.

To make this whole panorama comprehensible, it must be compared with that of the other types of fables, the non-animalistic ones, highlighting the whole within the "exemplum" in general. And we must establish more closely the relations with the lyrical and dramatic genres of Greece, on which we have already offered some indications. And of course with the evolution in the Hellenistic and Roman Ages, which we have also discussed to a certain extent.

Yet it is also important to approach the problem of the origins, of the relationship with animalistic themes in general, with rituals, worship, etc. And the boundaries with other genres or animalistic literary elements already mentioned, such as the prophecy, the simile, the proverb, etc.

Supplement

There does not seem to be a new bibliography on the types and variants of these fables. On their functions, cf. G.-J. VAN DIJK, *Ainoi*, a very important work. On the intention of the fable, see above (works by GARCIA GUAL, PORTULAS, CASCAJERO, DEMANDT, PATTERSON, by VAN DIJK himself). I believe that, with the exception of Van Dijk, they exaggerate the socio-historical perspective of the Archaic and Classical Ages, that they forget the Hellenistic Age and, particularly, the critical, atemporal view of this type of literature (which of course has points in common with the contemporary aristocratic viewpoint).

As regards the isolation of the Classical fable (pp. 169 ff.), there does not seem to have been much progress, due to the atemporal consideration that is usually applied to the study of the fable, considered as being practically all from the Classical Age.

As regards the 'types' of fables on pp. 172 ff. and the examples given, see the supplementary data in our Vol. III.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE FABLE IN ITS ORIGINAL CONTEXT

I. *General Remarks*

When the problem of the origins of the Greek animalistic fable is approached, it is traditional to ask immediately about its origin outside Greece. At one time, the major question was whether the Greek fable came from the Indian one or vice versa; later, on the discovery of the Sumerian, Akkadian, Assyrian and Babylonian fable, the Mesopotamian origin of the Greek fable (and undoubtedly of the Indian fable) was considered unquestionable. We will discuss this theme later; we will see that there are indeed significant grounds for postulating an influence on Greece of the Mesopotamian fable. On the other hand, the very attribution of a Phrygian origin to Aesop shows that the Greeks attributed an Oriental origin—Assyrian specifically—to their fables, according to Babrius, in his second prologue ("from the ancient Syrians", he says).

But we must state as of now our opinion that the problem is wrongly posed in these terms. The fact that there may have been a significant Oriental influence on various genres of Greek Literature from the 8th to the 6th centuries does not at all rule out the possibility of Hellenic roots. As regards the *Theogony* by Hesiod and the oldest literary lyric poetry specifically, it is abundantly clear that we are faced with the contamination of a Greek tradition from the second millennium (whatever its previous origin might be) by an Oriental tradition. I have studied this specifically in the case of the lyric, with which the Greek fable has an especially close relationship.[1] It proves likely that the Oriental monody of earlier times served as a model in the development of the Greek monody, but as a model for developing elements of popular Greek lyric, the features of which, moreover, were close to those of the Oriental lyric.

[1] Cf. *Orígenes de la lírica griega*, Madrid 1975, pp. 190 ff. Also "La lírica arcaica y el Oriente" in *Assimilation et résistence à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien*, Paris

Something similar occurs, we find, with the fable. The explanation that a genre already formed was transplanted into an extraneous environment is not credible. Consider the circumstance of the attribution of the fable (part of the fable) to Aesop, described as a Phrygian slave, starting from the 5th century BC; this stage comes after that of Hesiod and Archilochus—some of which survived until later—in which the fable was told without attributing it either to Aesop or to any Oriental source. That is to say, at a certain time a Greek tradition was assimilated with a supposedly Oriental tradition. We will also see that the figure of Aesop has partially Greek roots.

Archilochus was of course aware of Oriental sources of the fable, specifically in the case of "The Eagle and the Fox", which, moreover, was considerably modified by him.[2] But a moment of reflection is sufficient to understand that the points of departure could also be found for the fable within Greece. Some of the aspects which must be highlighted in this respect are given below; some already discussed, others to be dealt with in this chapter, others reserved for later.

1. The animalistic fable (and the vegetable fable, a type that hereafter we always consider as implicit) has characteristics in common with various "second stages" and, within these, with the "fable" genre as a whole, which, as we have seen, was progressively created over a period of time. There was a process of creation or differentiation, which undoubtedly coexisted with that of borrowing new Oriental material. We have seen this in Chap. I 1 on the definition of the fable and in II 1 on the animalistic fable.

2. The animalistic fable and the fable in general, with their critical, comic and realistic aspects, are closely linked with iambic poetry and the festival in which they were performed, as we will see in Chap. II 3. This material on the rituals, forms of worship and literature cannot be kept separate. Another element that also cannot be kept separate is the character of Aesop.

3. In Greece, starting from Homer, there is a series of literary elements of the animalistic type (similes, comparisons, oracles, animal aetiologies, animal proverbs, etc.) that are very closely related to the fable and are, on occasions, from even earlier. Certain animals have the same nature as in the fable, certain *agones* or situations are repeated, there are comparable comic elements, etc.

1976, pp. 251 ff. Regarding Hesiod, cf. also my "Las fuentes de Hesíodo y la composición de sus poemas", *Emerita* 54, 1986, pp. 1–36.

[2] Cf. above, p. 159.

4. On occasions there are grounds for comparing the fable with elements of the Greek myth and ritual; there are animals from the fable associated with myths, mimetic dances, ritual *agones*, etc., which remind us of the fable. The ancient sacred character of the animal and the plant, endowed with their own forces and powers, is revealed to a certain extent in the fable.

These religious roots of the fable sometimes coincide with its literary roots in animalistic elements that are re-encountered there. But the fable possesses its own elements, it was developed as a playful genre, particularly within the sphere of the iamb and the comedy. We are able to a certain extent to follow or reconstruct the history of its creation, which sometimes takes us back to the second millennium BC, and to move away from the religious history as such, in which animals such as the lion, the fox and the monkey played a limited or non-existent role.

So, without claiming to be exhaustive, we are going to present animalistic (and vegetable) elements from Greek literature that are sometimes similar to the fable, sometimes different; to study, in these elements and in the fable, the remnants of Greek mythical and religious material; and to show, starting from here, how the fable acquired its differentiating elements, as an "exemplum" genre of the realistic and "comic" type, with certain exceptions. The chapter on the fable within Greek Archaic and Classical literature (II 5) will complete this survey.

But before entering into the subject definitively, it is appropriate here to indicate that, in the respect that concerns us here, Greece is no more than one particular case within a whole complex of events with a vast general scope. The animal myth and fable (sometimes impossible to tell apart), together with all kinds of animal dances, are found in every corner of the earth and at all levels of Antiquity. They undoubtedly derive from the fact that animals have been considered to be gods or epiphanies of gods in many religions, undoubtedly because of their physical capacities, often superior to those of man, and because of their character, similar, yet remote and mysterious.[3] On the other hand, the presence of animals and plants in the totemic systems of very many peoples has a second basis, one well grasped by Lévi-Strauss,[4] whereby the animal and the plant are the form in which the ultimate discontinuity of reality is captured

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[3] Cf. certain data in Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 243 ff.; Josifović, *art. cit.*, col. 25 ff.
[4] *La pensée sauvage*, Sp. trans., Mexico 1964, pp. 60 ff., pp. 198 ff.

most directly. They appear with fixed characters, acting as models or starting points for a general understanding of the world. Now, this role as an element of fixed nature is characteristic of the animal and the plant in the Greek fable.

II. *Animalistic Literary Themes Outside of the Fable*

1. *Portents*

Starting with Homer, where the fable is not yet present, we are shown certain animals that we will later find in the fable, with characters and, sometimes, actions that are close or identical to those of the latter. There is often symbolism; visions presaging the future or similes or comparisons illustrating the character of a hero or human conduct can work in this way, thanks to this symbolic or representative character of the animal.

Portents consisting in an animal action derive, in short, from belief in omens based on the appearance of certain animals—birds more specifically—and in the circumstances of this apparition. Starting from here, the point is reached of presenting true dramas or confrontations between animals, either seen or dreamt, to which a symbolic value referring to the future is attributed, the value of a prophecy. The boundaries with the simile are certainly not clear.

In Homer, very specifically, on various occasions we find animal actions that are interpreted as portents. They are always of the type corresponding to the hawk and the nightingale: the eagle or the serpent devour or capture a small bird and this is the symbol of victory and defeat, respectively, for the persons or peoples that these animals symbolize. We are dealing, then, with "second stages", as in the case of the simile and the fable.[5]

In *Iliad* VIII 247 ff., it is Zeus himself who sends the eagle. The eagle carries a hare in his claws, and drops this on the altar where the Achaeans are making a sacrifice in his honour, thereby meaning the final victory of the Achaeans. The meaning of *Iliad* II 308 ff. is identical; in this Zeus sends a serpent that devours the eight young of the sparrow and the mother, which means that Troy will be

[5] On these and other passages in which the eagle is central, cf. "El tema del águila de la épica acadia a Esquilo", *Emerita* 32, 1964, pp. 267–282.

defeated after nine years. The action of Zeus in these portents is comparable to that of the Akkadian model, studied above, of the fable of the eagle and the fox. On the other hand, although the intervention of Zeus is not explicit in this case, in *Iliad* XII 200 ff. we find the fight between the eagle and the serpent, a scene that does not finish as would be expected, with the victory of the bird; the serpent wounds the eagle, who must drop it, which the Trojans interpret as an unfavourable omen for them. We see that the normal scheme of the victory of the strong appears here in modified form, as on many occasions in the fable.

We also find similar themes in the *Odyssey*. Such as in XV 160 ff., in which the eagle that snatches a duck is, according to Helen, the symbol of Odysseus who will come home; and in XIX 536 ff., the dream of Penelope, in which the eagle that snatches the ducks, she herself explains, symbolizes Odysseus, while the defeated ducks are the pretenders.[6]

In portents such as these we find a clear trace of the religious and mythical origins of certain fables, the structure and meaning of which correspond; they have an *agon* in which the strong are victorious or one in which the seemingly weak prevail with their guile. The portent indicates that things are going to happen in this way in the immediate future; the fable, that this is a constant that will always occur.

Hence the formal presentation of these portents is sometimes practically indistinguishable from that of similes and fables. Where we see this best is in the vision, in the *parodos* of the *Agamemnon*, of the two eagles that devour the hare and its interpretation by the fortune-teller Calchas as a portent of the Greek victory and of the impieties that will accompany this; the two eagles are Agamemnon and Menelaus and the animal drama is much more complex and mixed than those of Homer.[7]

In fact, in this passage we find:

104–106:	prologue ("I have the vigour to sing . . .").
109–111:	first stage (expedition against Troy).
112–121:	second stage (vision of the eagles, with a lyric refrain).
122–139:	return to the first stage (interpretation by the fortune-teller, with a lyric refrain).

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[6] Cf. other portents in which the eagle, the animal of Zeus, intervenes, in *art. cit.*, p. 272.

[7] Cf. *art. cit.*, pp. 270 ff.

The details are more complicated, certain elements are merged, but the scheme is identical to that of the interpretation of action by means of the myth, simile or fable in many passages, such as at the start of *Works and Days*, in Homeric similes, in fables such as that of the fisherman and the fish in Herodotus and many more. The difference is that the animal drama is not given as an exemplum or a simile, but rather is presented as actually happening.

Since the portent requires an interpretation, there is a link with the enigma; it is not at all strange, then, that the epimythium of the fable is also basically an interpretation of the relationship between this and reality.

Thus, in Homer himself portents such as those referred to sometimes produce a state of perplexity. In the vision of the eagle and the duck in the *Odyssey*, Pisistratus asks Menelaus about its meaning, which only Helen is able to decipher. In Penelope's vision, it is the eagle himself that will reveal the hidden meaning of the dream. Of course, all this is related to the equivocal meaning of oracles, a very well-known theme. What is not so well-known is the fact that some oracles were later transformed into fables. Fable H. 214 (cf. also Babrius 109) "The Man who Received a Deposit and the Oath" is a fabulization of an oracle in Herodotus VI 86, and the enigmatic theme of the false and true dreams in Euripides *IT* 1259 ff. has been transformed into a fable in *Vita Aesopi* G 33.

But this does move us away from the field of the animalistic. In this, returning to enigmas, along with various other passages, we can cite the "*agon* of enigmas" between the sausage seller and Cleon in Aristophanes, *Equites* 996 ff. Animalistic portents play a part in this, parodying those of Homer; those arguing, of course, interpret these as it suits them.

In short, bridges clearly exist linking the world of portents—specifically that of animalistic portents—and that of the fable. We are aware of the relationships between "The Eagle and the Fox" and the portents mentioned and other Homeric ones, as well as other fables in which the eagle and the serpent take part. For example, H. 130 "The Crow and the Serpent" is closely related to *Iliad* XII 200 ff., in which the eagle and the serpent take part. Yet it is not so much a matter of direct relationships of descent as one of all these genres coming from a common basis, with imperceptible links. Others take us, as we have stated, to the world of the simile, that of the animal proverb, etc.

2. *Similes*

We have presented data above showing the relationship between the simile and the fable in the Classical Age. On occasions we find similes that derive from ancient fables, on others we find independent similes, which occasionally produce fables later. The characteristic element of the fable is that it always refers to a concrete situation—whereas the simile may be concrete or generic—and that it involves an explanation or a protreptic or exhortatory statement. However (restricting ourselves to animalistic fables here), the animals of the fable are symbolic of the different human types and at the same time their actions are symbolic of human actions; for example, the lion's cub in the simile in the *Agamemnon* is a symbol for Helen, just as its behaviour symbolizes Helen's behaviour.

Thus, the fundamental way of distinguishing the simile from the fable is by its combination of elements. In addition to comparing, the simile may explain or induce action; that of the trees and the torrent in Sophocles is followed by an exhortation to Creon, that of the octopus in Theognis, by an exhortation to adapt to circumstances, that of the ship of state in Archilochus,[8] by an exhortation to Glaucus. The simile may also give an explanation; the constancy of the lion's nature explains the behaviour of Helen, whose nature is likewise constant and ferocious. These are elements in common with the fable. At other times, however, the simile restricts itself to comparing. And the comparison is often generic, as we might say. Furthermore, although the fable also basically involves a comparison between animal behaviour and human behaviour, it is significant that this comparison is explicit in the simile. This explicitness is normally absent from the fable, but does also occur, such as when an epimythium is introduced with οὕτως, "in this way", a formula that has appeared from ancient times both in the simile and in the anecdote and the fable (cf. Chap. II 1, see also II 5).

These are genres with a common root, then, and can only be distinguished with difficulty and at a secondary stage; it is the similarities rather than the differences that interest us here. We would like to show some of these similarities, albeit briefly.

Let us begin with Homer, where, as we know, the fable does not

[8] Fr. 163 A. Cf. "Origen del tema de la nave de Estado en un papiro de Arquíloco", *Aegyptus* 35, 1955, pp. 206–211.

exist, as it was undoubtedly forbidden by some law of the genre; but the simile did. Without entering at all into the problem of the genetic relationship between the simile and the fable or vice versa, or into that of their simple parallelism, it is clear that the animals and situations of the Homeric similes are equal or comparable to those of the fable, and that the "comic" characteristics that we have attributed to the fable are present in the simile in a like and parallel manner, although with rare exceptions in periods after Homer. Which does not prevent a considerable difference from existing between the Homeric simile and most of the later similes, fundamentally descriptive, on the one hand, and the fable on the other. Although we have already said that there are exceptions in this too.

The Homeric simile, and specifically the animalistic simile, can be studied from different standpoints. A study particularly worthy of note, for example, is that by Roland Hampe[9] on the use of similes to describe mental processes, simply to replace the direct account. But this does not concern us here. The fact indicated by W. Schadewaldt[10] is also important, namely that for the most part the scenes of Homeric similes reproduce others from Creto-Mycenaean art; they have a traditional and archaic character. But neither is this essential for us now.

The aspect that essentially interests us is the relationship with the later fable, whether a relationship of dependence or of simple agreement. And the relationship—also a very logical one—with portents. Specifically, there is repeated appearance of the theme of the eagle that devours or attacks animals such as the hare, the lamb, other birds (cf. *Iliad* XIII 822 ff., XVII 673 ff., XXII 306 ff.; *Od.* XXIV 538 ff., etc.) as an explicit simile of the warring actions of various heroes.

It is the animal world in its relationships of force that we are shown, real relationships, not involving artifice, such as sometimes appear in the fable. However, the animals so typical of the fable, such as the fox and the monkey, which are the ones that most frequently appear in those relationships in the fable involving artifice to which we are referring, are not to be found in Homer; but we do find, in addition to the eagle or the vulture and his victims, the lion (and victims of his, such as the bull and the stag), the ass, the

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[9] *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*, Tübingen 1952.

[10] "Die homerische Gleichnisswelt und die Kretisch-Mykenische Kunst", *Von Homers Welt und Werk*, Stuttgart 1951, pp. 130–154.

snake, the horse, the wolf, the boar and even the flies. They sometimes appear in isolation, only symbolizing a hero or a situation; but at other times they appear in agonal, dramatic situations, such as those we have mentioned and the subsequent ones of the fable, which are often the same.

These situations are agonal, frequently setting animal against animal. Normally, the strong and the weak, with the predictable result that the weak are devoured or captured, or else flee. The lion tears the bull to pieces (*Iliad* XVI 487 ff.), attacks the flock or breaks into the stable (*Iliad* V 554 ff., XI 172, XII 299); the wolf pursues and catches the fawn, who tries to hide (*Iliad* XXII 189 ff.), pounces on the flock (*Iliad* XVI 352 ff.): the dolphin devours the fish (*Iliad* XXI 22 ff.); we have already discussed the eagle and the serpent. As we have already said, these are situations of the type of "The Hawk and the Nightingale", which are repeated in a certain sense when a man snatches the chicks from the birds (*Od.* XVI 216 ff.) or the lion's cubs (*Iliad* XVIII 318 ff.).

But it is not always like this. We have already seen that on one occasion the eagle masters the serpent; we could say that on another the pigeon escapes from the hawk (*Iliad* XXII 139 ff.). Although of course we do not yet have the theme of the astute and intelligent animal that compensates for his physical inferiority with this quality. The fight between two animals of the same species also makes an appearance, as in the case of the two vultures in *Iliad* XVI 428 ff.

What is significant is that the nature of the animals is constant; the lion and the eagle are strong and generous, the symbols of great heroes; the dog, ferocious and a butcher; the serpent, treacherous. And so on with the others. These features are maintained, unaltered, in the fable, with few exceptions. Sometimes a feature that seems new is in fact a derivative; for example, the foolishness of the ass is undoubtedly foreshadowed by the simile of Ajax slowly retreating under the Achaean attack like an ass under a rain of sticks (*Iliad* XI 588 ff.).

This simile and some already mentioned show us that there are not only simple animalistic similes in Homer, but also mixed ones, in which animals and man take part. Just as there are purely human ones. In this triple possibility there are also parallels with the fable.

The mixed similes reproduce situations which, like those of the animalistic similes, are re-encountered in the fable. We find the lion who, when he is hungry, has no hesitation in facing men and dogs

(*Iliad* XII 299, cf. also XV 586 ff.); the panther does the same (*Iliad* XXI 573 ff.), as does the boar (*Iliad* XI 414 ff., XII 146 ff.). Men, in turn, capture the bull with ropes (*Iliad* XIII 570), but flee from the serpent (*Iliad* III 33, XXII 93 ff.), receive an attack from bees and wasps when walking along the road (*Iliad* XII 167 ff.), etc.

The situations are always dynamic, with confrontations, typical situations in which lion, serpent, bull, ass, boar, dog, wolf, etc., and also man (shepherd, hunter, etc.) play their role, react in a fixed manner according to their own nature. We must emphasize that there is still an absence of situations of artifice—the lion trying to deceive the fox or the latter deceiving the stag—and those of a comic type; but the fixed types of the animals and the agonal situations are continued later in the fable. And they are present, as has been indicated, in Creto-Mycenaean and Archaic art; we need only think of the bulls captured with nets in the vases of Vapheio, the scenes of hunting with swords and the frescoes of the Mycenaean Age, the lion falling onto the neck of the bull in many works of Archaic art. This only to mention a small amount of the data gathered by Hampe and Schadewaldt. The fact is that these scenes from everyday life in the Mycenaean and subsequent ages had already crossed over into literature and art, to provide models for interpreting the whole domain of reality.

Just as subsequent similes already mentioned are re-encountered in fables that are certainly derived from them, as we have said, the Homeric similes also provide the basis for fables from the Classical Age and the collections. Without embarking upon an exhaustive list, since our list of similes has also not been exhaustive, we will mention some fables. The most characteristic points are that the fundamental theme is maintained, although the animals are sometimes changed, yet the stories are varied in various ways, frequently with "comic" elements. This seems to indicate that, although the points of departure are Homeric and from even earlier, the development of the fable as a specialized genre comes later. This conclusion agrees with that reached when we showed that the differentiation of fable and myth took place progressively starting from Hesiod.

It is easy to form an idea of the alterations experienced by themes such as the lion and the bull or the lion (or the wolf) and the sheep and shepherds or the eagle and his prey or the man and the serpent, among various others.

In H. 148 the lion tries to kill the bull by deception and fails (he is successful, however, in Babrius 44). The theme of the lion that

captures the stag who has tried to hide gave, on one hand, H. 79, where the lion makes way for the hunters, and on the other, different variants in H. 78 and H. 77. The theme of the lion and the sheep, dogs or shepherds is re-encountered in fables such as H. 149, "The Lion and the Farmer" (locked in the stable, the lion devours the livestock), *Ad.* 35 "The Lion and the Shepherd". The hares (in the fable by Antisthenes already mentioned) or the fawn (Babrius 90) may appear instead of the sheep. Other derivatives are the themes of the kingdom of the lion and the *societas leonina* and comic themes in which the fox and the monkey take part.

It is the wolf, moreover—already present in Homer—who has inherited most of the ancient themes of the lion; we have already seen this on the subject of the simile of the lion in the *Agamemnon* (cf. II 1, p. 144). Here the variants are many; sometimes the sheep takes part, sometimes the lamb or kid, sometimes the shepherds, sometimes the dogs. The wolf either imposes his force, as in the Classical fable of "The Wolf and the Lamb" (H. 160), or achieves his goal by deceit (for example, making the dogs deliver the prey, H. 158), or else he is deceived (for example, becoming a flute-player at the request of the kid in H. 99). Once again, the introduction of comic themes and the victory of the astute weak comes after Homer, but operates on the same basis.

We could also discuss variants of the theme of the snake; in H. 51 there is talk of his irreconcilable enmity with the man whose son he has killed; in H. 62, already cited by us, the theme is his ingratitude to the one who has brought him back to life. Cf. also "The Swallow and the Snake", H. 255.

There are also variants on the theme of the eagle. That of the eagle and the serpent is practically maintained intact in H. 130, "The Crow and the Serpent". But in H. 2 "The Eagle, the Rook and the Shepherd", the theme of the eagle who snatches a lamb is used to make fun of the rook, who fails in this same enterprise; in H. 1 we have already seen that the serpent is replaced by the fox and there is a complete change of meaning; in H. 3 the comic alteration arrives at the fact that the eagle's rival is now the beetle.

The themes sometimes undergo profound modifications, then; but they may also remain practically unchanged, as with that of the beekeeper in H. 74 (although it is his own bees that sting him). In H. 266 the theme of the two birds who fight has changed from the eagle to the two cocks, the winner of which is carried away precisely by the eagle.

To sum up, the basic situations and characters of the animals, as they appear in the similes of Homer, are clearly related to the fable. Yet it is no less certain that, starting from here, the fable developed new characters at a certain point. The comparison with portents and (as we will see) with animal proverbs, leads us to the same conclusion. And yet another fact leads us to this; the fact that post-Homeric animalistic similes already possess "comic" features not present in Homer. In fact, already from Hesiod on and then in Archilochus, Semonides, Aristophanes, etc. A certain generic differentiation that gradually took place also occurred here.

Or else it may perhaps also be thought that this evolution is rather the reflection of the arrival in the literature of genres far removed from the idealization of the epic poem, in which the simile—like everything else—was fundamentally used to praise the hero and, at most, to express the tragic sentiment of defeat and death. Starting from Hesiod there appears the fable, as we know, which is fundamentally critical and "comic", although it sometimes maintains tragic elements. The simile also now has "comic" and critical elements. It sometimes touches on the caricature and the joke.

This already occurs in Hesiod, who contains many elements of a "lyric" type, including the fable, in the simile of the women compared with the drones in the beehive, which appears in *Theogony* 595 ff. and is repeated in *Works and Days* 304 ff., referring to the idle in general. In Homer there is no comparable simile, used to make a criticism, since that of Ajax slowly retreating like an ass beaten by sticks is, on the contrary, eulogistic, although the critical theme of the πιθηκίζω, or the foolishness of the ass was subsequently developed.

Starting from Hesiod, similes appear again and again in the lyric and the theatre that are of a critical type, and "comic" in general. They must be divided into two groups: those of the agonal type and similar, and those of the aetiological type. They correspond, of course, to the two types of fables we have mentioned. It does not interest us at present to consider whether similes derive from fables or the situation is the reverse. The fact is, both exist. Let us begin with aetiological similes, which are less numerous.

a) *Aetiological Similes*

The indication that a person comes from a certain animal is a way of expressing the view that they have the same nature; at their origin there is, then, a simile. It is not just animals that are involved,

since Homer himself says that he was born "neither from the oak nor the stone" (*Od.* XIX 163) and later there is talk of the sea and the earth. But basically it is animals that are used, as in a very well-known passage from Semonides (number 8) and in another from Phocylides (number 2). And, with another exception, that of the woman born of the bee, the birth of the different types of women from the sow, the fox, the dog, the ass, the monkey and the boar is a response to character traits of these women, who are judged unfavourably. Basically, the passages we are commenting upon are satires against women, and both these as a whole and this motif of the woman-animal simile that ends up as an aetiological consideration ultimately came from festivals in which men and women were pitted against each other, satirizing each other reciprocally.[11] Their popular and "comic" character is therefore evident.

In these poems we find animals as prototypes of human "nature"; more specifically females, who are satirized and criticized. The sow is the symbol of filth, the vixen of wickedness, the dog of anger, the ass of resignation, voraciousness and lust, the weasel also of lust, the mare of flirtatiousness, the monkey of ugliness and subtle deceptions; we are told of the boar that it is neither good nor bad.

Various things are worthy of note in the above list. The first, that the typical animals of the fable, the fox and the monkey, are already present (as earlier in the fables of Archilochus); they possess certain characters that become fixed in them, but are not yet completely formed. The second, that generally the characterization of the animals is the same as in the fable, although it sometimes varies, as in the case of the ass; but a similar variation can also be observed in the fable. Leaving aside the fox and the monkey, we can cite various fables in which the animals reveal the same features that they possess in Semonides. The voracious, violent and biting dog appears in H. 64, H. 41, H. 136, H. 265, etc.; the lust of the weasel is in H. 50; the presumption of the mare lies at the basis of H. 238, 272, 286 (and more clearly in similes that we will discuss later); the theme of the suffering and foolishness of the ass is in many fables, that of his lust, which we will find in a simile in Archilochus, is absent.

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[11] Cf. *Orígenes de la Lírica griega*, Madrid, 1975, p. 215, as well as the bibliography mentioned there: Mercedez Vílchez, "Sobre el enfrentamiento hombre/mujer de los rituales a la literatura", *Emerita* 42, 1974, pp. 375 ff., and Manuel Rabanal, "El 'Yambo' de las mujeres, de Semónides de Amorgos", *Durius* 1, 1975, pp. 9–12.

There is no exact agreement, then, with the fable, which is evidently a parallel more than a derivative genre. But the environment of criticism and satire, of fixed "nature", is the same.

b) *Agonal and Miscellaneous Similes*

From similes as a whole—sometimes neutral—derive those of the agonal or comic types, those that imply an action involving satire or criticism and those that, without involving action, are used with these same intentions. Arising from a further derivation are aetiologies such as those mentioned, along with the satire and the joke. At the basis of all these, however, is the comparison. We repeat that this may be neutral, for example, in phrases with δίκην "in the manner of" the hawk, the wolf, the dog or the old man, etc.; it was later used for either panegyric or tragic purposes (in Homer), or for agonal and comic purposes, in addition to the derivatives of these.

Let us return, then, to the theme that we left when discussing Hesiod, and now move on to Archilochus. "You have grabbed the wing of a cicada", he says to Lycambes (24 A.); that is to say, you have offended a man such as I, violent and shameless in his own right, so my accusations will be doubly virulent. There is a small fable in embryo here. In another passage, the member of the effeminate flute-player "overflowed like that of a stud jackass of Priene, devourer of crops" (39); this is the theme of the voracious and lewd ass. And the island of Thasos, covered in its mountains of thick forest, is "like the spine of an ass". The similes are expressive, realistic, sometimes containing satire and insult. Consider also the "crows", or lovers of the hetaira Pasiphila, the "lover of all" (17): "a wild fig that feeds many crows, Pasiphila, a good woman who honours her guests".

In Semonides, where we still find ancient Homeric similes such as that of the generation of men, similar to that of leaves (1), we find fables we have already mentioned, as well as similes of the comic type. Undoubtedly, 30 "like an eel in the mud" and 29 "like the egg of a goose from Maeander" belong to it. And also two passages with an erotic content: 6 "run at her side, like a pony that has not suckled at the side of the mare" and 17 "and walking with graceful movements, like an energetic mare".

It would be easy to glean more material of this type from various lyric poets. Let us recall, for example, the old horse, full of fear when about to re-enter the race, to which Ibycus compares himself (6); the theme of the old horse is encountered again in the fables,

cf. Aphthonius 13. In Anacreon, on the other hand, we find the erotic comparison of a young woman with a mare, cf. 15, 72, also present in Alcman 1, 45 ff.

In later authors the simile refers to a form of behaviour of which, explicitly or implicitly, they disapprove. We have already referred to similes such as that of the lion's cub, compared to Helen, in the *Agamemnon* by Aeschylus; that of the fox with his tail cut off in Timocreon; that of the trees and the torrent (followed explicitly by a warning to Creon) in the *Antigone* by Sophocles; that of the cold and perfidious serpent, in Theognis; and others besides. Even when the simile is used to give positive advice, as with the theme of the octopus in Theognis, it is a devious form of conduct that is recommended with it. See further examples above, pp. 143 ff.

In fact, the theme of the use in post-Homeric literature of similes related with themes of the fable, or with the character features that the fable attributes to animals, would require a study in its own right. Among these similes there are some that repeat the Homeric themes or expand them, whereas others are of the "comic" or attacking type. A particularly fertile terrain for research is Aeschylus, regarding whom we need only refer the reader to the book by J. Dumortier[12] and, in his work, to similes such as that of "the two-footed lioness that goes to bed with the wolf in the absence of the noble lion" (*Agamemnon* 1258 ff.: the lion and the wolf are Agamemnon and Aegisthus, respectively) or that of the treacherous serpent, referring sometimes to Orestes (*Choephori* 929), sometimes to Clytemnestra (ibid. 246 ff., 994, etc.).

Yet clearly Aeschylus is not alone in this. Without entering into the abundant bibliography on the simile, including the animal simile, in the various authors of Greek literature, let us refer more specifically to the data on the similes regarding the fox and the monkey, collected by C. García Gual in his two articles, "El prestigio del zorro", *Emerita* 38, 1970, pp. 417–431 and "Sobre πιθηκίζω: hacer el mono", *Emerita* 40, 1972, pp. 453–60. Of course, in these articles he not only discusses similes, but also fables, proverbs and all kinds of characterizations of these animals. Even so, various similes can be gleaned from these articles; but the use of the two animals in particular is based on certain ideas and forms of behaviour that are very far removed from the epic idealizations. They will be

[12] *Les images dans la poésie d'Eschyle*, Paris 1935.

especially useful to us, then, when we study the position of the fable within "iambic" genres.

Furthermore—and with this we conclude our short review of animalistic similes—it must be recorded that similes of the "comic" type at least reached the literature, in the same way as the fable, starting from popular pre-literary genres, rooted in the uses of the festival and the banquet. We will return to this theme in our next chapter on "Fable and Iambic Genres".

3. *The Enigma*

The enigma is also associated with the festival and the banquet, but it has also given rise to literary genres and has close relations with the fable. We will discuss some aspects of these genres and relations here, while we will leave the origins for the next chapter.

The enigma is closely related to the oracle and the portent, and for this reason Aesop, in his *Life*, appears as the solver both of portents and of all kinds of enigmas and problems that he is offered by his master's friends and by other people, and at the same time as the proposer of similes, proverbs and fables. These are closely linked genres, as we are seeing. On the other hand, the *Life of Homer*, attributed to Herodotus, similarly shows us the poet as a solver of enigmas; Homer would have died of rancour if he had not been able to solve the enigma he was posed by some children, namely "the ones we catch, we leave, and the ones we do not catch, we take away with us" (referring to lice, so it was an animal enigma).

The enigma reached literature, then. For example, the epic poem the *Melampodia* contained the *agon* of enigmas between the fortune-tellers Calchas and Mopsus,[13] which is comparable to the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*. We must add *agones* of oracles, such as the one already referred to in *Equites* and works such as the *Convivial Questions* by Plutarch; the presentation of "problems" and the "solution" of same is a common theme in the philosophies of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages. But in the Classical Age well-known poets such as Cleobulus, Cleobulina and Theognis were already writing enigmas for use at the banquet. In the *Anthologia Lyrica* by Diehl, I, pp. 129 ff., we find the enigmas of Cleobulus and Cleobulina, while there are also various enigmas in Theognis, see vv. 257 ff., 261 ff., 1229 ff.

[13] Cf. Kinkel, *Fr. Ep. Gr.* 177.

These enigmas are not always easy to interpret; see the essays by Carrière.[14] Let us restrict ourselves to the last of these cited, which is an animal enigma: the "sea cadaver" that called the author, "a dead man speaking with a living mouth" is undoubtedly a sea shell.

Let us now move on to discuss the "bridges" linking the fable and the enigma. These are the aetiological fables that offer the solution to an enigma; for example, the fable of "The Swallow and the Birds" (H. 39) answers the question of why the swallow builds her nest under roofs; other aetiological fables explain why bees die when they lose their sting (H. 172), why the weasel is lewd (H. 50), or the ant avaricious (H. 175), why some men are homosexual (Phaedrus IV 16), etc.

Now, we have seen that these themes are ancient; Aristophanes explains the crest on the head of the lark, for example, using a fable of this type. And fables invented by Plato follow the same scheme, such as the one explaining why pleasure and pain are always linked (*Phaedo* 60 b) or the reason for the characteristics of Eros in the various myths of the *Symposium* (particularly that of Aristophanes and that of Socrates).

Awareness of the relationship between the fable and the enigma was never lost. This is very clearly shown in the presentation of Aesop, in the *Life*, as a great solver of enigmas. And in the term λύσις "solution", which Medieval manuscripts apply to the epimythia of fables.

4. *The Proverb*

The relationship between the fable and the animal proverb is a theme discussed since ancient times, since some have thought that the fable derives precisely from the proverb. This was already the theory of Ammonius, pp. 5–6 Nickau, who stated that the fable is an extended proverb, whereas Quintilian says that the proverb is like an abbreviated fable.[15] The problem was posed again on the subject of the Sumerian animal proverbs, and Oriental ones in general, such as those in the book of Ahikar.[16]

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[14] Theognis, *Poèmes élégiaques*, Paris 1975, pp. 152 ff., 195 ff.

[15] *Inst. Or.* V 11, 20. More data in Josifović, *art. cit.*, col. 351.

[16] See Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 435 ff.; he rejects the idea that the Greek fable may come from the proverb, at least from Greek proverbs, which usually have a different character.

In fact, fable and proverb are always intimately linked. Thus, in the *Life of Aesop* it is sometimes fables, sometimes proverbs that are attributed to Aesop; and our Medieval manuscripts contain collections not only of Aesopic fables, but also of Aesopic proverbs.[17] When the Cynics brought the fable into fashion and had a significant influence on it, they used it alongside all kinds of proverbs, maxims and χρεῖαι.

Of course, it may be the case that proverbs that we know through their being mentioned in various authors from ancient times or appearing in the collections of the paroemiographers do in fact come from fables, that they are a summary of same or represent the final answer of the animal (of the type "they are green", coming from H. 15) or some other moment ("don't go and find yourself with one eagle with a black tail", from Archilochus 35 A., corresponding to "The Eagle and the Beetle"). The opposite may also occur, that is, that a fable has later been developed from a proverb; thus, from "while you pray to Athena, move your hand" (σὺν 'Αθηνᾷ καὶ χεῖρα κίνει) came H. 30. Or it may be the case that we do not know what the relationship is, or that corresponding proverbs and fables cannot be found within the Greek tradition.

Two examples will be sufficient to enable us to understand this. The proverb "the fox knows many things, but the hedgehog just one that is decisive" is in the pseudo-Homeric *Margites* and is used by Archilochus as the beginning of his *Epode* II, that of the flute-player. Although we have a series of ancient stories regarding the confrontation between the fox and the hedgehog, one of the former's favourite preys (cf. Aelian, *NA* VI 24, cf. 64), there are no fables on the confrontation between the fox and the hedgehog. Another example: the proverb "The elephant does not worry about the mouse" (ἐλέφας μῦν οὐκ ἀλεγίζει, Apostol. VII 8), undoubtedly has an identical meaning to that of fables such as "The Bull and the Mosquito" (H. 140) and the Babylonian fable "The Elephant and the Mosquito"[18] and to that of others such as "The Lion and the Mouse" (H. 155), "The Lion and the Mosquito" (H. 267), which introduce other themes at a secondary level; but the specific theme of the elephant and the mouse is not to be found in the Greek fable.

That is to say, certain themes have taken shape, sometimes as

[17] Published by Perry, *Aesopica*, pp. 241 ff., 265 ff.
[18] E. Ebeling, *Die babylonische Fabel*, Leipzig 1927, p. 50.

fables, sometimes as proverbs, sometimes as both at the same time, and sometimes there have been exchanges. But it is not inevitable that there were always fables and proverbs at the same time. On the contrary, it is unlikely. The fable always requires a confrontation and a dramatic situation, except in the case of the aetiological fable, whereas the proverb does not always, by any means. The proverb of the fox and the hedgehog, for example, may be interpreted on the basis of a confrontation, but this is not necessarily so. Other animalistic maxims (and many similes) simply refer to the characteristic behaviour of an animal, in general terms, sometimes compared to the behaviour of another. There is one feature in common with the fable, then, but only one (the theme of the φύσις). This is the case with well-known proverbs such as "lions at home, foxes in battle" (Aristophanes, *Pax* 1189), "try to cut the lion's mane" (Plato, *Resp.* 341 C), "put on the lionskin" (Plato, *Crat.* 411 a), "know the lion by its claw" (Alcaeus 438 L.-P.), etc.

Some of these proverbs may of course remind us of a fable, such as that of the ass dressed in a lionskin (H. 156). But it may be a derivative fable or the proverb may refer to this and others besides or, in the final analysis, be independent. It is important to note, however, that the typical features of the different animals brought together by animal proverbs and similes essentially corresponded, although there was undoubtedly a process whereby the fox changed from being evil to astute, the ass from sufferer to fool, etc., as we have indicated. In the two articles by García Gual on the fox and the monkey, cited above, we clearly see the proverbial use of both animals, leading to the creation of the two verbs ἀλωπεκίζειν and πιθηκίζειν with the meaning of "playing the fox" and "playing the monkey", with features that have remained as the fixed ones of these animals. We need only quote proverbs such as "you must not play the fox and become the friend of both" (*Carm. Conv.* 29 *PMG*) or "beautiful is the monkey to children, always beautiful" (Pindar, *P.* II 72) and mention that many others went on to be used by the paroemiographers. On the other hand, certain adjectives linked systematically with animals, certain already fixed names for these, such as κερδώ "the gainful" (the fox), agree with the usual characterization in the same proverbs, similes and fables.

All this shows us that the animalistic literary tradition was more extensive than the fable and that, starting from a given moment, it was in general terms unitary as regards its characterization of animals

and the "comic" character of same. Which of course does not prevent there being secondary influences within this tradition. However, these were always literary elements within longer pieces; only in the Hellenistic period were collections of fables, similes, proverbs and enigmas created, starting from here. Now, there is an ancient precedent to these collections, which was the use at the banquet of all these literary elements in isolation, and of others, such as the anecdote, along with them. The participants at the festival and the banquet improvised or remembered them, telling them to each other; we will discuss this in the next chapter, along with their incorporation in the *Lives*, such as that of Aesop and the long compositions to which we have just referred. The following theme, then, remains pending resolution: how and starting from where did animalistic literary elements acquire this character? For the time being we will content ourselves with showing that they did exist and that their scope went beyond the bounds of the fable.

The proverb, specifically, may be part of the fable, although of independent origin with respect to it and not coinciding systematically with it. Or else part of a lyric composition. And this in various ways.

Particularly, as a beginning or ending; it is frequently the case that a lyric composition opens or closes with a maxim, even with an older, traditional maxim. In the same way as Archilochus begins his "Elegy to Pericles" with fr. 3 "Fortune and Destiny give man all things, oh Pericles" or Sappho begins her fr. 16 with "some say that the army of horsemen . . .", Archilochus, as we have already indicated, uses the proverb of the fox and the hedgehog, from the *Margites*, to begin his *Epode* II. Positioned here, it means that Archilochus is distinguished by his virulence, just as the hedgehog by pricking; the Epode is a brutal attack against an effeminate flute-player.

There are also final maxims, such as "Zeus is the most truthful fortune-teller among the gods, and the fulfilment depends on him" (end of *Epode* V of Archilochus, fr. 66). In both the ancient fables and those of the collections, there are often endings enunciated by the victorious animals that are maxims, such as "they are green", "dance in the winter", "what a beautiful head, but it has no brain", "while you pray to Athena, move your hand", etc. It is not at all strange, then, that these endings are sometimes animal proverbs, such as in Archilochus 76 A." Oh monkey, with a rear like that", or in H. 126 ("The Crow and the Fox"): "you have everything, crow, but you lack a brain". In fact, what we have here are answers within the fable that have been transformed into proverbial ones; yet on

other occasions the opposite may occur. And there are also frequently similes and animal proverbs at the heart of a lyric composition, some of which we have already mentioned.

Thus, the relationship between the fable (which in turn is only a part—the central one—of the poems of the Classical Age) and the animal proverb is manifold and variable. The former includes the latter or else there are elements that are parallel and one may or may not derive from the other, as the case may be. In any event, they have features in common with each other and with the rest of animalistic literature. That is why we must attribute common roots to them, as we have indicated; and why, on the other hand, this common aspect extends to the entirety of fabulistic literature, not only to that of the animalistic type.

5. *Lyric and Comedy*

The animalistic literature from the Classical Age does not consist of only "second stages" such as those we have listed, nor of the unrestricted use of these in the dialogue of the festival and the banquet; it also includes the mimetic, dramatic intervention of animals in certain festivals, both in a pre-literary phase and in the literary one. We will discuss the latter one here, but it clearly derives from the former, which we discuss in the following section and which in turn belongs to a broader context, dealt with in the next chapter.

Here we are not considering the presence of fables, similes, proverbs, etc., of the animalistic type in the lyric and the comedy, a theme we have already discussed elsewhere. Although there is a greater frequency of these themes in the lyric and the comedy, these genres are essentially no different in this respect from the tragedy and from various prosaic genres. The fact we are considering is that, on occasions, the lyric was sung by choruses that mimicked animals (and even plants), which on occasions reached the level of literature; and the comedy, on occasions, presented animal choruses and even animal characters. We must also add the satyrs of the choruses in satirical drama. In all these cases there are mimesis and action at the same time, as in the fable and, on occasions, in the other animalistic genres we have discussed. And this action occasionally has a close relationship with that of the fable.

All this stems conclusively from the fact that animalistic fables, proverbs, etc. were told at certain festivals, while at other times the dance and actions of various animals were mimicked; and there is

yet another case, in which somebody mimicked a character, such as Aesop, who related animal fables, proverbs, enigmas; see the next chapter on this. Now, the link between a literary animalistic form and the ancient ritual and religious origins of all these genres is best conserved in the few examples that have reached us of animal choruses (lyric or comic) taking part in an action and taking on a literary character.

By this I am referring to the divine character of primordial divinities—not yet anthropomorphic, or only partially anthropomorphic—that the animals of the primitive choruses had, including those we are now discussing, which came to acquire a literary character. One particularly clear case is that of the satyrs of the satirical drama (also present, sometimes, in the comedy), but no less so is that of the swallows, crows and dolphins in the lyric, which we will discuss. In his *Aves*, Aristophanes repeats exhaustively the ancient power, proper to the gods, of the characters of his chorus. And there is further material. Yet above all we will see that the animalistic choruses to which we refer take their place within the same types of celebrations that at other times are devoted to gods, who arrive, bring abundance, take part in *agones*. In the hymn of the Elean women, for example, the arrival of Dionysus is requested in the form of a bull; this is, moreover, a frequent theme (*Carm. Pop.* 871 *PMG*). In parallel, there are the "vegetable" hymns, such as that of the *eiresione*, the olive branch adorned with strips of wool and fruit, which is received as a god.

Leaving this theme for later, it is clear that mimetic animalistic elements are not unrelated to the fable. They are dominated by the agonal element, the search for power, at times together with eroticism. On the other hand, we find the theme of sovereignty over animals very frequently in the fable; this is sometimes acquired by force (as in the case of the lion), at others with the help of the dance (as in the case of the monkey) or the beauty contest (for example, in H. 103 "The Rook and the Birds"). All this reminds us that the festive *agones*, whether animalistic or not, were performed by means of the dance. Let us recall those of the bucoliasts of Syracuse (with stag's horns) or the *staphylodromoi* of Sparta (with ram's horns) or the *agon* referred to by the *parthenia* of Alcman and many others. The prize for the best dancer or the beauty prize to the women in certain festivals, such as the Heraea of Argos, are very well-known and show a significant parallel.

On the other hand, the fable refers to the primitive world, to the age of Cronus or the golden age in which animals spoke, as Xenophon says, *Mem.* II 7.13 and as is recalled, among others, by Babrius in his first prologue. The comedy refers again and again to precisely that primitive world. A title such as *The Golden Age* by Eupolis is significant; but other comedies, such as the *Cheirones* of Cratinus, *The Animals* of Crates, etc., take us to this same world. The power of the birds in that world is referred to again and again by Aristophanes in his *Aves.* In fact, the whole utopianism of the comedy tends—as does the whole of the primitive festival from which it was born—to reconstruct that original, chaotic and happy world in which the ancient distinctions between man, animal and god did not yet exist.[19] The myth of Aristophanes in the Platonic *Symposium* is especially significant, as it proposes, in short, the reconstruction of the ancient unity and primitive happiness by means of love; this, in short, is an essentially comic theme.[20]

But if the myth of Aristophanes in the *Symposium* is, we might say, an aetiological myth—the misfortunes of man, stemming from the fact that Zeus split the ancient "double" men into two, will be cured when love unites them—most of the comic myths are agonal, as we have said; the theme is that of salvation, that of the defeat of evil, resulting in the restoration of lost happiness. And this both when the theme is animalistic and when it is not. These *agones* also took place in animal dances, such as in Syracuse and Sparta already mentioned. However, non-agonal mimetic celebrations also existed, as of course did non-mimetic ones. Let us begin with these.

We will restrict ourselves to indicating a few of these with a literary character; later we will add non-literary parallels, although the boundaries are by no means clearly defined.

The Rhodian song of the swallow[21] offers us an exceptionally good example of a popular celebration transformed into a literary one. The text conserved contains an intervention by the chorus and another by the exarch or choragus, which, according to our interpretation, are the swallows and the swallow leader, respectively. It is an already literary text, perhaps from the 6th or 5th century BC, which follows a previous phase in which the chorus of swallows

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[19] Cf. *Fiesta, comedia y tragedia cit.*, pp. 94 ff., 371 ff.

[20] Cf. "El *Banquete* platonico y la teoría del teatro", *Emerita* 37, 1969, pp. 1 ff.

[21] Cf. *Orígenes de la Lírica griega cit.*, pp. 78 ff.; "La canción rodia de la golondrina y la cerámica de Tera", *Emerita* 42, 1974, pp. 47–68.

restricted itself to moving, to tweeting as swallows do (χελιδονίζειν). This chorus—like many other parallel choruses—performs an alms collection, whereby they address the woman of the house they have stopped outside and ask for a series of food items, calling out fake erotic threats at her if she refuses.

This is an already playful version of the cult of the swallow, which is shown to have existed on Thera in the 16th century BC. We have considerable evidence of the festival of the swallow in the Classical Age, for which we refer the reader to our article cited above. The swallow is the god who arrives bringing spring and abundance and who, in primitive times, entered into loving relations (into a *hieros gamos*, undoubtedly) with a woman of the country. The action is clearly not agonal: the swallows ask, the women give them food. But there is an underlying idea of a possible confrontation, followed by the victory of the swallow and the erotic crowning of same, as in the case of so many gods who arrive, such as the Dionysus who in Athens, at the Lenaea, arrived and joined together with the wife of the archon king, in that of Paesthetaerus in the *Aves* and in many more besides.

This theme of the song of the swallow is repeated in the song of the crow, by the Hellenistic poet Phoenix of Colophon, who gave literary form to the parallel ritual of the crow;[22] it is the same as the song of the *eiresione*, with a "vegetable" theme.[23] Rendered profane, it is the origin of the genre known as *paraclausithyron*, in which a lover sings before the closed door of his beloved. The theme of the animal in love with a man or a woman is re-encountered in the fable, cf. H. 145 "The Lion and the Farmer", H. 50 "The Weasel and Aphrodite".

Swallows and crows were not the only animals or animal-gods to take part in ritual celebrations. Except that neither the stags of Syracuse nor the rams of Sparta nor the bulls of various Dionysiac celebrations[24] crossed over into the literary lyric, just as neither did the *eiresione* and other vegetable branches used in various celebrations cross over, nor did the flower dances, which remained at the popular level; although here the mimesis was limited to the gathering

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[22] Cf. *Origenes*, pp. 72 and 153.
[23] Cf. *Origenes*, p. 71.
[24] Cf. *Origenes*, pp. 76 ff.

of flowers.[25] However, we do have a lyric passage falsely attributed to Arion and possibly from the 4th century, in which a soloist, Arion, sings a hymn to Poseidon alluding to the chorus of dolphins that surrounds him and telling the myth of his salvation by them. Arion surrounded by dolphins is like Apollo surrounded by Muses, Artemis by nymphs, etc., in many celebrations, and like the hero surrounded by his chorus in the theatre. Dances of dolphins have been known since ancient times. A ψυκτήρ or vase to chill wine by the ceramist Oltos is evidence that these choruses already sang at this time, as it contains the beginning of an anapaestic verse, ἐπὶ δελφῖνος "on a dolphin". In this case, as in others, the dolphins were ridden by men, and the sacred, divine character of the animal is proven by an abundance of data, as in the case of the swallow. But here it is purely hymnic, the distance with respect to animalistic literature is greater.

This distance is shortened, on the other hand, when we go on to the choruses of satyrs, in their literary derivations of the satirical drama and the comedy; these are essentially agonal, like their precedents in the dances of satyrs, which we know particularly on account of ceramics. In these the satyrs are sometimes placed opposite nymphs, sometimes take part in agonal actions between divinities; see the following section.

The fact is that from these dances of satyrs there arises the satirical drama, in which the chorus of satyrs intervenes in an action performed between heroes, gods and various mythical characters from the past. The same happened in comedies such as *The Satyrs* by Phrynichus (and others with the same title) and the *Dionysalexander* by Cratinus.

We think that the statement in the *Suda*, in the art. "Arion", that this poet was the first—in the 7th century BC—to "introduce satyrs that spoke in verse", must refer to the origin of the satirical drama starting from the ancient dances of satyrs with a mythical content, not to the creation of a supposed pre-tragedy with a chorus of satyrs, according to Wilamowitz's theory.[26] Of course, satyrs appear on ceramics in non-agonal ceremonies, digging to make a goddess appear from the earth or accompanying the arrival of the phallus, for example.[27] But it is their intervention in agonal dances, such as the one

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[25] Cf. *Origenes*, p. 100.
[26] Cf. *Fiesta*, p. 32; *Origenes*, p. 98.
[27] Cf. *Fiesta*, pp. 437 ff.

placing them opposite the nymphs or making them capture Hephaestus and take him drunk to Olympus,[28] that justify the development of a literary genre as was the satirical drama (and the comedy of satyrs).

Our knowledge of the satirical drama is limited, but even so a typical scheme of action would be one in which the chorus of satyrs helps the hero to liberate a persecuted character or to achieve his own liberation; yet this help comes precisely from these highly boastful and cowardly creatures, who flee at the first sight of danger and then take all the credit. In any case, the theme of liberation is essential. This theme is sometimes accompanied by an erotic one, involving the hero of the piece, although the erotic cravings of the satyrs are clearly emphasized. To sum up, here and in certain comedies of satyrs, the best known being the *Dionysalexander* by Cratinus, a traditional heroic theme receives a "comic" treatment, when the theme is not invented from top to bottom. The satyrs are not the protagonists, which is the difference with respect to the fable, but they do have a role, and a comic one, beside the hero.

We will offer a few examples of satirical dramas and then we will show that the theme of salvation, more false than true, for which an animal such as the fox is responsible, is proper to the fable.

Our knowledge of the satirical drama is of course limited, but even so the nature of the satyrs is always present; they are shameless, boastful, cowardly, yet likeable and endowed with good will. The themes in which they take part often refer, as we have said, to the salvation or liberation of other characters, such as Danaë and Perseus, whose chest they help bring ashore together with the fishermen in the *Dictyulci* of Aeschylus,[29] or Odysseus and his satyrs, when they help him to blind the Cyclops, in the work by Euripides of this name, or the maiden sacrificed annually to the hero of Temesa, whose defeat by Polites and flight they helped, according to the *Circe* by Aeschylus.[30] The satyrs also help Apollo to recover his cows, which Hermes had hidden (*Ichneutai* by Sophocles). In the *Pilgrims of the Isthmus*, by Aeschylus, their own salvation is at stake; slaves of Dionysus, the satyrs flee from his tyranny and present themselves, willing to participate, at the games of the Isthmus, to later be rec-

[28] On the amphoriskos of Athens, cf. *Fiesta*, p. 439.

[29] Cf. "I cori dei "Dictyulci" e della "Pace" e i loro precedenti rituali", *Dioniso* 45, 1971, pp. 289–301.

[30] Cf. "La *Circe* de Esquilo", *Emerita* 33, 1965, pp. 229–242.

onciled with the god. The theme is more or less consistent, then, in the satirical dramas, which have best reached us through fragments. And this was the theme of various other satirical dramas.[31]

As we have said, the satyrs are shown to be cheerful and boastful, to retreat when faced with the slightest danger and then, at times, to dispute the love of the heroine with their saving hero; this is clearly the case in the *Dictyulci*, while in another satirical drama by Aeschylus, *Amymone*, the god Poseidon must save this nymph from the amorous onslaught of a satyr. More than anything, the satyrs have the appearance of saviours, of heroes, of participants in games . . . and aspire to the benefits from these. And at other times they assist their own salvation with their ingenuity.

Let us recall here, on this subject, that we have compared the theme of the satyrs pulling on a net to save Danaë, in a work mentioned already,[32] with that of the chorus of donkeys pulling on a rope in a fresco from Mycenae; if what we stated in the work cited is true, and they did not participate in the carrying of a god (as happens in the parallel case of the chorus in *Pax* by Aristophanes) or in an *agon* with another chorus.

The comic theme of salvation was evidently developed by the fable with its own features. The prototype of the animal that saves itself with cunning is found in the theme of the fox who does not enter the lion's cave because he sees traces of animals that have entered, but none of animals coming out; as well as this, it appears in many fables in which the protagonist saves himself with his cunning, such as the bull that flees on seeing the lion's preparations to sacrifice him (H. 148), or the kid that escapes while making the wolf play the flute (H. 99), or the ass that gives the wolf a kick while supposedly trying to take out a thorn from his paw (H. 198), or other animals that free themselves by making promises that they then do not keep (H. 137, etc.).

At other times the animal in the fable manages to save another. The comic aspect occasionally consists in the fact that the saviour is an unlikely one, such as the mouse that saves the lion, for example (H. 155). But the saviour may also have ulterior motives, as with the fox who takes animals to the sick lion's cave and enables him to devour the stag, but keeps the heart (in the fable of *Epode* III by

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[31] Cf. *Fiesta*, p. 93.

[32] "I cori dei "Dictyulci", p. 293.

Archilochus, then in Babrius 95, Lucilius 980 ff., Avianus 30). Another more radical type is that of the false saviour, which is often repeated and whose prototypes may be found in fables in H. 7 "The Cat and the Birds" or H. 9 "The Fox and the He-goat". This latter scheme is more complicated; the fox, who has fallen in the well, survives with the help of the he-goat and then leaves him abandoned at the bottom.

At this point let us move on to the comedy. In this the theme of salvation is equally important and the behaviour of the comic hero and of the chorus presents aspects that are not dissimilar to those of the satyrs and animals in the fable; we will return to these "comic" aspects in the next chapter.

The comedy habitually presents the theme of liberation, together with an *agon*; this may be against the representative of the forces of evil, as when Athens is saved from war in works such as *Acharnenses, Pax* and *Lysistrata*, or against politicians, the courts and taxes in *Equites, Vespae, Aves*, against bad philosophers and poets in *Nubes, Thesmophoriazusae, Ranae*, against poverty and economic injustices in *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus*. In these works and other comic works there is a representation of the salvation from the wrongs of the present and a return to the good old days in which justice, abundance, happiness and sex were all one.[33]

Yet, as we have said, this liberation or salvation passes through an *agon* in which actors and choruses display "comic" features; it must be pointed out that the chorus may, at times, be in principle in opposition to the hero and the idea of salvation, but that in these cases they end up being persuaded and placing themselves at his side; in any event, their features are always the same. Although in the last works by Aristophanes their role is much more marginal and unclear.

Since the choruses of the comedy are sometimes animalistic, as we have said, we find ourselves once again faced with the fact that animalistic literature is placed within a broader context. In exactly the same way as the fable, whose relationship with the comedy is highlighted not by the citings of fables in the comedy, but because a comedy such as *Pax* is completely constructed around the scheme of a fable, that of the eagle and the beetle. Furthermore, the behaviour of the animals in the comedy is closely related to their behaviour in the fable.

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[33] For this view of the Comedy, see *Fiesta*, pp. 93 ff.

While in the satirical drama the chorus clearly appears different from the actors, this is not the case in the comedy. If we eliminate *Ranae*, a late work with a chorus which is not deeply involved in the action, and comedies by various authors (such as *The Goats* by Eupolis, *The Swans* by Aristophanes, etc.), whose subject we cannot reconstruct, we are left with the fact that in the two animalistic comedies we know best, *Vespae* and *Aves*, the following features are present:

There is a chorus of animals who fight alongside a human character possessing animalistic features, albeit figuratively; thus Philocleon is a kind of wasp on account of his virulence, Pisthetaerus even manages to sprout wings, like the chorus of birds, by eating a tiny root. We have, then, an animal character and his chorus of animals, as in the cases described above; and they all face a different character: Bdelycleon in the case of *Vespae*, the gods in that of *Aves*. The latter is the more traditional work, since the former, in which Philocleon and the chorus "are transformed", presents an animalistic disguise that is too transparent and places the confrontation, also traditional, between the young and the old in the first stage.

In *Aves* the theme of the ancient divine character of the birds is present throughout; for this reason they face the gods and are revealed to be stronger than they are. At the end the wedding takes place between the Bird-Pisthetaerus and Basileia, a wedding that is reminiscent of ritual schemes already mentioned; among others, that of the swallow, to which it makes precise reference.

That is to say, certain comedies presented an agonal scheme with the victory or defeat of a certain animal. This was combined with a narrative containing various episodes, such as those of the fable, whether the tricks of Philocleon to escape, or the construction of the city of the birds and the expulsion of the impostors. At the end there is the achievement of liberation or the conquest of power and, finally, an erotic ritual (also present in *Vespae*).

Theatre and fable are of course different genres, despite the fact that they involve the elimination of non-agonal animalistic themes (with the exception of aetiological ones), themes present in the lyric, proverbs, etc. Although they are different, it is clear that they come from a common basis, as they are sometimes narrative, sometimes mimetic variants on an intervention at the festival by the ancient animals with features highlighting their power and their different natures. Ideas of victory and defeat, of salvation and sex always dominate. In short, as we will see, they are derivations of ancient motifs which present also gods that are often not yet anthropomorphic,

even partially or totally animals. The fable, which is more evolved, has fewer traces of this primitive stage. Yet the simultaneous interplay of animals, men and gods, as in rituals and the theatre, is not rare in it; nor is the thin disguise that allows us to see a certain type of human nature, under the animal.

III. *Origins of Animalistic Themes in the Festival, Ritual and Myth*

1. *General Remarks*

The oriental theriomorphic gods, such as the Egyptian Anubis, with the head of a dog, shocked and even outraged the Greeks. The Greek gods were, by definition, anthropomorphic gods, with a human figure; they were also individuals; they had their own names, their own myths and genealogy. And their quality of gods carried with it, from Homer, the features of happiness and immortality. All these features abruptly separated the gods from heroes and men, from animals and plants. They are the true Greek contribution to religious progress.

Yet Greek ritual, myth and beliefs are full of exceptions to these rules. There are traces of theriomorph gods and of theriomorph beings with divine or heroic features; river-gods with the head of a bull, such as Achelous, snake-heroes such as Cecrops, semi-divine, semi-human beings with animalic features, such as the centaurs or the satyrs. On the other hand, the gods have epiphanies in the form of animals; there are also sacred animals, closely associated with gods, just as there are sacred plants. These animalic features frequently occur in collective divinities such as those mentioned, associated with the origins of the world or with remote cults. And it is often the case that the myths of certain heroes (and of the gods: Persephone, Dionysus and Heracles, of the Cretan Zeus too) have stories involving the themes of birth and death, myths of victory and defeat, which were capable of being mimicked in dramatic representations.

With some exceptions, it is above all the collective divinities, sometimes shown as companions of the great gods Artemis, Apollo, Zeus, etc., that most possess theriomorphic features and were most likely to be mimicked in dances. Although of course animals and plants were sometimes associated with the great divinities as manifestations of same (the bull, the he-goat, etc., of Dionysus, for example), or were associated in another way with same (the ivy, the vine, etc.,

are associated with Dionysus) or were companions of same (let us recall Aphrodite and her chariot drawn by sparrows, for example).

That is to say, in spite of the features of the Greek religion, in its Olympian aspects, it is nevertheless the case that Greek myth, worship and religious beliefs again and again present us with the animal and the plant as incarnations of higher forces, with divine or semi-divine attributes. Either they are the object of stories, or they take on bodily form in the dances of the festival. From here they cross over, clearly, to myth, fable, theatre in their literary forms.

We will discuss this basis of the fable and the other animalistic literary forms in terms of forms of worship and religion here; indeed, we will discuss systematically and expand upon things already touched upon earlier. It must be said, however, that a direct relationship of descent, an automatic relationship, does not exist. On one hand, the animal appeared alongside non-animalic forms of the divinity in myths and rites of parallel significance; later there were processes of classification and specialization, which we partly stated earlier. On the other, before arriving at the literature, there was an intermediate phase, which we would refer to as playful, in which animalistic themes had not yet lost their religious link, but evolved freely in the direction of the comic and of pure amusement.

Thus, if the fable and other animalistic (or partially animalistic) genres contain a trace, already quite remote, of these religious origins, it is no less certain that they show them in an evolved form and with other added elements; the fox and the monkey, for example, were never the object of worship in Greece, as far as we know. Yet taking part in that germination and blooming of new, already literary genres, were general elements affecting the whole of Greek culture, Oriental influences that were appropriately received and assimilated.

In this section we will look at the basic animalistic elements in Greek religion, to move on below to discuss their playful forms, prior to the literary ones. We have already discussed these previously, but in the next chapter we must further emphasize how their form was achieved.

2. *Traces of the Divine Character of the Animal in Greek Religion*

Leaving aside the dance, which we will discuss later, we will offer a few considerations, by way of orientation, on the animalistic and

vegetable elements that were maintained in Greek religion. Only an orientation, since this is a very extensive theme, which has given rise to an enormous bibliography.[34]

We attempt in this way to overcome the discrepancy that exists between general statements on the original divine character of the animals and plants in the fable[35] and the reality of the Greek fable itself. Since there are only traces of that divine character of the animal in Greece.

We would like to show some of the main traces of the introduction of animals and plants into the world of the divine, by way of an example. The same animal (or plant) is habitually re-encountered in various of the sections we are going to list. If it is absent from some, this is undoubtedly due to the incompleteness of our documentation. Our list will follow the various forms in which the ancient divine or sacred character of the animal or plant is revealed (section 1); then, in section 2, we emphasize animal and vegetable dances and animal and vegetable myths. In 3 we report on the main animals and plants of the fable that belong to this field. In this way we will see the main points of departure of the fable within the religious world; since it is clear, as we stated earlier, that the fable gradually took shape within the world of the playful, adding to it later influences from everyday life (the observation of animal life, for example, as we see in the simile and the proverb) and, in short, a long evolution finally leading to the literary.

Without wishing to be exhaustive, we would indicate the following points where the animal and vegetable world were introduced into the domain of the religious:

1. Theriomorphism expressed in images, in mimetic dances, in religious epithets. We have already said that the theriomorphism of the great Greek gods is rare; traces of this only remain in cults of archaistic areas such as Arcadia, where in Phigaleia Demeter was worshipped with a mare's head, or in religious epithets such as ἵππιος Poseidon or γλαυκῶπις Athena. In any event, there were numerous

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[34] On animals, see Keller, *Antike Tierwelt*, and also the respective articles in *RE*; on plants, J. Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie*, Groningen 1969; I. Chirassi, *Elementi di culture precereali nei miti & riti greci*, Rome 1968.

The relationship of some animals in the Greek fable and some fabulistic themes related with those of rites and myths is dealt with in general terms particularly by M. Pugliarello, *Le origini della favolistica classica*, Brescia 1973.

[35] Cf., for example, Josifović, *art. cit.*, col. 25 ff.

mimetic dances with animal disguise or imitation of the animal; we have discussed the swallow, the crow, the stags of Syracuse, the rams of Sparta, the asses of Mycenae, the dolphins, and we shall consider the theme in more depth. With dance or without dance, divinities such as satyrs and sileni are described and represented as theriomorphic, as are the Pans, centaurs and others. Then there is the partial theriomorphism of the river-gods with bull's heads, the snake-heroes such as Cecrops and characters of the type of the sirens, harpies or sphinxes. The theriomorphism may be total in cases such as Python, Erichthonius and the wolf-heroes such as Lycus in Athens and the hero of Temesa, whom we discussed on the subject of the *Circe* by Aeschylus. At other times ancient theriomorphism is noticeable in the fact that the animal continues to be the companion of the god (the pigeon and the sparrow of Aphrodite, the owl with Athena, the snake of Asklepios, etc.).

2. Epiphanies and metamorphosis. The god may appear in the form of a bird or snake or of other animals, normally, of the animal or animals that are intimately related with him. Thus, the Elean women ask Dionysus to appear to them as a bull (*Carm. Pop.* 871 *PMG*) and this theme of the appearance of Dionysus-bull is re-encountered in the *Bacchae* by Euripides, 1017, while in the *Edoni* of Aeschylus, fr. 57 R., in the Dionysiac festival some mimes bellow like bulls in the darkness; this is the presence of the god. Of course, all this has to do with the sacrifice of the bull to Dionysus in the Great Dionysia and in other festivals; the bull embodies the god, just as the calf with cothurni that is sacrificed on Tenedos and the he-goat that is an offering on the festivals of Icaria.[36]

Of course, epiphanies that we would not consider religious have the same meaning, such as when, in Homer, certain gods take the form of birds[37] in order to appear to their protegé or move away from the field of battle. The metamorphoses of certain divinities for amorous purposes are especially well-known, such as when Zeus appears as a bull, as a swan, etc. This capacity is not exclusive to him; Poseidon, for example, mates with Demeter in the form of a horse. And neither do the metamorphoses restrict themselves to the field of the erotic. Remember the treasure of these metamorphoses that is gathered together by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*. Highlighted

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[36] Cf. *Fiesta*, p. 386. More on the bull, sometimes originally Zeus, on p. 408.
[37] Cf. *Iliad* VII 59, Athena and Apollo as vultures.

among these are metamorphoses of heroes of vegetable origin such as those of Hyacinth, Myrtle, Narcissus, Athis (into violet).

Mention should be made, in this context, of the fact that a series of metamorphoses of this kind appear in the aetiological fables; in the beginning, according to H. 175, the ant was a man whom Zeus condemned for his avarice; and there are other cases. The theme is ancient, and already appears in Plato on the subject of the cicada.

3. Sacred animals and plants. At times the god is not directly theriomorphic, but his or her retinue is; for example, the pigeons or sparrows of Aphrodite or the bears and other animals that surround Artemis, the "lady of the animals". This is repeatedly reflected in art and literature, as is well known, but also in ritual celebrations, such as that of the "bears" that danced in Brauron in honour of Artemis.[38] The retinues are an indirect testimony of the ancient theriomorphic character of these goddesses, as are various myths (for example, that of the transformation of Callistus, the nymph that is Artemis' companion, into a bear). In short, the prototype is a case whereby the god and his or her retinue have the same animal form, for example, that of Karnos and the "rams" of his retinue in the Carneia of Sparta.[39]

Now, at other times the retinue is not involved, but simply the animal companion of the god; the eagle with Zeus, the owl with Athena, the snake with Asklepios, etc. The case of the eagle with Zeus is the clearest and most conclusive; we have already commented on this at length, stating among other things that it is an inheritance from the Orient. The eagle is connected with myths linking it to Zeus, such as that of Ganymede, and to portents sent by Zeus; it is represented on his sceptre; Zeus takes this form in amorous adventures (in those of Ganymede, Aegina, Asteria). As the bird of Zeus, the eagle became a royal symbol.

Taking this a little further we have the simple divine protection of animals and plants; that of wild animals by Artemis, that of the vineyard by Dionysus, wheat by Demeter, etc. The various plants and animals are under the protection of various gods. They are close to their nature; Demeter and her daughter Persephone are in a certain sense the ear and grain of wheat; we have already said that the relationship between certain heroes and heroines and certain plants

[38] On Artemis and the bear, cf. M. S. Ruipérez in *Emerita* 15, 1947, pp. 6 ff.
[39] This was undoubtedly the original form, cf. *Fiesta*, p. 406.

comes from their origin in the worship of these. On occasions there were clearly secondary redistributions and adjustments, such as the replacement of Artemis by Dionysus in certain places.

Another important point, coinciding very frequently with the previous ones, consists in the fact that certain animals are sacrificed precisely to certain gods, with whom they have an intimate relationship; insofar as this can be judged, in some cases at least they were an incarnation of same. We have already discussed the bull sacrificed to Dionysus and Zeus, and also the he-goat sacrificed to Dionysus. There are other cases that could be presented; dogs were sacrificed to Hecate, for example, and they also accompanied the parading of her retinue.

On other occasions, the sacred animals take part in certain rituals; for example, in that of the capture of the bull with nets and ropes,[40] already represented on the vases of Vapheio, or in that of the cockfights, represented on the Panathenaic amphoras.

Traces remain in the fables of this relationship between some animals and certain gods. The eagle of "The Eagle and the Beetle" takes refuge at Zeus' lap, while in "The Eagle and the Fox" the relationship between the animal and the god, present in the Akkadian model, has been blurred. The themes of "The Owl and the Birds" (the owl as wise bird) and "The Swallow and the Birds" (the swallow takes refuge in houses), respectively in the Rylands Papyrus and in H. 39, refer to traditional themes of these sacred birds, the former in connection with Athena. The arrival of the swallow is referred to in H. 179, and the cockfights find an echo in H. 266. Other fables bring together motifs derived from rituals, such as those that narrate *agones* between animals and plants. We will return to this topic later.

4. Animals and plants in portents, dreams, medicine. We have already discussed portents, particularly on the subject of Homer. It must be added that this theme is quite frequently found in the fable, such as in H. 127, 277. So is that of the sacrifice in general, and that of oracles, although almost invariably (but not always, cf. H. 129) with reference to human protagonists.

The appearance of some animals in dreams has a connection with all this; cf. for example, Artemidorus II 20 on the eagle. They also had a preventive power; if the right wing of an eagle was buried in

[40] Cf. data in *Fiesta*, pp. 408 ff.

a field or a vineyard, it protected it from hail; an image of an eagle made of emerald kept away locusts.[41] The use in medicine of various parts of the snake, for example,[42] also has a magical-religious origin.

3. *The Animal in Cult, Ritual and Myth: Mimesis and Narration*

The themes of this title have been already mentioned one way or another on the previous pages, but we must add some more detailed information regarding their repercussions on the fable. In the same way as we said that there are themes in the simile and the animal proverb that the fable developed later, this is also the case in the rite and the myth in which animals and plants take part. And, more specifically, in their mimetic and narrative aspects.

Indeed, the religious festival involves mimetic actions imitating animal dances and the narrations of myths in which these also take part. Both of these points are at the basis of the creation of the fable, in which religious and non-religious material, to which we have made some references, also plays a part. Together with playful elements, which we will discuss in another section. A moment would arrive when a non-literary fable was created that was narrated at the festival. A character such as Aesop, as we will see, is none other than a character mimicked at the festival, specifically a *pharmakos*, who narrated fables among other things. And an Archilochus or a Semonides, who included fables in their iambs, a genre that came about at certain types of festival, did no more than continue this tradition of the narrator of fables at the festival. The comedy and the satirical drama are other literary derivatives of the animalistic basis of the festival, hence their close relation with the fable, which we have discussed.

But before arriving at this point, which is the theme of the next chapter, we will offer some further clarifications of mimetic rites and myths in which animals take part.

Animal dances are included within the major types of Greek dances, which we have classified elsewhere,[43] on one hand, into circular, processional and agonal dances, on the other, according to their func-

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[41] Cf. art. "Adler", *RE* II, col. 373.
[42] Cf. art. "Schlange", *RE*, zw. R., III, col. 506.
[43] *Origenes*, pp. 19 ff.

tion in rites of the arrival of the god, of expulsion, of wedding, in the hymnic, etc. On most of the occasions that we find evidence of animal dances, it is impossible to attribute some of these classifications exactly to them; moreover, it is clear that the same animal chorus may have various functions, depending on the occasion. In fact, almost all our evidence refers to choruses; even mentions of dances "of the lion", "the owl", etc., in Pollux, though not explicitly, undoubtedly refer to choruses.

In any case, the important point for us to indicate here is that we have evidence on the one hand of animal or vegetable dances of a processional or circular type, and on the other, of an agonal type, where an "argument" is already implicit. The carrying of the εἰρεσιώνη (and of other branches, such as the κοπώ of the laurel, or the ὄσχος of the vine), is processional, as were other dances in which women carried baskets of flowers;[44] likewise, dances such as that of the "bears" of Brauron and that of the γέρανος or crane, represented on the Franÿois Vase, which shows the parade of Theseus, Ariadne and the youngsters rescued from the labyrinth. The flower dance, in which the girls of the chorus mime the collection of flowers, is certainly of a circular type.[45]

The dances with an agonal motif are of more interest to us. These may crown a processional parade, such as when the choruses of the swallow and the crow (and that of the εἰρεσιώνη) begin a dialogue with the woman of the house. The agonal principle is particularly clear, however, when the bucoliasts of Syracuse confront each other or the *staphylodromoi* of the Carneia of Sparta, also called Καρνεᾶται, compete to capture a character that originally represented Karnos, the Ram. The confrontations between satyrs and nymphs in the myth and in rituals, with which we are very familiar thanks to the ceramics, belonged to this same type, as has already been stated. As were certainly the asses pulling on a rope on the fresco of Mycenae.[46]

Shown below is a list of the more well-known of the Greek mimetic dances, which we do not claim to be exhaustive. There does not seem to be complete vegetable mimesis, although many choruses wore vegetable decorations and accompanied the incarnation of a vegetable principle, either branches or flowers; or else mimicked the

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[44] Cf. *Fiesta*, pp. 436 ff.
[45] Cf. *Orígenes*, p. 100.
[46] Cf. "I cori...", *cit.*, p. 293.

action of gathering flowers. On the other hand, we have abundant data on animal choruses, either coming from ancient authors, especially scholars and antiquarians, or in rare cases by direct transmission of the lyric that accompanied the dance, or by scenes portrayed on ceramics or other works of art, many of which date back to the 6th century, that is to say, from prior to the comedy. As we have said, shown below is the data from these sources, mostly already indicated, added to which later will be the report on the animal choruses of the comedy, supplementing things already indicated.[47]

We have material on animal dances in the following main cases:

1. Animals in general: in the dance called μορφασμός (Pollux 103; it is represented on the mantle of the statue of Despoina in Lycosura, 2nd century BC).
2. Asses: frescoes of the asses of Mycenae, particularly.
3. Birds in general: various representations on ceramics.
4. Ostriches: horsemen riding ostriches on ceramics.
5. Horses: dances in which the Silenus takes part, on ceramics; others, also on ceramics, of horsemen riding.
6. Rams: dance of the Καρνεᾶται in Sparta.
7. Stags: *agon* of Artemis Liea in Syracuse.
8. Crows: song of the crow, from Phoenix of Colophon.
9. Dolphins: choruses of ridden dolphins, on ceramics; poem by pseudo-Arion.
10. Swallows: song of the swallow, from Rhodes.
11. Cranes: see above.
12. Lizard, Καλαβίς: dance of the lizard, cf. Athenaeus 628 F, Pollux IV 104.
13. Owls and little owls, σκώψ and γλαῦξ, cf. Pollux IV 103, Aelian, *NA* 15.28, etc.
14. Lions: dance of the lion, cf. Pollux IV 104, Athenaeus 629 F.
15. He-goats and nanny goats: dance of satyrs and Pans on models and ceramics.
16. Bears: dance of the girls in Brauron.
17. Dogs: dance of the dog, cf. Pindar, fr. 107.

[47] See *Fiesta*, places cited and pp. 377, 431, etc.; K. Latte, *De saltationibus Graecorum*, Giessen, 2nd ed., 1957, pp. 23 ff.; L. B. Lawler, 77 *The Dance in Ancient Greece*, London 1964, pp. 58 ff.; O. M. Sifakis, *Parabasis and the Animal Choruses*, London 1971, pp. 73 ff.; *Origenes*, places cited; and T. B. L. Webster, 77 *The Greek Chorus*, London 1970, passim.

18. Bulls: in particular, a vase in the British Museum with dancers with bull masks.
19. Pigs: cf. Hesychius s. v. καπρία and mantle of Lycosura.

There are other more or less doubtful dances. The dances of the Bacchants with panther or fox skins, with coiled snakes, may, in a certain sense, be considered dances of those animals; on the other hand, Hesychius talks of a dance of the fox, and the Pythian nomos of Sacadas, which described the fight between Apollo and Python with the music of the flute, certainly accompanied a dance; on the other hand, I do not believe, in spite of Plutarch, *Mor.* 293 d, that the *agon* of the Delphic *Stepterion* has anything to do with this theme. There are also, it seems, allusions to a dance of the cock (Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1490, Plato, *Crat.* 433 c); a figure with a hare mask on an amphora from Fikellura (Rhodes, 6th century BC) seems to suggest a dance of this animal. And if a chorus mentioned in fr. 1 of Alcman is really of *The Pigeons*, we could consider there to be a dance of the pigeon.

The complete documentation of animal dances in Greece is collected in the degree thesis by Helena Torres Huertas, *Danzas de imitación de animales en la Grecia antigua* (Madrid 1978, unpublished). I only show a part of this material here.

Note that:

a) All these animals appear in fables, except ostriches and lizards.

b) With very few exceptions (ass, ostrich, lizard, lion, panther, fox), these animals show traces of an ancient divine character. It is clear that, starting from a certain moment, purely playful dances were created imitating all kinds of animals.

c) However, there are animals that are very important in the fable, such as the fox and the monkey, for which there is hardly any evidence of dances. Neither is there any for the crow, the cicada, the bee, etc.

However, if we now direct our attention again to the report on animal choruses in the comedy, as presented to us by Sifakis,[48] we find some extensions to our list. These animal choruses—leaving aside those of Cheirones, sirens, centaurs, griffins and animals generally—are as follows: choruses of bees, birds, wasps, horses (with their riders, actually), goats, storks, gnats, ants (and male ants?), he-goats, fish,

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[48] *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

frogs and nightingales. To this we must add the dance of the crabs in *Vespae* 1501 ff. Then we must add a few animals in the dances cited directly, but undoubtedly these are always or almost always exceptions of the playful type (perhaps with the exception of the bee, an animal very rooted in the ancient religion).

Some of these animals whose dances appear in the comedy are proper to the fable: bees, wasps, goats, storks, ants, fish, frogs and nightingales.

Although we can add the animals that are "divine" but not represented in the dances, such as the eagle, the snake, etc., a series of animals that are proper to the fable continue to be absent from the rituals, even those of a more playful type, the most significant of these clearly being the fox and the monkey. This proves once again that there was a lengthy process of development between the religious stage of the animal-god or the animal rooted in some way in worship and dance and the literary animal represented by the fable.

Yet it cannot fail to be noteworthy that the very theme of the animal dance has survived in the fable. The dance in which an animal is chosen as king, specifically the monkey who defeats the camel and the elephant, according to Archilochus (and H. 85, 142, 246, with echoes in 83), clearly transposes the theme of the *agones* of dancing or racing into one in which somebody is chosen as king, such as in the *oschophoria* of Athens, or in which a chorus and its choragus are guaranteed victory in any event, as was the case of the bucoliasts, competitions of parthenia and dithyrambs, etc. At other times, on the other hand, there are beauty *agones*, with the same purpose; these are revealed in fables such as H. 12 ("The Fox and the Leopard"), H. 258 ("The Swallow and the Crow"), H. 123 ("The Rook and the Birds"), H. 244 ("The Peacock and the Rook"), etc., which remind us of various beauty *agones* in which dance plays a part at the same time, as we have already said above. In fact, the theme of the animal and vegetable *agon* to find out who is more excellent, an ancient theme,[49] undoubtedly derives from *agon* rituals and the corresponding myths.

The theme of the dance finds echoes here and there in various fables, such as H. 13, dance of the fish (sarcasm), H. 144, of the cicada (id., but in Theophylactus Simocates 61 and in Syntipas 43 there is true dance), H. 99, of the kid while the wolf plays the flute.

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[49] Cf. Josifović, col. 28; G. Thiele, "Phaedrusstudien" III, pp. 378 ff.

Another fabulistic theme that may have its origin in rituals is that of the disguise; it was evidently choruses masked or disguised as animals that took part. This can be seen perfectly, for example, in the asses of Mycenae. The theme of the disguise of a character that already played a role is very likely to have come from here, as occurs in the theatre. In the fable we have in particular the theme of the lionskin put on by the monkey to signify his royalty, which appears in other fables (it is put on by the ass in H. 199). Later the rook and other birds disguise themselves and, finally, the wolf puts on a lamb skin in the fable of Nicephorus Basilicas that is very widespread. At other times the animal is satisfied with attempting to pass for what it is not, such as the cat as a doctor (H. 7), etc.

The same conclusion can be reached from another standpoint, that is, looking for the source of part of the fables at least in the animal myth. This is possible, but making the same qualifying statement that we made on the subject of portents and similes: that the fable goes further, it adds unforeseen developments of a comic type to the basic themes.

For example, the relationship between the eagle and Zeus was very likely to have given rise to myths and fables; we have mentioned the evolution of "The Eagle and the Fox" starting from the Akkadian myth of "The Eagle and the Serpent"; "The Eagle and the Beetle" is in fact a "comic" myth, starting from the same basis.

We have also mentioned the myth of the eagle and the serpent as unquestionably the source of H. 130 "The Crow and the Serpent" (cf. also Aphthonius 28, "The Eagle and the Serpent", clearly derived from Stesichorus 103).

Myths regarding the dolphin as saviour of Dionysus or Arion in the sea in turn underlie H. 75; the sacred character of this animal has been known since Minoan and Mycenaean times and continued subsequently. There is also the theme of the swan, the sacred animal of Apollo, who sings his most beautiful song when he is about to die, it is collected and varied in H. 247, 277; and that of the he-goat who eats the vine and is sacrificed (myth of Icaria), cf. p. 481.

The mythical connections of the animals in other fables could be sought, but we can also proceed in another manner. We must recall the fables already mentioned which develop an erotic motif between a man and an animal; these are very well-known motifs in mythology (Leda and the swan, Pasiphae and the bull, etc.). And aetiological fables, in which the natural features of such and such

an animal are explained as coming from a metamorphosis starting from a human being, or from a punishment from Zeus or an action or negligent act by Prometheus. These are true myths of creation, generally developed with satirical intentions.

In turn, themes such as that of salvation—to which we have already referred—or that of the kingdom of the animals—also already cited—and, more generally, the various animal and vegetable *agones*, have mythical roots and not only ritual ones. Sometimes two animals of the same species compete, such as the two cocks in H. 266 or the two dogs in H. 94, but more frequently it is different species. For example, in Callimachus the two sacred trees of Apollo and Athena, the laurel and the olive, compete. We may recall the fables of Helios and Boreas (H. 46), Zeus and Apollo (H. 106), Hercules and Plutus (H. 113), the Winter and the Summer (H. 297) and others of confrontation between gods or hypostases. Clearly all kinds of confrontations are arrived at; but in the oldest models there was undoubtedly confrontation between animals or plants favoured by competing gods, or else between a divine animal and another that is not. Such divine confrontations were reproduced, on an animal or vegetable level, between the Olympians and the underground gods, between Athena and Poseidon, Dionysus and Apollo, etc. The theme of the call of the god and the resistance that he or she must face was translated into myths and rites; it undoubtedly sometimes left echoes in the fable. Although of course, we must repeat, the observation of nature also plays a part in the dramatic actions of the fable, as when the wolf devours the lamb, the lion fights with the bull, etc. And, starting from a given moment, all kinds of variations and combinations were introduced, with new purposes; for example, the nature of the terrestrial animal was set against that of the sea animal.

As we have said, the religious origins of some *agones* or confrontations can be traced, however. It seems clear that this is the case with regard to the eagle and the serpent, although a question of observation also plays a part, as they are representatives of very different religious worlds. This we can see with the confrontation between Zeus himself and the serpent in H. 248. This case can be paralleled with that of the olive and the laurel, already mentioned.

Now, another case is more common, that of the confrontation between a sacred animal, endowed with some quality or a significant beauty, and a lower animal. Note that in the world of the fable there has been a long history of evolutions and that it may be the

case that the "lower" animal ends up the victor or, at least, the "superior" passes to a bad situation, as with the horse in H. 272, 286, Syntipas 29. This is from a secondary phase.

The confrontations to which we refer between a sacred animal and another animal that is initially underrated are, among others, the following:

the eagle (against not only the serpent, but the rook, H. 2, and the beetle (H. 3)
the horse (against the ass, places cited)
the swan (against the kite, Aphthonius 3, the goose, H. 277)
the crow (against the crow, H. 127)
the dolphin (against the whales, H. 73, the tuna H. 115)
the swallow (against the crow, H. 258, the birds, H. 39)
the crane (against the geese, H. 256)
the pigeon (against the rook, H. 131)
the peacock (against the rook, H. 244)

Powerful, beautiful, light animals, endowed with beautiful song or the gift of divination, some dedicated to certain gods, are set in opposition to the heavy goose, to the crow lacking a prophetic gift, to the foolish and lustful ass, to the ugly rook. We could add examples such as those already mentioned of the owl and the birds in the Rylands Papyrus. The theme of the lion, who again and again faces the ass, the bull and other less powerful animals, originates from a world that was not strictly religious, but with a tradition that links it—from Asian cultures, Mycenaean and Homeric similes—with royalty.

IV. *Animalistic Themes Neither Literary Nor Religious*

1. *Playful Elements of the Animalistic Type at the Festival and the Banquet*

Various playful and comic elements proper to the festival and the banquet have penetrated the fable; the chapter that follows is to be devoted to their involvement in this environment. Here we will restrict ourselves to those of the animalistic type.

We conserve a series of *choes*, goblets for serving wine used in the drinking competitions in the Anthesteria, showing festival scenes concerning this festival, in which there were theatrical representations

and all kinds of musical and athletic competitions. *Choes* for use by children, in particular, have reached us; all kinds of festival scenes are depicted on these, among them many in which animals and children themselves take part. These received animals as presents and played with them.

Some of these representations[50] are reminiscent of scenes from the fable. For example, those of the cockfight, those of children playing with small Maltese dogs (cf. H. 75 and 93), those of a dog standing on its hind legs and jumping at a bunch of grapes offered by a boy (the same theme also exists with a he-goat; in the fable H. 15 they are replaced by the fox),[51] those of children trying to capture a bird, sometimes a pigeon (the theme of the hunter of birds is often found in the fable).

On the other hand, these vases show us that many animals of the fable, specifically many of those coming from the non-religious sphere, did have an influence at these festivals, which undoubtedly affected their introduction into the fable. Apart from Dionysiac animals such as the bull and the he-goat, animals such as the fawn, the panther, the dog, the ass, the hare, the tortoise, the monkey and various kinds of birds (cock, pigeon, swan, partridge, quail) also appear on the *choes*. It seems to us a very likely hypothesis that, as well as the original basic animals connected to forms of worship and the myth, there were others that accompanied the Athenian children in their daily lives and with which they played, particularly at festivals such as this, which were added in a second phase. However, see M. Gimbutas, *The Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Europe*, Berkeley 1974, pp. 174 ff., on the ancient religious character of the tortoise (and the toad and the hedgehog).

We should also point out the function of certain animalic beings, particularly the satyrs, in the "Götterburlesk", the parody of mythical themes. If in a certain sense the fable represents a "comic" variant on the myth, we must recall the burlesque myths, such as the one of Hephaestus captured drunk by Dionysus and the satyrs (on a very well-known vase from Athens) and many others in which satyrs take part and which give rise to the satirical drama and to

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[50] Cf. G. Van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden 1951, pp. 35 and 46 ff.

[51] Already on a gem from the 4th century BC, in the Ashmolean in Oxford (from Trikka, Thessaly).

the *Dionysalexander* of Cratinus (in which the satyrs accompany Helen and Paris).

On the other hand, underlying the animal simile and certain characterizations of the animal in the fable is the game, practised at the banquet,[52] of indicating what each of the diners looks like. At the end of Ar. *Vespae*, 1308 ff., we are given some examples of this game; Philocleon is compared to a voracious and shameless ass and his interlocutor, in turn, to a grasshopper that has lost its wings. The entrance of the chorus in *Aves* (297 ff.) also gives rise to comparisons of this type, prior to other literary ones to which we have already made reference. At times, full-blown nicknames are arrived at; these are always a satirical resource making reference to the character or physical appearance of a person. Thus, in *Aves* 1292 ff., there is a vintner called the partridge, Menippus is the swallow, Opus the crow, etc.

Jokes about or fun with the physical appearance of some animals have crossed over into the fable. Aristophanes made an aetiology, as we have seen, regarding the crest on the head of the lark. There are references in the fable to the ugliness and stupidity of the camel (H. 119, 142, etc.), the monkey (Par. Bodl. 175 Cr., Avianus 14), the rook (H. 103), to the ugly song of the crow (H. 126), etc. A fable such as H. 102, "Zeus, Prometheus, Momus and Athena", refers precisely to the deficiencies of animals.

We must emphasize that the fable contains an element of hilarity or deception as an essential part; this is frequently related to animal similes, but not always. We must remember that, in his *Vespae* 566, Aristophanes talks of things told to judges to amuse them, Αἰσώπου τι γέλοιον, that this may be a "joke" or a funny fable; and that these jokes by Aesop are plentiful in the *Life*.

2. *The Observation of Animals*

In addition to religious, literary and playful elements, the fable has evidently incorporated an abundance of materials from the observation of nature. Yet observation was obviously not enough by itself; to a large extent the observation of nature crystallized in the tradition that attributed precise and topical characters to the different

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[52] Cf. A. Plebe, *La nascita del comico*, Bari 1956, pp. 69 ff.

animals. And if in order to describe the confrontation between the wolf and shepherds and flocks, the fable could choose between the traditional literary heritage and direct observation, it is clear that in the case of the lion, in Greece, it depended totally on the tradition, the Homeric similes in particular.

We must bear in mind that the Greeks, whose civilization was fundamentally agrarian, lived in close contact with nature, with plants and animals. To a large extent the fable refers to "real" scenes, scenes of hunting, incidents between the shepherd or the walker and animals of prey, the activities of these animals of prey, such as the eagle, the hawk, the fox, the wolf, the cat, the weasel, etc. (not to mention the lion). Clearly, on the basis of confrontations that we would consider ritual, already mentioned, and of these others from real life (sometimes also reflected in the simile and the proverb), starting from a given moment, we arrive at all kinds of confrontations, some totally illogical, and themes such as the hunt by the lion in the company of the ass, the fox or the monkey.

The fable frequently allows a deep knowledge of the life of animals to show through, although mistakes may be made with the exotic ones, such as when the monkey is made carnivorous. Fables are very frequently found which refer to knowledge about certain animals, which may or may not be scientific, but is in any event reputed to be true. It is not easy, of course, to find out the antiquity of these fables, in which a λέγεται "it is said" is usually introduced. We have, for example, fables referring to the lion's supposed fear of the cock, H. 84 and H. 292. H. 25 is constructed on the theme that the halcyon makes its nest on the rocks of the coast, H. 66 on the theme that the bear respects corpses, H. 120 on the custom attributed to the beaver of cutting off its testicles to escape, H. 219 on the "mimetic" character of the monkey, H. 234 on the fact that the worm is blind, H. 240 and 241 on the supposed change of sex of the hyenas, H. 243 on the legend that the mother of the monkey does not care for one of her young, which is the one that lives, Phaedrus *App.* 22 on the ability of the bear to catch crabs by throwing stones into the river.

Certainly, some of these fables may be late, or else are not properly fables, cf. I 1, pp. 37 ff. Yet they demonstrate the closeness of the fable to the popular knowledge of Natural History, which were later to lead to works such as *De Natura Animalium* by Aelian or the *Physiologus*. Though it must not be forgotten that the fabulists some-

times reveal their ignorance of the animal world about which they write, such as when, as we have said, in H. 83 (and perhaps already in its model in Archilochus) the monkey is made a carnivorous animal. It is clearly a secondary matter, referring to an exotic and not well-known animal.

V. *From Animal Motifs to the Animal Fable*

We have seen that the Greek fable was created on the basis of a series of literary precedents and a set of religious beliefs that led, within the context of the religious festival or certain festivals, to mimetic representations in which animals took part, to playful animalistic elements and, above all, to the story of the animal myth with a comic character that is the animalistic (or vegetable) fable.

However, to arrive at the fable from the elements we have listed requires a considerable leap. There was undoubtedly the intervention of the model of the Oriental fable, which made the Greek beginnings develop; on this, see chapter II 3. Under its influence a fabulation of the comic type took place in Greece, closely related to the general characteristics of certain types of festival and to the poetry and drama that took place in them, the iamb and the comedy particularly. This fabulation was not only animalistic, it was more extensive. Therefore, the theme of the development of the fable must be studied in this broader context, as we will do in the next chapter. What occurred was a splitting off, within the themes of the festival and the literature resulting from it, of elements of the comic type, now differentiated from the tragic ones. The fable separates from the myth. It is even possible to study this process formally; we mentioned a series of elements of this earlier, in chapters I 1 and II 1, showing the evolution from Hesiod to Aristophanes through Archilochus and the subsequent evolution in the prose writers up to the collection of Demetrius Phalereus.

Here we wish to draw the attention—restricting ourselves to the animal fable, however—to some points to which we have made more or less explicit reference earlier.

It is clear that the fable developed under the influence of the myth, albeit in a burlesque version, tending ultimately (already in Aristophanes) to differ in formal terms. It introduced a set of totally unreal motifs; only in the fable can the lion be helped by the fox

to catch his prey or the monkey become a king, dressed in a lionskin, or the cat pass for a doctor, or can themes enter such as the dance, the disguise, the kingdom of animals, etc. Only in the fable, in short, can animals speak, restoring the age of Cronus. And this within a specialization of direction which we have discussed extensively; there is satire, criticism, there are jokes or laments over foolish behaviour. This is a very different vision of reality from that idealized in epic poetry, an exaltation of both power and the ingenious resources employed to deceive or acquire it.

In order for the fable to have achieved this, it is very clear that it had to add many things to its original religious, literary or playful materials. The oriental fable, the Greek myth and the entirety of the iambic or comic environment of certain festivals clearly served as a model. Yet, no less clearly, new animal heroes were needed, those of the religious tradition were insufficient. Leaving aside other minor characters, starting from the 7th century, the fable was centred on one hand on the theme of the lion and his prey, the wolf and his prey, whereas the eagle and the serpent were relegated to a reduced stage; on the other hand, the theme of cunning and the trap was mainly covered by the fox, and that of vanity and ridicule by the monkey. Only with the diffusion of these major characters, with a character not closely linked to the religious, were the bases for the Greek fable laid down.

The lion is the most powerful of the animals; the true king of them all, although he may find himself in circumstances of inferiority on account of still being a cub or of his old age or of his illness. There were no lions in Greece, although they were present throughout Asia; the presence of one lion at the most, in Mygdonia, in Macedonia, is mentioned by Herodotus VII 125, but the reliability of this information is doubtful.[53] Nor was the lion linked with any cult in Greece, therefore, as in the case of the worship of Cybele in Phrygia. The existence of a lion dance is not sufficient to demonstrate this religious character, nor is the presence in myth of the lions of Nemea, the Cithaeron and the Helicon.

The fact is that in Asia, from remote times, the lion appeared as the guardian or companion of the goddess and the tree of life, the defender of monumental gates and tombs, associated with royalty; and that, although this was not the case in the ancient European

[53] Cf. art. "Löwe" in *RE* XXV, col. 969 ff.

culture of the Balkans, in a given moment it began to be represented in these same functions, undoubtedly due to Asian influence.[54] As regards Greece, we need only recall the gate of the lions of Mycenae or the Boeotian amphora from around 700 BC, which represents Artemis flanked by two lions. And we must also recall the Homeric similes of the lion, associated with the great heroes, which are undoubtedly evidence of direct knowledge of the animal in Asia. In short, in Greece there was an oral and literary tradition regarding the lion as the strongest and most regal of animals; the authors of fables were inspired by this.

As regards the wolf, it was displaced by the lion from its central role as animal of prey, although it still appeared as such in Homeric similes. Its link with worship in Greece is scant, it is restricted to archaic and rural cults in Arcadia. Yet in the reality of the facts, the wolf was undoubtedly the most important of the Greek carnivores; fables presenting it to us set against shepherds and livestock have the genuine flavour of real life. On the other hand, we have examples in which it proves likely that the lion was displaced by the wolf as the protagonist of fables, as in those developing the theme of the young wolf, transformed into a carnivore animal (H. 276, cf. H. 165). To sum up, along with the lion, the wolf replaced the eagle in the function of the great predator of the fable. It comes more from the similes and the observation of life than from worship. But its role increased progressively with time.

Now, the fabulistic animal as such, which embodies all kinds of subtle deceptions, abilities and traps, even defeating the strongest, is the fox. It does not appear in Homer, nor does it have a role in worship (except, it seems, in Thrace) or in religious beliefs; it is evidently from the life of the field that this animal has been taken. Firstly, in Semonides, it appears as simply evil; then it acquires the aforementioned characteristics, which are usual in fables, proverbs, comparisons, etc. Undoubtedly the point of departure was simply the rapacious character of the animal, then there was extrapolation starting from its ability to seize hens and other animals stealthily, including the hedgehog, in spite of its spines.[55] It is clear that, at a given moment, there was a topical qualification of the fox, clearly in connection with its literary use in the fable and elsewhere. Within the

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[54] Cf. M. Gimbutas, *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 195.

[55] Cf. art. "Fuchs" in *RE* VIII, col. 189 ff.

animal world, the fox performs a parallel role to that of characters such as Odysseus, the comic heroes, etc., whom we will discuss in the next chapter. It is clear that when human stories of the iambic or comic type were isolated to form a separate genre, a parallel was sought within the animal world, and this was the fox.

Finally, the monkey. It represents the ridiculous animal, the mocked show-off. It does not belong to the domain of worship, nor to that of the Homeric similes. It has, like the fox, a very diffused characterization, which we have already discussed. It was an exotic animal, which in Greece constituted a rarity brought in by foreigners. However, it is a rarity known of old; we need only remember the monkeys of the "house of the frescoes" of Gnossus and those of Thera. This may be the imitation of an African theme, like others, or the fact that in around the 16th century BC there were monkeys on the islands of the Aegean.[56] In any event, a sporadic knowledge, mainly from reference, regarding the monkey (as is proven by the errors regarding its habits in the fables) was sufficient to create a character that corresponded in the fable to various "comic" characters in the iambography and the comedy.

[56] Cf. Sp. Marinatos, *A Brief Guide to the Temporary Exhibition of Antiquities of Thera*, Athens 1971, p. 21; and by the same author, *Die Ausgrabungen auf Thera und ihre Probleme*, Vienna 1973, p. 22.

SUPPLEMENT

On the animals in the early fable, according to the old theory, see the articles and the book by VAN DIJK cited above, pp. 45, 47. Then, the work by F. LASSERRE 1984 already cited and various references on Plato, particularly in S. JEDRKIEWICZ, pp. 368 ff., also PÒRTULAS 1978 and F. WILLIAMS, "Articulate Beasts in Plato and Babrius", *Museum Phil. Lond.* 4, 1981, pp. 207–209 (referring to Pl. *Plt.* 272 b–c).

On particular fables, see specialized bibliography below. For the Medieval Age, see G. BIANCIOTTO, M. SALVAT (eds.), *Epopée animale, fable, fabliau. Actes du IVe Colloque de la Société Internationale Renardienne.* Paris, PUF, 1984; J. GOOSSENS,— T. SODMANN (eds.), *Third International Beast Epic, Fable and Fabliau Colloquium,* Köln-Vienna, Böhlau, 1981, also G. MOMBELLO, "Du temps que les bêtes parloient", in A. Vitale-Brovarone–G. Mombello (eds.), *Atti del V Colloquio della International Beast Epic Society,* Alessandria 1987, pp. 173–189. On the animal fable in the Orient, a new bibliography is also given in the appropriate places, but for the moment we will mention: E. BRUNNER-TRAUT, "Aegyptische Tiermärchen", *ZAeS* 80, 1955, pp. 12–32.; E. BRUNNER-TRAUT, *Aegyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel. Gestalt und Stahlkraft,* Darmstadt 1974.

On the animal comparison (defined as ironic realism) cf. C. GARCIA GUAL 1978, p. 187. On various animals in the fable, see, as well as the book by M. R. PUGLIARELLO, *Le origini della Favolistica Classica,* Brescia, Paideia, 1973:

Bull: F. R. ADRADOS, "España y el toro: la fiesta y sus precedentes antiguos", *Estudios Clásicos* 112, 1997, pp. 7–22.

Fox: GARCIA GUAL, *cit.*, p. 202; FALKOWITZ in ADRADOS 1984, pp. 30 ff. (mythical origin?); H. SCHWARZBAUM, *The Mishle Shu'alim* (Fox Fables). Kiron, Institute for Jewish and Arab Folklore Research, 1979; C. GARCIA GUAL, "El prestigio del zorro", *Emerita* 38, 1970, pp. 417–431; E. DIEZ–J. B. BAUER, *"Fuchs", Jahrb. für Antike und Christentum* 16, 1973, pp. 168–178; J. VILLEMONTEIX, "Le renard dans la tradition grecque", *Pris-Ma* 7, 1991, pp. 147–152.

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Dog: S. LILJA, *Dogs in Ancient Greek Poetry,* Helsinki 1976.

Octopus: F. R. ADRADOS, "El poema del pulpo y los orígenes de la colección teognídea", *Emerita* 26, 1958; Pòrtulas *cit.*

On the vegetable fable (debates), cf.:

H. L. J. VANSTIPHOUT, "The Mesopotamian Debate Poems. A General Presentation (Part I)", *Acta Sumerologica* 12, 1990, pp. 271–318; Chr. J. BRUNNER, "The Fable of the Babylonian Tree, I: Introduction", *JNES* 39, 1980, pp. 191–202; "II: Translation", ibid. 291–302.

On animalistic themes in the festival and the lyric, F. R. ADRADOS, *Fiesta, Comedia y Tragedia,* Madrid 1983 (2nd ed.), pp. 398 ff.; *Orígenes de la Lírica griega,* Madrid 1986 (2nd ed.), *passim.*

CHAPTER THREE

FABLE AND IAMBIC GENRES

I. *The Fable in Greek Literature*

1. *General Remarks*

In the previous chapters we have reviewed the animalistic and vegetable elements that have produced a genre of "second stages" within longer stories, a genre vaguely denominated first as αἶνος, then λόγος and μῦθος, and from which the fable detached itself. We have said that the fable as an independent genre, already present in fact in Archilochus but much more clearly in Aristophanes, even in formal terms, is only comprehensible in what we have referred to as iambic genres, since the fable is intimately linked with the iamb and related genres in the form in which it appeared and in its content. And we have added that only in this context can we understand how extremely simple animal rites and myths and certain literary elements could have evolved to the point of creating that playful, parodical, complex and critical myth that is the fable.

Whether this is purely animal or vegetable, or human or divine characters take part, or is from a purely human or divine sphere, or is mixed, its centre—we stated—lies in the animal, fictive, symbolic and evaluative, relating to a single event; normally within the field of the comic, the satirical, the ironic. But a human anecdote, even historical, may also of course be considered a fable, as was the case from Archilochus and Aristophanes to the Collections.

The fable, in short, became a counter-weight to the myth; like it, it was used to threaten, to dissuade, to criticize, to explain, but fundamentally within the field indicated. The fable is set in opposition to the myth, in a certain sense, like the iamb against the hymnic, panegyric lyric, etc.; like the comedy against the tragedy; like certain types of festival, in which licentiousness and satire dominate others of a solemn or mournful type;[1] like the characters in epic poetry,

[1] Cf. *Fiesta*, pp. 452 ff.

certain lyrics and tragedies that include comic features, such as Odysseus and Heracles, as well as the heroes of the comedy, against heroic characters.

Indeed, at a given moment, there was a tendency to dissociate elements which, for simplicity's sake, we will call tragic and comic, and which in earlier times were integrated.

Yet neither at the festival nor in the literature was a radical scission ever reached. On the subject of the "comic" elements that remain in the tragedy, the book by Mercedes Vílchez on *El engaño en el teatro griego* is very useful (Barcelona 1976). As regards the lyric, in both my *Orígenes de la lírica griega* and my *El mundo de la lírica griega antigua*, Madrid 1981. I have shown the mixture of motifs that still exists. In a iambographer such as Archilochus, tragic elements are found in poems such as the consolatory poem directed at Pericles or in fragments such as the one regarding divine power and the limitations of human power (frs. 207 and 211 A.). Conversely, satirical elements are to be found in Alcman, Sappho, etc. In the elegy the two coexist; consider, on one hand, elegies by Solon such as the one directed at the Muses, and on the other, those by Archilochus, such as the passage on the lost shield or that of Pasiphila.

This same is the case in the fable; we referred to its tragic elements on pp. 164 ff. We will refer to these again so that their presence is not surprising in a predominantly festive and literary environment with another character, as is the one we describe below.

2. *The Fable and Poetic Genres*

As the reader already knows, before the appearance of the collections of fables, starting from that of Demetrius, the fable was normally used as an exemplum within certain poetic genres, normally iambic. It could be told directly or else be attributed to Aesop or to other people. However, traces of the exchanging of fables at the banquet exist, and we will discuss these in the following section; in a certain sense, these exchanges constitute an anticipation of the collections of fables, in the same way that in general terms collections were born of elegies or of scolia starting from this same use.[2]

In Chapter I 2 "General Inventory of the Graeco-Latin Fable" and in II 1 "The Animal and Vegetable Fable in the Classical Age"

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[2] Cf. my *Líricos griegos* II, Barcelona 1959, pp. 128 ff.

we reviewed most of the fables of the Classical Age. In Chapter II 5 "Panorama of the Fable in the Archaic and Classical Ages" we will offer a more complete review. But here we must devote our attention not to the form or to the themes of the Classical fable, but to their distribution within the various poetic genres; the fable within prose is, like many other elements of this, an inheritance from poetry and it is this that interests us here for the moment. We present, then, a brief review, in which the references to fables are mainly allusive; we will mention the fables that are found in the different poetic genres.

The main conclusion will be that the fable is mainly found in the iambic genre; prior to this there is "The Hawk and the Nightingale" by Hesiod, a poet who possesses an abundance of "lyric" features, and subsequently some further fables that we will point out. Let us now review the iambic fables.

The iambic genre was begun by Archilochus, as is known. In his Epodes there appears a series of fables with which readers are already very familiar: the fables of the eagle and the fox, of the lion, the fox and the stag, of the old lion and the fox, of the fox, the monkey and the camel, of the monkey and the fox (certain authors do not distinguish this from the former). There are also traces of fables in the fragments in stichic iambs; thus (I cite from the numbers in my edition) 113 and 115 are the fable of "The Wasps, the Partridges and the Farmer", 232 that of the mule that boasts of his mother, the mare, and forgets his father the ass, 238, that of the watchdog and the vagabond. Then in Semonides we have the fable of the eagle and the beetle (12), that of the heron and the hawk (9). If fables are absent from Hipponax, their presence in the *Iambs* of Callimachus, who imitates him, leads us to believe that it is a chance occurrence that they do not appear in our fragments.

I would also like to place on record here that in an article "Aportaciones a una nueva edición e interpretación de Estesícoro", *Emerita* 46, 1978, pp. 251 ff., I have proposed that the two fables of Stesichorus cited by us, that of "The Eagle and the Serpent" and that of "The Horse, the Stag and the Man" (103 and 104 *PMG*), come from a book of iambs or epodes by the poet.

When the iambic genre was resuscitated with Callimachus, we find the fable once again in him, specifically, the story of the gifts that Zeus made to men according to Aesop (*Iamb* II) and the dispute between the laurel and the olive (*Iamb* IV). The choliambic poem

included in the *Life of Alexander* by the Pseudo-Callisthenes also contains a fable, that of the flies and the wasps (II 16.2). This poem has a Cynic influence; and there are also fables and similes or animal proverbs in other choliambs and meliambs by Cynic authors such as Phoenix and Cercidas,[3] particularly the fable of the tortoise in Cercidas, *Mel.* II, fr. 7.

We also find the fable in the continuers of this genre in Latin, such as in Ennius, *Sat.* 21–58 V.; in Lucilius, frs. 208 (?), 561, 669, 954, 980 ff., 1111 ff., (?) M.; in Horace, *Serm.* I 6.22; II 3.314 ff.; II 6.79–117; *Epist.* II 1.77; II 3.186.

Returning to the theatre, we find the fable in the iambic trimetres of the tragedy and, particularly, of the comedy. There are isolated examples already mentioned in Aeschylus (fr. 139 R., the eagle that dies "on account of his own feathers") and Sophocles (*Antigone* 710 ff., the trees that do not bend with the torrent); we can add one or two human fables, such as that of the cowardly captain in Sophocles, *Ajax* 1142 ff., not to mention similes, proverbs, myths, etc. that were later transformed into fables.

Yet, above all, the fable is of major importance in Aristophanes, sometimes as regards the use of same by his characters, sometimes mentioned as a theme of conversation at the banquet (for example, *Vespae* 1182). We will not offer a detailed report here because we have already mentioned practically all Aristophanes' fables in the chapters mentioned above. The problem remains regarding the extent to which themes such as that of Melanion (*Lysistrata* 783 ff.), Timon (ib. 805 ff.), Lasus and Simonides (*Vespae* 1409 ff.), Ephudion (*Vespae* 1381 ff.), Cleonymus (*Aves* 1470 ff.), Orestes (id. 1482 ff.) can be considered as fables. Yet, above all, it must be said that whole comedies are written on the model of fables. *Pax* is a development of the fable of the beetle, to which it repeatedly alludes; and subjects such as that of the *Aves* could be summarized in a fable scheme. Likewise, the myth narrated by Aristophanes in the Platonic *Symposium*, equivalent, as we have said elsewhere,[4] to a subject of comedy, is of an eminently fabulistic type.

This is not exclusive to Aristophanes. The comics Plato and Alexis both refer to the life of Aesop;[5] in the *Dyscolus* by Menander 633 ff.,

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[3] Cf. G. A. Gerhard, *Phoinix von Kolophon*, Leipzig-Berlin 1909, pp. 247 ff., 267.
[4] "El *Banquete* platónico y la teoría del teatro", *Emerita* 37, 1969, pp. 1–28.
[5] Cf. Perry, *Aesopica, cit.*, pp. 223 and 226.

there is reference to "The Gardener and the Dog"; in Plautus there are at least three definite fables (*Aulul.* 226 ff. "The Ox and the Ass"; *Pseud.* 139 ff. "The Ram Guarded by the Wolf"; *Trinum.* 169 ff. "The Wolf and the Dogs"). Terence, in turn, (*Eunuch.* V 1 16) offers the same fable as the *Pseud.*

It is undoubtedly this iambic tradition of the fable that brought about the circumstance whereby at a given moment the collections of fables were written in iambic verses; in our "Documentation of the Graeco-Latin fable" (Vol. III) we refer not only to Phaedrus and Babrius, but also to the Greek collections that preceded both, to others parallel to same and also to subsequent fabulists; in all these cases the fables are in iambic trimetres or choliambs. In fact, the fabulists in verse continued an activity that has ancient roots. Already Plato, in *Phaedo* 60c, states, according to the customary interpretation, that in prison Socrates devoted himself to putting the fables of Aesop into verse. We do not believe it over audacious on our part to propose that this versification must have been in iambic verse.

However, we have already indicated that the fable is also found in non-iambic poetic genres; always by way of exempla, never forming collections (except in the case of late dactylic collections of which traces remain, collected by Crusius in his edition of Babrius).

This tradition is not totally independent of the previous one. Thus, the oldest fable that has been transmitted to us, that of the hawk and nightingale in Hesiod, appears in a context not at all dissimilar to those of Archilochus and others; the purpose was to criticize and even satirize Perses, who takes advantage of Hesiod as Lycambes does of Archilochus. This is by no means the only feature linking Hesiod with the lyric tradition and, specifically, with that of genres midway between attack and exhortation, such as the iamb; indeed, we need only refer to what we stated on this in our *Orígenes de la lírica griega*, pp. 59 ff., 109.

On the other hand, we find fables or references to fables in eminently symposiac poetry, as are the sholia ("The Crab and the Snake" in scolium 9 *PMG*) and the elegy. Within the latter, mention must first be made of the Collection of Theognis; we have already cited his similes that are reminiscent of fables concerning the old lion (293 ff.), the man who shelters a serpent at his breast (601 ff.), the dog that crossed a torrent (347 ff.); there is also an allusion to the astute character of the fox in Solon 11. As regards the role of the fable in the symposium, see below. The attribution to same of most elegiac

poetry, very specifically that of Theognis, and iambic poetry, is well-known.[6]

We will only add in passing the existence of other fables or allusions to these—although these occur more rarely—in other genres of poetry, particularly choral. Such as in the choruses of the *Agamemnon* by Aeschylus, where the portent of the two eagles and the hare, which we believe to be influenced by Archilochus,[7] is presented, as is the simile, almost a fable, of the young lion.[8]

Yet just as it is undeniable that the fable existed in ancient times in the elegy and the scholium, I do not believe the same can be said with respect to the choral lyric. Examples such as those mentioned and others besides are no more than echoes of fables of the iambic or elegiac tradition. And the principal example that could be cited, that of the fables of "The Stag, the Horse and the Hunter" and "The Eagle, the Serpent and the Farmer" in Stesichorus, frs. 104 (a) and 103, only has apparent validity. As I have said elsewere,[9] I think it likely that these fables came from iambic poems by the poet of Himera.

3. *Popular Use of the Fable*

All this offers support for the idea of a significant diffusion of the fable in Greece from the 7th century BC, with the characteristic that the fable was told in appropriate circumstances for the purpose of criticism, exhortation, threat, illustration, etc., with the one telling it either doing so in his own name, or, later, in the name of Aesop or of various characters, even historical ones.

The exposition of the fable spread into everyday life; Sophists and philosophers, for example, used it in the same way as they would mention myths, poetic passages or anecdotes. But we have reason to suppose that this is a derivative use and that originally the place for the fable was in certain ritual celebrations, those to which iambic poetry owes its origin. We will try to prove this by various means, particularly that of showing that the ethos and intentions of the fable

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[6] Cf. *Orígenes*, pp. 267 ff.

[7] See "El tema del águila de la épica acadia a Esquilo", *Emerita* 32, 1965, pp. 267 ff.

[8] Cf. "El tema del león en el *Agamenón* de Esquilo", *Emerita* 33, 1965, pp. 1–15.

[9] "Propuestas para una nueva edición e interpretación de Estesícoro", *Emerita* 46, 1978, pp. 251–299 (particularly 293 ff.).

essentially agree with this kind of poetry. This would be the underlying reason for the alliance of the fable and iambic poetry, which we have discussed.

Now, the use of the fable at the banquet is a much more accessible terrain for our direct observation; the banquet was originally a religious act, a specialization of the festival in its orgiastic aspects, but also critical and exhortative ones. The banquet was no more than one of the elements of communal festivals, performed in closed environments such as the *thiasoi*, circles such as that of Sappho or those of the philosophers. It conserved the paean choral song, the direction of the symposiarch who acted as chorus leader, and the songs and recitations exchanged as dialogue between the diners, which continued and developed poetic genres of festival origin.[10] Animalistic similes also come from this. And it was customary for there to be singing, and later recitation of iambs, elegies and scholia. It is not at all strange that, if the fable is a genre linked to the banquet, it was expressed precisely in these poetic genres, predominantly in the first of them.

Indeed, we possess data indicating that it was customary to tell fables and stories at the banquet. The end of *Vespae*, by Aristophanes, indicates this very clearly and various other evidence can be added (Athenaeus 130 C, Petronius *Sat.* 110, Suetonius, *Augustus* 74, etc.). Its very appearance in poetry that is clearly symposiac would already be sufficient proof. At the banquet, moreover, the fable had not only satirical and exhortative intentions, which we have discussed and will return to later; we can clearly see that it sought above all to entertain, as is clear from the passage of *Vespae* cited and also in others, such as v. 566 of the same comedy, in which the accused tells "jokes of Aesop" to the juries to entertain them as if they were at a banquet. Statements on the fable by subsequent authors, such as Horace, Phaedrus and Babrius, agree in attributing to it this character of *ioci* or entertainment, although they also use it, Phaedrus particularly, as a weapon to attack and to teach; see his prologue to Book III. Data can be found on this in Josifović, in his art. *Aisopos* in *RE*.[11] We do, however, have considerable doubts concerning his statement that the original function of the fable is that of mere entertainment; rather,

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[10] Cf. particularly, in addition to *Origenes*, l. c., A. Plebe, *La nascita del comico*, Bari, Laterza, 1956, pp. 46 ff., with much more information.

[11] Suppl. Band XIII, col. 15 and ff., particularly 21 and 32.

we think that this is a development (never completed, moreover) within the banquet. But let us leave this theme, for the moment.

The fact is that, told at the festival or at the banquet or, later, in various circumstances, the fable could have been in verse, specifically in the metres mentioned, but also, undoubtedly, in prose; the insults, obscenities and free words of the Dionysiac and Demetriac festivals that we have cited were called out in prose; and it is not likely that Philocleon or those defending themselves before the Heliaia told their fables in verse. The fables that, according to the *Phaedo*, Socrates dedicated his time to setting in verse, were in prose, undoubtedly from the oral tradition. In fact, when Hesiod, say, or Aeschylus included fables in their verses, they proceeded exactly like this, adapting fables to their metres, taking them from the oral tradition in prose, although they may also have already known fables in iambs or elegy. It is the same as happened when Homer transposed lyric poetry into his hexameters, for example, in the *threnos* by Hector. In a parallel manner, when Philocleon tries to tell fables to the characters that come to judge him, it is to be supposed that he does so in prose; if Aristophanes makes him speak in iambs, it is on account of the convention of all comedies.

It must be supposed, then, that there was always a non-poetic fabulistic tradition, that is to say, a spoken or improvised one; a tradition that never disappeared, offering fables in prose and occasionally leading to the prosification of collections in verse. But from the very moment when, in the 7th century, the artistic iamb and elegy were created on the basis of iambic and dactylic elements in various popular cults, the iambic and elegiac fable were created at the same time, particularly the former. We cannot say to what extent, in earlier times, fables without iambic elements or with a mixture of these were improvised at the festivals. What is clear is that, with the minor exceptions stated, the artistic fable—a work already fixed, written by a poet—came about as part of the iambic artistic genre that was now created. And this metrical vestment made itself so inseparable from the fable, and vice versa, that the union between the two was maintained in the collections of the Imperial Age, after passing through the Hellenistic Age.

II. *The Fable within the Themes and Types of Iambic Poetry*

1. *Themes in Common between the Fable, Iambic Poetry and the Festival from which they Originate*

However, we have not yet entered into the problem of explaining the deep-rooted relationship between iambic genres and the fable, although this relationship necessarily has to exist, since they had common origins in Greece. In passing we must remember that the elegy and certain melic genres that resulted in the scholium, in turn possessed affinities with the iamb; the differences are only in degrees. Specifically, satirical, exhortative, playful and symposiac elements are common to all these genres; and it is they that justify the presence of the fable in all of them.

Let us proceed in two concentric circles, so to speak. First we will make a brief report on the elements or themes of iambic poetry in general that have functions more or less comparable to those of the fable; later we will see how these themes and elements combine with the fable, taking it in a broader sense than that followed here, that is, including all kinds of narrations in which animals or plants take part, and gods and men only secondary or exceptionally. We can identify:

a) Themes of the festival, the banquet and iambic poetry. A necessarily superficial presentation brings to light, without pretentions to exhaustiveness (we only give examples occasionally):

1. Myth: an Archilochus can, in *Epode* XII, dissuade a rival in love by means of the story of the episode of Heracles and Nessus, for example.
2. Insult, mockery, attack, cursing. This is the central aspect of Archilochus, Hipponax, the comedy.
3. Exhortation. This is customary, rarely absent; it combines the iambography with the rest of the lyric. Cf. *Orígenes*, pp. 239 ff.
4. Maxim. For example, at the beginning (Arch. 3 A.) or at the end (Arch. 66) or in various places.
5. Anecdote: for example, that of Batusiades, the fortune-teller who, in *Epode* V by Archilochus, tells fortunes in Games while his house is being burgled.
6. Enigmas: see Josifović, col. 20, on their use at the banquet; and recall those of Cleobulus, Cleobuline and Theognis (257 ff., 861 ff., 1229 f.), as well as the competitions of oracles in Aristophanes and in the *Life of Aesop*.

7. Tournaments of ingenuity, comparing opinions on given themes. See *Orígenes*, pp. 101 ff., 167 ff.
8. Similes and caricatures, insulting comparisons, etc. Cf. Plebe, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff. and above pp. 232 ff.

b) *The same themes, in the fable.*

1. Myth. Fables are very frequently found on the origins of the world, and the boundaries of this type with the myth are well established; we call that of Protagoras a myth, for example, but various comparable ones in the collections we call fables. Gods such as Prometheus, Hephaestus, Cronus, and also Zeus usually intervene; sometimes Aphrodite, Momus, etc. These fables are frequently aetiological, as they explain, for example, why all men share respect and justice (the myth of Protagoras); or why man is so talkative a being (Callimachus, *Iamb* II); or the reason for the character of Eros, son of Poros and Penia according to the story by Plato;[12] or why the sheep agreed to the dog receiving more favourable treatment (fable by Xenophon, *Mem.* II 7.13–14). The fable refers to the age "when the animals spoke", as Xenophon says in the passage cited, or to the age of Cronus, as Babrius says in his first prologue. Arising as of this point we have, on one hand, aetiological fables, not always referring to animals, and, on the other, explanations of the character of people by means of the animals from which they are descended. This is not precisely a fable, but it is related; it is the theme of the *Iamb of the Women* by Semonides (fr. 8) and of a passage by Phocylides (fr. 2). On the aetiological fable, cf. above, Chaps. I 1 and II 1.

2. Insult, attack, mockery, cursing. These are very frequently proclaimed in the fable by the opposing protagonists; for example, in Archilochus by the fox against the eagle (frs. 31, 33, 35), the monkey against the camel (67), the fox against the monkey (76). The fable does no more than transpose the normal attacks of the iamb.

3. Exhortation. Also very often directed by one character of the fable at another; the final words directed by an animal to another frequently possess this characteristic. Cf. above, Chap. II 1.

4. Proverb. On its relationship with the fable and its presence in same, cf. above, pp. 205 ff.

5. Anecdote. In fact, the anecdote with a human theme is no more than a parallel from more recent times to the myth and the

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[12] *Symp.* 203 b ff.

fable, as its intention is the same. Yet there is a confluence of anecdote and fable when Aesop (or Socrates, Pericles or Demosthenes) is made to tell a fable in certain circumstances. This already occurs in Aristophanes, as we have said.

6. Enigma. On the enigma and its relationship with the fable, cf. above, pp. 204 f.

7. Tournaments of ingenuity. Questions and answers between animals—we may recall, for example, "The Wolf and the Lamb", in the version by Phaedrus—this is none other than the transposition of these tournaments to the animal world. Although the *agones* of the fable involve more elements of action and invective than of ingenuity, particularly in ancient times, examples may be found, such as the fox's witty answers to the monkey in Archilochus.

8. Similes, caricatures, etc. On their presence in literature, at the banquet and in the fable, cf. above, pp. 195 ff.

The caricatural comparison with animals goes beyond the fable as such, but is proper to the same genres (although also to others) and has the same intention, since the application of the fable to certain situations was clearly based on caricaturing certain people as animals. The monkey who dresses as a king and later begins to run unashamedly for food, falling into a trap, or who falsely boasts of his ancestors—all in Archilochus—are clearly a satire on certain characters. The fox, in turn, satirizes Archilochus himself, the old lion is Neobule, etc.

We have now given a certain amount of information on the content and intention of the fable and related genres and on its identity with the motifs and intentions of the "iambic" genres into which it was originally placed. Yet it is appropriate here to stress once again the existence of these motifs in common, in order to then go on to discuss the common origin, in Greece, of the fable and iambic genres, which explains their long coexistence until, at a given moment, in the Imperial Age, the fable, now already transmitted into collections, was all that survived of the iambic genre.

We have seen that the fable is no more than one of the motifs of the iambic genres. We must place it within a complex of themes relating to animals, vegetables and certain gods, motifs with which the boundaries are imprecise. Some of these (similes, particularly) are also found in epic poetry. In turn, this whole complex is part of a more extensive one, which in some cases (myth, paraenesis) also appears in other genres. There is, then, a graded classification.

But this graded classification does not detract from the existence of differentiating factors. Restricting ourselves to the fable, fundamentally, to the animal fable, and to genres closely related with it, we could establish some of its characteristics by further specifying what has been stated previously.

Fables are created to be used in certain circumstances of human conflict, so it is not at all strange for them to refer to similar conflicts, particularly in the animal world. The "central" type, as has already been said, is that of the fable containing an *agon* or confrontation. The significant point is that in this *agon* there is normally the victory of the weak over the unjust powerful, either supported by Zeus ("The Eagle and the Fox", "The Eagle and the Beetle", in Archilochus and Semonides, respectively), or based simply in their ingenuity ("The Old Lion and the Fox", in Archilochus, also mentioned in Theognis and Solon; "The Camel, the Monkey and the Fox" in Archilochus; "The Monkey and the Fox", also in Archilochus, although here the fox restricts himself to making a joke about the pretensions of the monkey).[13] This *agon* frequently refers to power over the animal kingdom, which is disputed. This theme of the naming of a king by the animals, a king who imposes himself by his force or beauty or skill in dancing, for example, and who is then dethroned and driven away, occurs very frequently in the fable.[14] Among the oldest of these is the one already mentioned of "The Camel, the Monkey and the Fox", with a rather complicated scheme: in the dance to be named king, the monkey triumphs and the camel is driven away with a stick; later the monkey is dethroned through the plotting of the fox, who reveals his true nature. Humiliated, he is caught in a trap.

There are, of course, all kinds of variations on the theme of the *agon*; for example, in that of the laurel and the olive in Callimachus (a purely verbal *agon*), the two contenders come to an agreement, at least to reject the arbitration of the bramble. We may add, to conclude this point, that the theme of the animal *agon* in Greece is as ancient as Hesiod ("The Hawk and the Nightingale"). Furthermore, it is already found, in Homeric themes such as that of the fight between the eagle and the serpent, in the form of a simile or a portent, and not of a fable.

All this is no more than a selection of data relating to the theme of

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[13] Cf. the different types in II 1.

[14] Cf. above II 2, p. 228.

agonal fables, see above, pp. 152 ff. on their formal types, pp. 164 ff. on their tragic and comic characteristics, pp. 173 ff. on their subject types, pp. 230 ff. on their possible origins.

The theme of true nature is also very much proper to the fable and is equally related to "iambic" themes. Sometimes it is in agonistic fables, whereby the fable uncovers the true nature of the animals and the people that it represents, such as that of the monkey in the examples cited. Since the nature of an animal does not change, it is used as a symbol of different types of people throughout Greek literature and this is a universal constant.[15] Now, while this theme of "nature does not change"—one of the great themes of the fable—is expounded in relation to the old lion in an agonistic context in the fable of "The Old Lion and the Fox", this same theme, referring to the lion cub, appears without an agonistic context in the fable by Aeschylus to which we have referred.

In the *Iamb of the Women* by Semonides, the classification of the characters of these women by means of the animals from which they descend comes from the theme of the origins of man and culture, to which we have already referred, a theme that is already found in Hesiod (the myth of Prometheus). It sometimes produces aetiological similes—such as these—sometimes related aetiological fables. It is a very different theme from the agonal one, although it converges with it in producing fables on "true nature"; others are of an aetiological character, explanations of why certain things in the animal or human world are so.

So, without going into further detail, we will state that two of the central themes in the fable are the origin of things, explained by transferring the fable to the original world, the age of Cronus, in which animals spoke and the gods traded with them and men; and the *agon* or conflict, particularly for power. They correspond to the aetiological and agonistic fables that we have already mentioned and, in short, to characteristic themes of the festival, that of the origin of things and that of the changing of power. Both themes are actually ιαμβιζειν, that is to say, satire and attack; Archilochus attacks Lycambes and the politicians of Paros with his agonal fables, Semonides satirizes nine of the ten classes of women. And there are countless more examples.

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[15] Cf. Lévi-Strauss, *La Pensée Sauvage*, Sp. transl., Mexico 1964, pp. 198 ff. This had already been discussed before by Lévy-Bruhl, in *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieurs*, cf. Josifović, col. 25.

Yet it is the agonistic fable that interests us most. In it, as we know, the normal theme is that of the weak defeating the strong by means of their ingenuity and even their traps, that is to say, by not very conventional and heroic means. Power changing hands and the expulsion of the formerly powerful run parallel to the presentation of the new comic hero, who is mostly the fox.

Returning to our theme, we must say that this panorama of the agonistic fable corresponds to the general panorama of iambic poetry, in which conflicts over power take place, which are then resolved by means of violence and ingenuity. The ἰαμβίζειν of the fable is the same as that of the iamb. And the character of the fox is the same as that of Archilochus, a penniless bastard who fights and defeats powerful enemies with his ingenuity and virulence, without feeling bound by traditional values, but being stronger than anybody in the end. The hedgehog and the cicada are other incarnations of his, while the old lion, the monkey and the cowardly eagle are of his enemies.

2. *Reasons for These Themes in Common*

These themes in common between iambic poetry, the banquet and the fable prompt us to make some observations on the origin of same at the festival or, more exactly, at certain types of festival or in certain elements of numerous festivals. Although the theme will not be completed until we discuss the comic types that appear in the fable, iambic poetry and the festival, in the following section, and in the one after, on the character of Aesop.

The origin of iambic poetry is to be found in agrarian cults in which the participants had the greatest freedom to express criticism and sex, and mimetic elements also played a part, such as choruses of ithyphalli, phallophores and others, who carried the phallus and dressed with Dionysiac symbols; others were disguised as satyrs, sileni, bacchants, lenae or else as people of the opposite sex or as animals (see above, pp. 224 ff.). The *comi* of participants called out all kinds of free words and obscenities, sometimes directed by some at others, sometimes at the public; we may recall the case of the mystae who addressed Eleusis (the so-called *gephyrismos* or "crossing of the bridge"), that of the "words from the chariot" proclaimed by the retinue bringing Dionysus into Athens at the Anthesteria, the confrontations between *comi* of men and women in Aegina and other places, of old people, youths and children in Sparta, etc.

There are traces of all this in the lyric, particularly the iamb, which developed these themes. For example, the inscription of Mnesiepes, which relates the jokes and pranks that took place between Archilochus and some women (in fact, the Muses) who appeared to him, represents the mythologization of a ritual of this type; and there are further traces in the attacks against Neobule, etc.[16] Now, it should be pointed out that celebrations of these types, both mimetic and non-mimetic, not only existed in Dionysiac and Demetriac festivals, which are frequently alluded to by Archilochus. This we highlighted in our *Orígenes de la lírica griega*, where we discussed not only the origins of iambic poetry specifically,[17] but also various aspects of the festivals from which this came about, such as monodies and erotic, agonal dialogues of various types, of derision, etc.[18] Our thesis is that the popular lyric which came about in this way was influenced by the Oriental monody and so, starting from the 5th century, created the literary lyric, and, within this, the elements of the "iambic" type to which we have referred, which were developed not only in iambic metre.

There is evidence of all this, as we have said, from ancient times; for example, there is evidence of the custom of making reciprocal cutting remarks at the festival in the *Hymn to Hermes* 54 ff.; that is to say, outside of the strictly Dionysiac and Demetriac. All this crossed over to the banquet.[19] In this, as we have already stated, jokes, fables, pranks, riddles, insulting comparisons, etc. were frequently used. And themes were proposed, which the diners competed in answering.

In our *Fiesta, Comedia y Tragedia* we study in detail these types of festival in Greece, as well as the birth of comedy starting from them.[20] The comedy is conclusively a mimetic version of the iamb; there are, as we know, numerous common elements, including the presence of the fable and other animalistic themes of the "comic" type.

In short, all the elements common to the iamb and the fable, as we have related them above, are re-encountered in the agrarian festival and derive from this. There was certainly a process of artistic

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[16] Cf. Mercedes Vílchez, "Sobre el enfrentamiento hombre/mujer de los rituales a la literatura, *Emerita* 42, 1974, pp. 375–407.
[17] Cf. pp. 187 ff.
[18] Cf. pp. 90 ff., 93 ff., 343 ff.
[19] Cf. above, pp. 231 ff., and Plebe, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff.; *Orígenes*, pp. 101 ff.
[20] Cf. pp. 398 ff., 447 ff.

shaping by the iambographers and other poets of the 7th century ff.; just as there was another, subsequently, by the comic poets from the beginning of the 5th century. I have studied this process in depth in my two books cited, as well as in *El mundo de la lírica griega antigua* and I will go no further into the matter here, except with regard to the types of comic characters.

It is in this festival environment—which gave rise to the iamb, the comedy and other types of poetry that tended to set themselves in opposition to the tragic types—that the animal themes, the small animal myths, were developed, based on the model of the heroic myth on one hand, and of the Oriental fable on the other, to create the literary fable. This fable was told at the festival and at the meals that accompanied it, to satirize, censure, exhort. It relied, of course, on animalistic elements, which were sometimes ritual, sometimes literary, as we discussed in Chapter II 2. Poets such as Archilochus did no more than continue this custom, but with a new literary development. We will see that a character such as Aesop was originally no more than a character who was mimicked at the festival and who narrated fables. Hence the custom of sometimes not narrating the fable directly, but attributing it to Aesop. This custom was not established, however, prior to the 5th century.

This, on the other hand, is the explanation of how the animalistic fable did not remain isolated, but rather was assimilated with other types of fable, in short, with real or supposed human anecdotes, which had the same intention. These were "second stages" within iambic poems which also had the same intention; when not so, they gained independence so that diners said them directly to each other; one such case, in an Attic scolium, has one diner referring to another with the fable of the crab who criticizes the snake for being as twisted as him: evidently a first fable or comparison of a diner with a snake was answered by the latter with what the crab said to the snake.

The joking and pranks that dominated proceedings at the festival—but joking and pranks that were conclusively part of a search for renewal, for salvation by means of criticism—are what opened the way for the literary genre, the iamb, the elegy, the scholium, the satirical drama, the comedy. The fable was originally no more than one element within these; except when it was used directly, like the elegy or the scolium. This and no other is the reason for the themes in common that we have been discussing.

3. *Typical Corresponding Features between the Characters of the Fable, Iambic Poetry and the Festival*

In view of the above, it will come as no surprise that the types of characters in the fable correspond to others developed at the festivals we are discussing, which occasionally crossed over into literature. And, we may add, they even correspond to the types of the iambic and comic poets themselves.

We shall not recall these animal types in detail here, as we have discussed them previously. We have referred above all to the fox, the astute animal by definition, who compensates for his physical inferiority with his ingenuity, to the monkey, the smug individual who is the object of derision, and to other animals which, in spite of their force, sometimes succumb when faced with the ingenuity of the weak.[21] They represent characters very similar to others satirized in the iamb—Lycambes, Glaucus, Pericles, Archilochus—and the comedy—Cleon, for example; and, in the case of the fox, the comic hero. This is the thesis we will develop, emphasizing the common origin of all these types at the festival.

Yet it must not be thought that the fox is the only animal that is equivalent, so to speak, to the iambic hero and the comic hero. Characters such as the kid or the ass may occasionally act with the same cunning, deceiving the wolf. A small and smelly animal such as the dung beetle can make fun of the eagle. Either through inheritance from ancient times, or through developments in the Hellenistic Age following a completely consistent line, again and again we have the small or physically poorly endowed animal prevailing thanks to his ingenuity or his steadfastness. The flea, the fly, the tortoise, the frog, etc., are symbols of these new heroes. Archilochus is compared explicitly with the cicada, who sings tirelessly and even more so if you harass him. And then the reed defeats the oak, Helios defeats Boreas (H. 46), the flea the athlete (H. 260), the mouse the bull (Bab. 112), the mosquito the lion (H. 267) and the elephant (H. 292), the tortoise the hare (H. 254), etc. As we can see, whether it is animals, men or gods taking part, the same happens. These are comparable themes to those of the fox in Archilochus and some are from Archilochus or in any event ancient; in Sophocles there is already, for example, the model of "The Reed and the Oak", which we have

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[21] Cf. above, p. 159.

mentioned, and that of "Helios and Boreas" (epigram in Athenaeus 604 F). Let us see, then, after these precedents, the festival origin of the iambic and comic characters and their transposition to literature. The animals of the "comic" type either come from animalistic *comi* such as those we have already studied, or, if they were only added in an already literary phase, they were fashioned according to the features of the other characters of these *comi*, from the festival parade, at least partly mimetic, which is essential in the festival and which has already been mentioned, a parade sometimes linked to an *agon* ritual, sometimes not. It is by no means easy to say to what extent the animals of the fable and comic characters in general were already perfectly shaped at the festival or owed most of their features to an already literary phase that included the portent, the simile, the proverb.

To continue our account, it is very interesting to highlight some features, some essential, others common, of the *comi* that took part in the Greek festivities:

a) They were homogeneous: consisting of young men or old men or old women or maidens, or followers of some god or followers of some hero, or members of some tribe or town. This means they were always representative.

b) Although there was always, in a certain sense, a mimesis, due to this representative character and to the fact that they appeared annually, at other times this mimesis was much clearer, whether the members of the *comus* wore masks or disguises or not. For example, they might be bacchants or nymphs or satyrs or Curetes, or wear stag's horns (the bucoliasts of Syracuse) or ram's horns, for example (the staphylodromes of the Carneia of Sparta), indicating their original membership of the theriomorphic circle of certain divinities. Connected with this is the possibility that the leader of the *comus* would present him or herself as the divinity or hero, surrounded by his or her divine retinue or followers: Dionysus, Artemis, the god Karnos or the ram, etc.

c) From this it may be deduced, as we already know, that the members of the *comi* were frequently conceived as being divine or animals, which for a primitive phase of the religion amounts to the same thing. They were usually violent and aggressive, horrible and laughable at the same time; this is clear in the case of the satyrs and other related beings. But this violence and aggressiveness was characteristic, at certain times, of all the *comi*.

d) In numerous ancient festivals, as in modern ones, the *comi* made a collection of alms; the bucoliasts of Syracuse, the *comi* of the swallow and the crow, those of the *eiresione* or "maypole" are presented to us doing this, among other things. And they participated in the meal following the sacrifice or the serving of the first fruits. They were therefore connected with the theme of food and the search for it.

There are considerable correspondences between these various *comi*, as can be seen; it is not at all strange, then, that features that are proper to those with an animalistic character—studied by us in II 2—that are one of the sources of the fable, are re-encountered in other non-animalistic ones. And that the poets themselves, who acted as leaders of *comi*, attributed these to themselves.

With this we have already established the bases for the study of the comic types derived from the members and leaders of the *comi*, which crossed over into literature, and of the types of the poets themselves who cultivated these genres of literature, as they were seen by their contemporaries and by themselves.

It is the last two points that will occupy us prevalently here. Already in *Orígenes*, pp. 250 ff., we showed how a series of topical themes of attack in the archaic Greek lyric—that is, against women, the old and against individual people, attacks including mockery, satire, cursing, irony, etc.—depend directly on rituals such as that of the persecution and lapidation of the *pharmakos*, confrontations between men and women or the young and the old. Everything is topical and burlesque in this poetry; the old man ridiculously woos the young woman and, showing all the signs of physical decline, is defeated by another lover; the woman is lustful, drunken, idle and gossipy; the man is perjurious, effeminate, cowardly, often miserly and starving. These attacks, which we find not only in Archilochus and Hipponax, but also in Sappho, Anacreon, etc., and in which the poet sometimes ironizes on himself or herself, showing himself or herself in the figure of the types of the old man or the miser, for example, are always linked with a positive element; for instance, the threats and curses aim to re-establish a fair balance by the defeat of the perjurious Pittacus or Lycambes, the derision of the clowns and parasites (Pericles and Glaucus in Archilochus, Bupalus and others in Hipponax, various women in Sappho), the re-establishment of the natural order in love and in the changing of the generations. To

sum up, showing through everywhere is the echo of the ancient festival, which meant the defeat of the bad and the past, the restoration of time. Yet this gave rise to criticism of all that is deviant and a programme for restored life.

In parallel, both in the parabasis of the comedy, referred to above, and in the attacks and critiques that Alcaeus and Theognis directed at their friends, and Archilochus, Callinus, Tyrtaeus and Solon at their whole city, we can see the continuation of the attacks of the festival *comi*, directed sometimes at another *comus* or sometimes at the whole town. These are attacks in which the same themes of the individual attacks resonate; attacks on cowardice, on miserliness with it, on the abandonment of ancient obligations. And here too they are combined with exhortations; Archilochus asks the Parians to abandon the wretchedness of their island to defeat Thasos, Solon asks the Athenians to win back Salamis and renounce their cowardice, which makes them the butt of jokes, Tyrtaeus asks the Spartans and Callinus the Ephesians to fight against the Messenians and the Cimmerii respectively and thus avoid falling into dishonour and wretchedness. Isolated individuals, the poets, took on the ancient role of the festival *comi* and their leaders, directing themselves freely at the community, criticizing it and exhorting it. Solon goes even further, inasmuch as in his elegies, along with criticisms and expositions of fears for the future, he proposes a full-blown political and social programme for Athens, as a result of which the progress of the city and the avoidance of its ruin must emerge. In the same verses and metres as the ancient *comi*, these poets present themselves in the role of the leader addressing the army (Tyrtaeus) or of the politician addressing the town gathered together in the square (Solon). In much the same way, in symposiac poetry the poet adopts the role of the exarch or symposiarch, and reviles and exhorts the diners, at the appropriate time, always around the same basic motifs; this is done by Alcaeus and Theognis, among others. On the other hand, we have already shown that traces are conserved in the elegy and the scholia of dialogical poetry that is a continuation of that of the ancient *comi*, on basically the same themes. In this case and in all the others, the presence in the Literature of the ancient resources of the pun, the joke, alternate replies on themes proposed, etc., guarantees the continuity to which we refer. In the comedy matters are clearer still.

All this offers a basis, we believe, for the investigation of the "comic types" in the lyric and the comedy and of the type of the poets themselves, as it is presented by them to us.

These "comic types" are essentially similar to those that appear among us in carnivalesque celebrations in a broad sense.[22] It must be pointed out that these "comic types" normally possess the same features as the members of the *comi* that accompany them; we need only consider, in the present day, the Carnival (and "Antroido", etc.), and its procession, the May Queens, the *bruscello* and the *bruscellanti* in Italy,[23] Harlequin and the clowns of his retinue, etc.; in Greece, Silenus and the satyrs, Dionysus and the bacchants, the Swallow and its *comus* of swallows, etc. Of course, antagonists do exist—another *comus* and its leader, in the most explicit case—in the erotic or agonistic interplay, but it is clear that their characteristics are definitely similar. The roles occasionally change, but within certain constants. So there is nothing strange in the fact that the individual characters that take part in these celebrations, directing a *comus* or opposing it, very often possess the very features that we have considered as proper to the *comi.* They are violent, insulting, lewd, hungry or gluttonous. The whole search for life that is the central motif of the festival is reflected in them; as in the animals of the fable, once again. As is their remoteness from the daily and conventional morality.

In short, these are characters that embody the central themes and moments of human life, but assimilated to animal and vegetable life, whose features they frequently involve and use at other times through the fable, the simile, etc. Following paths ranging from violence to jokes and ingenuity, these character for a moment cause an unexpected reversal of power relationships, a renewal of the eros, a removal of evil, an explosion of primal laughter, which is the weapon of struggle and the symbol of victory.

After this, let us review the "types" that appear in the Greek lyric and theatre acting as leaders of a *comus*, or else, as we have seen, to a certain extent inherit this role. A quick review of the comedy will show us that the circumstances of this are, with almost exact precision, similar to those of modern carnivalesque festivals. Later we will move on to the lyric, where there is a degree of variation.

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[22] Details in "Hechos generales y hechos griegos en los orígenes de la sátira y la crítica", *Homenaje a Caro Baroja*, Madrid 1978, pp. 43 ff.

[23] Cf. *Fiesta*, p. 553.

We find the following types of characters in the comedy:

a) Gods: Dionysus in *Ranae*, Plutus in the comedy of the same name, Heracles in various pieces, etc. Silenus (in the *Dionysalexander* by Cratinus), Prometheus, Poseidon and many other gods and heroes also appear. Their comic-burlesque role is no different from that of the other characters.

b) Hypostasis: in *Pax* by Aristophanes alone we have Peace, Harvest and Festival; in *Aves* we find Basileia (Royalty), in *Equites* the Athenian people, etc.

c) Characterizing names. These are very common: Lysistrata is "she who dissolves armies", Diceopolis "he of the just city", Trygaeus "the vintager", Philocleon "the friend of Cleon", etc.

d) Generic names. Characters such as Woman A, B and C exist in Aristophanes (in *Thesmophoriazusae*), the Young Man, the Young Woman and the Old Woman (in *Ecclesiazusae*) and other similar examples. We also find priests, poets, sellers of weapons, one of sausages, a commissar, archers, fortune-tellers, etc.; sometimes they have their own names, more often they do not.

e) Conventional names. This chapter includes comic characters such as Strepsiades, Myrrina, Cleonice and many more.

f) Historical names. Heroes such as Odysseus (such as in the works of Cratinus and Epicharmus) or Tereus (Aristophanes, *Aves*), politicians who are already dead, such as Pericles (Eupolis, *Demoi*), etc. take part in the ancient comedy. But characters who are alive, such as Socrates, also take part, as do others with a more episodic character.

The only difference between this list and that of modern carnivalesque characters is that the names of vegetables and animals are absent from it.[24] The former certainly disappeared, although they were preserved in pre-literary celebrations, which we will discuss. As regards animals, they also disappeared, with exceptions such as the Hoopoe in *Aves* and the Dog in *Vespae*. But animal choruses are retained of the type of those in *Ranae, Vespae* and *Aves*; and the heroes of some of these pieces possess features corresponding to those of animals, although the one in *Vespae* is called Philocleon and not Wasp and the one in *Aves*, Pisthetaerus. In fact, they are the leaders of

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[24] Cf. in the modern age the *bruscello* and the *lecchio* in Italy, the maypole and the may queen, etc., as well as the English Hobby-horse, the bear in the dance in Arles-sur-Tech, various characters in the Basque masquerades, etc.

these animal choruses, possessing their features; but they are already humanized to a large extent.

Whatever their names may be, the features of all these characters are similar.[25] Certainly, in the Greek comedy we find a split; there are the characters that triumph, there are those that are defeated. This is a consequence of the splitting and specialization of theatrical genres. We cannot expect to find situations of defeat and death in the winning characters, as in the case of Carnival and other carnivalesque heroes; nor are the triumphant cunning and erotic success of their defeaters to be found in the defeated.

Yet by adding the features that were split off in this way, in both we once again find elements we have already mentioned. We have the weak and farcical, clever and astute character, who even becomes tough when circumstances so require, who takes possession of power, dethroning powerful men such as Cleon; or creating a new situation of peace and abundance in spite of all the pressures of a situation of war (*Acharnenses, Pax, Lysistrata*). The hero deciphers enigmas, uses fables and anecdotes, wins in tournaments of ingenuity without worrying about the legitimacy of the means. He even has magic or supernatural gifts, such as the wings of Pisthetaerus, the pacifying liquor Dicaeopolis receives that enables him to gain individual peace. He enjoys food, drink and luxury, is shown as insolent and impudent, is full of eroticism and mostly crowns his victory with a wedding or else with an orgy in which wine and sex play their part. On the other hand, the defeat of the conquered oppressor is greeted with jokes and happiness. And the winner, the comic hero, can be described as a character of the fable, even an animal fable, such as Pisthetaerus joining the birds and defeating the gods, Trygaeus flying into the sky on a beetle and rescuing Peace, Philocleon fighting against his son at the head of his "wasps".

Once again we find the mixture of planes—divine, animal, human—giving an exceptional being who overcomes everything he has to go through and brings the victory of life, new abundance, new eroticism. Along the way, the comedy practises criticism—serious and burlesque at the same time—of the situations of injustice and oppression of the present. War, the abuses of power, inequalities, the cowardice

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[25] Cf, H. C. Whitmann, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964; my *Fiesta*, pp. 89 ff.; Mercedes Vílchez, *El engaño en el teatro griego*, Barcelona, Planeta, 1975.

and vices of men and women, sometimes in general, sometimes with their own names, are hit by the poet's darts. He presents himself, in the parabasis of various of his works, as the "sage" endowed with ingenuity, the "purifier", the audacious man who has dared challenge the powerful, he who brings freedom, justice and happiness; in a certain sense, he acts as a counterpart to his heroes. We have reason to believe that not only the comedy of Aristophanes, but all comedy, was presented to the Greeks with these characteristics.

All this that happens in the comedy, as we have said, finds its parallel and precedent in the Greek literary lyric. Before returning to this, however, it must be emphasized that the precedent is always the ritual celebrations of the festival type, either accompanied by pre-literary lyric elements or not. Clearly, our knowledge of same is rather incomplete. We know, for example, that personal attacks existed in these, but only when we come to the literary lyric are the names of those attacked given to us. In fact, we are hardly ever given proper names in relation to the ritual *comi*, except when these are of the gods or heroes in whose honour they were taking place and who, sometimes, were considered embodied in the chorus leader or present in some other way, such as Dionysus, the Curos or Cretan Zeus, Artemis, Dionysus, Silenus, etc. The leader of the *comus* is most often of the same order as its members; thus we refer to "the Swallow", "the Crow", etc., in animal *comi*, or else to the choragi in the choruses of old men, youths and children (in the Gymnopaedias of Sparta) or in the choruses of men and women at other festivals. We have referred to these denominations as generic, not proper names. The same applies in the case of the phallophores, ithyphalli and other Dionysiac choruses. And when there are outstanding characters in pre-theatrical representations, these are usually either parodied gods and heroes or else generic men, such as the cook in the Megaric farces and the Spartan women's physician.

There are traces, on the other hand, of "vegetable" denominations and of others arising through hypostasis; for example, the *eiresione* or olive branch gives its name to certain choruses and to the song they sing, and also, undoubtedly, to their leader; and choral proverbs of the type of the *paean* or *dithyramb* came to denote the song and the god in whose honour the festival was being celebrated and who, supposedly, was present at the celebration as chorus leader.

On the other hand, leaving aside the problem of the name, the leaders of these choruses and *comi* possessed the features already

mentioned; the chorus leader directed the collection of alms (the song of the swallow, *eiresione*, bucoliasts), the attack and confrontation (choruses of satyrs, of bucoliasts, of staphylodromes in Sparta), the erotic pursuit (choruses who sang the *paraclausithyron* before the closed door of the beloved, the song of the swallow), he suffered insults and violence (the *pharmakos*).

In any case, it is in the literature that these possibilities attained their full development and are best known to us; for this reason we have begun by discussing the comedy. Now, in the literary lyric we encounter an interesting phenomenon. In this, in a certain sense, it is the poet who acts as leader of a *comus*, performing the active role, whereas in the rituals and the comedy there are characters of both types or else, originally, some of them passed through different stages. The poet appears explicitly in his role as chorus and as *comus* leader, either at the communal festival, or at the banquet, or at festivals that we would call private, or in parallel situations before the town or the army; these cases could be exemplified by almost all the lyric poets. Xenophanes, Alcaeus, Anacreon and many others sang at the banquet; Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Archilochus, etc., at public festivals; Sappho at the banquets and festivals of the girls in her circle; Tyrtaeus, Solon are presented to us addressing the Spartans or Athenians gathered together. But this is not all; even when we are not certain of the circumstances in which the poems were performed, they were always directed at a collective or individual "you". In a certain sense the poet was a powerful voice, representative of the community, who dictated guiding principles of behaviour, exhorted, criticized, reviled, cursed. All this is well-known; but what is not so well-known is the fact that this voice was the simple continuation and development of festive behaviour not only in Greece but everywhere.

It is thus in the figure of the lyric poet that the prototype image of the character that we have called "comic" has been best conserved for us, irrespective of the other roles also fulfilled by a *comus* leader. As much as or more than with the gods and heroes parodied, the poet can be identified with the characters that were the butt of jokes or insults; the characterizing names such as Pasiphila, the "friend of all" by Archilochus, Sannos (which came to mean "clown") by Hipponax; generic names such as the κνισοκόλαξ or "parasite" of Asius; and particularly, personal names. And this is because in the literary lyric the gods and heroic characters, as others that were praised, performed a passive role, in which we can only

identify features worthy of praise or censure, whereas only the poet performs an active role for us, identical to that of many *comus* leaders of the rituals and the comedy.

4. *The Poets as "Comic" Characters*

It therefore proves very interesting to review the biographies of the ancient poets. These biographies were partly composed by the poets themselves, with the autobiographical data they very frequently offer us, partly by the subsequent tradition. The two merge, thus a topical image of the comic poet is arrived at. This image, which we will outline shortly, completes the image of the poet generally as being "sage" and inspired, a guide for the community.[26] These general features are maintained, certainly, in the image of the "comic" poets we are now discussing; but they are given specific shape in a way we have already mentioned. Of course, we can only give a few examples.

Let us consider Archilochus. He present himself to us as the son of a Parian nobleman and a Thracian slave, as a poor man who has to earn a living with war and who incites his people to make this war only to escape the poverty of Paros (fragments 159 and 160 A.). He mocks himself a little for his warring behaviour in the famous fragment of the loss of the shield, for that of his own army (fr. 167) and of his own general Glaucus (fr. 166). But he exhorts to battle and rejoices in victory. He compares himself with the cicada, who cries out most when caught by the wing (fr. 24), and with the hedgehog ("the fox knows many things, but the hedgehog just one that is decisive", fr. 37); he affirms that "I know how to love those who love me and hate and revile the enemy" (fr. 123, 14) and that "I know just one thing, but it is the most important of all: to respond with terrible vengeance against those who mistreat me" (fr. 210).

Positioned on the margins of society, poor, mocking the ancient heroic, boastful and virulent morals, Archilochus uses the curse, the fable, the violent attack as weapons. He thus prevails over proud characters such as Lycambes, who has violated his oath to give his daughter Neobule in marriage; and he helps the Parians to conquer Thasos. The effeminate, false fortune-tellers, plotting politicians, lustful women, all are taunted and mocked. And he does not hide his amorous affairs, quite the opposite. He always boasts of triumphing,

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[26] Cf. *Origenes*, pp. 132 ff.

sometimes with words aiming at pure seduction and deception, as in a fragment recently discovered.[27] All this to the great outrage of an aristocrat of the 5th century, Critias, who, as a follower of hypocritical morals, says that nobody would have found out about Archilochus' adultery (and about his bastard origin and the loss of the shield) if he himself had not told us about it.[28]

On the other hand, this character considers himself bound to divine protection. He sings hymns in honour of Demeter and Dionysus, whose worship he tells us he introduced on Paros; he believes in the help given by Athena to the Parians (frs. 154, 158). And his own statements are supplemented by the later tradition surrounding his person. The legend of how the Muses appeared to him without his recognizing them, how they entered with him into a dialogue of jokes and granted him the gift of poetry, seem to date back to the 5th century BC; from the 3rd century at least comes the story of the supposed suicide of Lycambes and his daughters, who cannot bear the insults of the poet. Then there is the legend of how a Naxian, Calondas, killed him, having then to purify himself by order of the Delphian Apollo.

Thus Archilochus, starting out from a situation of inferiority of birth and fortune, extraneous to the conventional values of the Homeric tradition and endowed with the skills of violence, ingenuity and mischief-making, presents himself to us as the saviour, in spite of everything, of his city, as victor in erotic struggles, protected by the gods, especially the popular gods Dionysus and Demeter; he then dies, but his death is avenged by Apollo, who recognizes him as a servant of the Muses. It is clearly the topical features of the comic hero and the *pharmakos* that are combined here.

The animalistic theme is no more than one of the resources used by Archilochus for his confrontations and criticism. It may be reduced to a maxim, such as that of the hedgehog, already mentioned (it is, in fact, a quote from the *Margites*); or a comparison, that of the cicada or the other, "take care not to meet with a black-tailed eagle", that is, with somebody stronger than you are (fr. 35).[29] On the other hand, he uses the divine anecdote with the same function of deri-

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[27] Published in *ZPE* 4, 1974, pp. 97 ff., by Merkelbach and West.

[28] In Aelian, *VH* X 13.

[29] He compares Lycambes with the white-tailed eagle, the bearded vulture; cf. "Nouveaux fragments et interprétations d'Archiloque", *RPh* 30, 1956, pp. 30 ff.

sion and warning, as we have said; we might also add the anecdote of Aethiops, the Corinthian, who at the time of the foundation of Syracuse sold his plot of land for a honey cake (fr. 284). And the myth, such as that of Heracles and Nessus, in *Epode* VIII, which is a warning to a rival in love. But the essential element is the use of the fable proper, whereby Lycambes is criticized and threatened through the figure of the perjurious eagle, Neobule through that of the old lion, his rivals, the noblemen of Paros, through that of the monkey.

The case of Archilochus is not isolated. We do in fact find similar features in the life of Hesiod, whose work has both a lyric and an epic character, although less pronounced. Hesiod is a poor man who fights against the noblemen of Thespiae, whom he threatens, as Archilochus does Lycambes, with the justice of Zeus. He is the oppressed poor man who fights and defends himself and definitely has his future assured. Meanwhile, he lives off his sheep and his earnings as an *aoidos* or minstrel; he himself tells us of his victory at the Games in honour of Amphidamas on Chalcis and the later tradition (collected in the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*) tells us that the loser was Homer, thereby meaning victory over the epic tradition. On the other hand, if Hesiod is not as tricky and shameless as Archilochus, he does use some of his weapons, such as the fable—that of the hawk and the nightingale is the first in Greek Literature—and the threat. Legend has invented a death for him in keeping with the topical one in these characters:[30] victory in the Games, a Delphic oracle wrongly interpreted, the seduction of a princess (a motif a little altered in the *Certamen*), death at the hands of her avenging brothers, a funeral festival in his honour.

As in the parallel case of Archilochus, for Hesiod the fable is no more than one among his various weapons for attack and self-defence. If the fable of the hawk and the nightingale must be understood in the light of the declaration by the poet that force prevails among beasts, but not among men, in a series of myths he attacks Perses and the venal kings, and unjust men in general: that of the Golden Age and the subsequent ages, that of the 30,000 daemons that watch over men by order of Zeus, etc. Some of these myths of Hesoid have ended up definitively in the collections of fables, such as that of the jar of Pandora, that of the two roads, that of Prometheus.

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[30] See the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 219 ff., in Allen, *Homeri Opera*, V, Oxford 1912, pp. 234 ff.

But it must be emphasized that if it is true that he goes so far as to use the fable, the myth and the maxim on causes that we might regards as "general", he initially defends a personal cause, that of the weak man defending himself against the violence of the unjust strong.

It is clear that from early times the *aoidoi* who sang epic poetry also began to sing lyric monodies, initially accompanied by a chorus, as we know from material in Homer himself; this was very possibly also the case of Hesiod if what he sang at the funeral of Amphidamas really were *threnoi* or songs of bereavement and if, as we believe, his prefaces in which he celebrates the Muses are transpositions of songs of mixed type.[31] Archilochus himself tells us that he acted as exarch or leader of popular choruses and has transmitted various fragments of these performances of his to us; the legend of his tournament of jokes with the Muses alludes to them. It is clear that these poets gradually succeeded in moving away from the submission of the ancient epic *aoidoi* to the values of the aristocracy, for whom they sang. They managed to develop an individualistic sense of pride in their own worth, an image of how a poor man can, in spite of everything, by recourse to his ingenuity, leap over conventional values and, in spite of this or thanks to this, defend justice. Now, the model of this way of thinking, of this new human type, so different from that of the nobleman, is undoubtedly found in the vast repertoire of popular rituals, with their verbal violence, their unveiled eroticism, their presentation of the victory of the weak over the strong, their religiosity, which is so strange to us, but is clearly superior to that of the epic poem. The *aoidoi* contemplated their lives according to the image of the leaders of those *comi*, which they sometimes directed. That mimesis by which those acting in a ritual or lyric or theatrical chorus take on a new personality, forget themselves, undoubtedly makes them feel immersed for a moment in a world different from the everyday, a world that they adopted for themselves. The *comi* of the festival, whether animalic or not, with their far from conventional heroes, who satirized and used all manner of resources to triumph, offered them a model for presenting their own personality, for defining it. As did the fable, which was narrated at the festival and in whose great victors, such as the fox, the poets felt represented.

Poets such as Hipponax or Mimnermus, however, are much more

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[31] Monody and choral, cf. *Origenes*, pp. 59 ff.

clearly linked to the circle of popular celebrations to which we are referring. Hipponax presents himself to us as a beggar poet, which immediately establishes his link with the *comi* of swallows, crows, bucoliasts, those of the *eiresione*, etc., who began their activities with a collection of alms; later Cynic poets such as Phoenix adopted this same attitude. Mimnermus was leader of a travelling *comus* in which his lover Nanno, whose name he put to one of his works, was a flute-player.[32] But in both cases we are already dealing with personal poetry, literary poetry. The erotic themes of Mimnermus, his attacks against old age, are to be found, moreover, just as much within the circle of the ancient rituals as are the brutalities of Hipponax against his victims, his obscenity, his satire on heroic and epic themes (Heracles, Odysseus).

Surprisingly, Hipponax partially gives himself the features of the *pharmakos*, the propitiatory victim driven away every year by the city, who is stoned, jeered at, yet is the object of a funeral lament. The wretches he describes as *pharmakoi* have an ugly and repellent appearance, are starving, do not respect anything divine or human; they are sacrilegious, incestuous, etc. Hipponax harasses and insults them, but he also presents himself to us as starving and shameless, to a greater degree than Archilochus. He receives the treatment of a *pharmakos*, such as when somebody describes him to us as ugly and horrible. Yet Hipponax, like Archilochus, presents himself to us as a winner over his enemies, whom he insults and curses. It is clear that this picture, so dissonant within the values of the time, has to do with the environment and the human models of rituals such as that of the *pharmakos*.

This satire of himself by the poet—his gluttony, eroticism, etc.—is not an isolated case; we find it, for example, in Alcman and Anacreon. In the comedy the human features of hero and antihero fundamentally correspond, although one is the victor, the other the defeated. This was undoubtedly the case from ancient times in the rituals to which we have referred. Hence this ambiguous position of certain poets, which we have described.

The ancients were conscious of this, judging by the anecdotes and legends that were created around the lives of the poets. In no case do we see this more clearly than in that of Homer, whose *Life*, attributed to Herodotus (and which is in fact from later, perhaps from

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[32] Cf. *Líricos griegos* I, p. 208.

the 5th century BC) shows us the poet with an image not dissimilar to that which Hesiod, Archilochus and Hipponax offer us of themselves. With certain differences, of course, based on the character of his poetry, which lacks the erotic ingredient, for example.

Homer is of unorthodox birth, like Archilochus. He is blind, an element that corresponds to the physical wretchedness of the *pharmakos*. He has to earn a living as a schoolteacher, a sailor, a reciter of verses and a decipherer of enigmas. He goes from town to town running into adventures and accidents, which he always comes out of well, thanks to the weapon of his poetry—which includes the power of his curse, when required. The image is always of the weak man who triumphs with his ingenuity and has powers surpassing those of common men. On the other hand, the *Life* of Homer describes his death within a scheme linking it to his capacity as a fortune-teller; Homer supposedly died in pain on account of his not being able to solve an enigma. The loss of the poet's supernatural powers, so to speak, is the symbol and anticipation of his death.

We will finish by attempting to show that this "comic" model of life can not only be retrieved starting from the comic heroes and the lives of certain lyric poets, according to how they saw themselves and posterity saw them. If it is true that we can establish no more regarding the "biography" of the *comus* leaders of the ritual and pre-theatre type than the consequences to be deduced from the general consideration of these, then we have to suppose that the leap forward constituted by the human type of lyric poets such as Archilochus and the comic heroes of theatrical times necessarily had precedents; that is to say, let us suppose that prototype characters must have already been created at the festivals to which we have referred, either embodied by *comus* leaders or the subjects of stories, who clearly possess the character and biographical features that we are discussing. One of these may be the hero (or antihero, more exactly) Margites from a poem (a mixture of hexameters and iambic trimetres), the character of the fool or clown; in fact, we would say, he is half the comic hero or carnivalesque clown (his wife, in contrast, plays the role of the "smart" one, succeeding in getting him to go to bed with her through her ingenuity). Another image is to be found in the protagonists of the *Batrachomyomachia*, the epic burlesque poem describing the great battle between the frogs and the mice (but it is perhaps hellenistic).

But it was the comics who mainly devoted themselves to creat-

ing, to coining, these prototype characters who, starting out from a situation of destitution, themselves full of all kinds of blemishes, with their ingenuity and mischief-making succeed in triumphing over a powerful enemy, seizing power and becoming saviours. We have already discussed these "saviours" of the comedy and the satirical drama in II 2, where in fact we compared their actions with those of certain animals in the fable, whether they display animalistic features or not.

We considered this above, together with the presentation of Aristophanes himself, as the poet who with his ingenuity and his valour dares to oppose Cleon and all the warmongerers of Athens, to defend the town by stating his harsh truths.

We need not return to discussing to what extent the features of all these characters, whether fictional or poets interpreted by themselves, correspond to those of the "comic heroes" of the fable, which we studied in II 1 and mentioned again at the beginning of the previous section. The theme of the fight between the brutal strong and the clever weak, that of the conquest of power and salvation, that of satire and derision, are the central themes of the fable, as we already know. After reading the previous pages, a better understanding will have been gained, we believe, of the reason why we have described the fable as a "comic" or "iambic" genre, although certain "tragic" features sometimes remain in it, dating back to a time prior to the definition of the genre. And a better understanding will be gained of all we have said on the origin of the fable in the agrarian festival, in connection with other elements of this with the same or a similar character.

III. *Aesop and the Greek Fable*

Everything mentioned so far clearly confirms, we find, our idea, already stated in II 2, that the Greek fable has Greek origins, as do the Greek lyric, the Greek ceramic, etc.; yet this is not at odds with the Oriental influence, which was decisive for the art starting from the 8th century, and has been identified in the case of Hesiod and the Lyric and already existed, as we know, with respect to the fable in the 7th century. We will deal with this theme in the next chapter.

Something very similar may be said with regard to Aesop, the mythical narrator of fables, whose life is placed in the 6th century

and who clearly possesses a series of close connections with the East; his homeland is placed in Phrygia and he inherits a series of features from Oriental narrators of fables, such as Ahikar. We will return to this in the next chapter. We will see here, however, that the figure of this narrator of fables also has roots in Greece, as could not be otherwise, in the same festival environment we have already described. As on many other occasions, an Oriental theme has merged with a Greek theme.

We have seen that the Aesop character appears as the narrator of fables in a series of passages by ancient authors: Aristophanes, Plato, Aristotle, etc. Also in various fables of the collections, the anonymous fables and Phaedrus in particular. To sum up, as we have said, this case is no different from those when the narration of a fable is attributed to "a Libyan", Demosthenes, Demades, etc. On the other hand, these are fables of the types mentioned, aetiological and agonal fables. On other occasions, however, as we have also seen, it is proverbs and jokes that are attributed to Aesop.

Aesop is important, in any case, because it was the expression "Aesopic λόγοι" (sometimes μῦθοι) that tended to signify what we understand by the fable from Aristophanes onwards, eliminating other elements that were sometimes confused, though including, as we have said, material which for us is extraneous. And because he was clearly the narrator of fables par excellence, the personality focused on in this activity.

However, although the narration of anecdotes usually refers to those anecdotes related to the life of Aesop himself, there also exists an independent set of data and anecdotes on the life of Aesop. It is a series of passages by various authors starting from the 5th century BC, passages collected by Perry in his *Aesopica*, pp. 215 ff. They provide evidence that a legend of Aesop, not a written life, already existed in the 5th century. Herodotus II 134 places Aesop, a slave, on the island of Samos in the age of Sappho; he describes him as λογοποιός, "author of fables or stories" and speaks of his death at the hands of the Delphians and the atonement that these had to make. Nothing is said of his homeland of origin.

In any event, there is not total agreement on the details. He was Thracian according to Eugaton or Eugaion of Samos, a historian from the 5th century, prior to the Peloponnesian War, who is thought to have given rise to the Aesopic passage by Herodotus and the other histories on Aesop on Samos, such as his behaviour at the Assembly, defending a demagogue with a fable, as Aristotle tells in

his *Rhetorica* II 20.[33] This reference, together with another by Aristotle (fr. 573 R.) come from his *Constitution of Samos*; another, 487 R. (on the death of Aesop on Delphi), comes from his *Constitution of Delphi*. If all this comes from Eugaion, it is a Thracian Aesop that appears in his work (as distinct from the Phrygian Aesop of Phaedrus, the *Life*, Gellius, Lucian, the *Suda* . . .), who supposedly lived between the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 6th century on Samos (there are discrepancies between the dates in Hermippus, Heracleides, Istrus, etc.). He was first a slave and then a politician, to later be murdered by the Delphians, who were supposedly punished by Apollo for this. All this more or less agrees with the data in Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1446 ff., and with the representation of Aesop as an ugly hunchback, conversing with the fox, on an Attic vase from the 5th century.[34] This is evidently what was said of Aesop in the 5th century; he was the Oriental, *déclassé* character who told fables to defend himself from the Delphians (according to Aristophanes) or before the Assembly of the Samians (according to Aristotle) or on different occasions, and whose name was linked, at the same time, with a story of sacrilegious murder and atonement in Delphi. Plato the Comic, a contemporary of Aristophanes, added that his soul returned to the earth.[35]

On the other hand, for Herodotus Aesop was supposedly a slave of Iadmon and fellow slave of the *hetaira* Rhodopis, lover of Sappho's brother, whom a certain Xanthes of Samos took to Egypt. Yet in Heracleides Ponticus—whose source is also Eugaion, it seems—there is a Xanthus Aesop's owner.[36]

There are, then, differences of detail. In later times, a relationship is established between Aesop and Croesus, king of the Lydians; this is probably presupposed by the relationship with Solon in Alexis the comic in the 4th/3rd century BC. Indeed, Aesop was included in the circle of the Seven Sages, along with Solon, Periander and the others; these were advisers to kings such as Croesus, solvers of problems and enigmas, narrators of stories and fables. Later sources present Aesop to us in Corinth, in Athens, in Italy.

Although we may discard as deriving from a secondary phase

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[33] On this theme, cf. Perry, *Aesopica*, p. 216; La Penna, "Il romanzo di Esopo", *Athenaeum* 40, 1962, pp. 264 ff.

[34] Collected by K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel 1943, 57, 4.

[35] Cf. Sch. Aristophanes, *Aves* 471.

[36] But cf. p. 661, n. 14.

everything regarding Aesop's membership of the circle of the Seven Sages and his travels, already the data from the 5th century, apart from offering doubts that led subsequent authors to a series of contradictions, have an excessively legendary basis. For that reason Vico and then Bentley declared the character Aesop to be purely legendary. And this continues to be the general position.[37] We must of course distinguish between the problem of the historicity of Aesop and that of his authorship of the collections, which Bentley mistakenly confused. However, the defence of the historicity of the features of Aesop's life given to us by Herodotus, Aristophanes and Aristotle, particularly, made by J. Sarkady,[38] does not stand up. Aesop the "politician" who was killed assassinated in Delphi when behaving as such is an absurdity, since the theme of his death is included in another class of legends, as we will see immediately below. And we must also consider this very description of him as a slave, a hunchback, etc. It is unlikely that a former Thracian or Phrygian slave would make a speech with fables in the Assembly; it is more likely that we are dealing with an Oriental model of an adviser who relates fables and maxims, that of Ahikar. That is to say, supposing that all these features were already linked in Eugaion, this does not rule out the possibility of their being legendary (further developed later, as we say, from the 5th century onwards).

But this in turn does not rule out the possibility of the existence of a historical core, an Aesop who was a narrator of fables on Samos, about sixty years prior to our sources. We can neither confirm this nor deny it, although it is likely. He would have been the point of crystallization of the Greek and Oriental legendary elements that we will discuss later.

The most clearly legendary element of all is that of Aesop's death. The theme of the death of Aesop at the hands of the Delphians appears in Aristophanes and later in various places. The Delphians supposedly hid a goblet in his luggage and judged him to be a sacrilegious thief; in his defence Aesop narrated the fable of the eagle and the beetle. He was killed by being flung over a cliff by the Delphians; yet a series of passages, although late, tell that as a consequence of this a plague swept over them (starvation, according to others) from which they were only released when, by order of the

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[37] Cf., for example, Josifović, *loc. cit.*, col. 21 ff.

[38] "Aisopos der Samier", *ACD* 4, 1968, pp. 7–12.

oracle, they made sacrifices in honour of Aesop, as a hero, on an altar that they laid. There is also talk of the resurrection of Aesop, as we have already said.

The theme of the poet's violent death, which attracts the anger of a god (generally Apollo), who avenges him, is repeated in various places, such as Orpheus, Hesiod and Archilochus. Aesop is closely related to Apollo—in the *Life* we see this very clearly, but already before it is deduced from a passage of the *Phaedo*, 60 d ff.—who punishes his murderers and honours him: it is the same theme. It must be added that, as we will see, Aesop belongs to the same human prototype, so to speak, as these and other poets. The root of all this is, we think, the figure of the *pharmakos*, a character in certain annual festivals who acted as a scapegoat and yet received honour. There seems to be a trace of an ancient ritual of this type in the Delphic legend of Aesop, very specifically.

However, before returning to this point, we must digress for a while to show the relationships between the legend of Aesop, the ancient one from the 5th century, and the subsequent, Hellenistic one, of the *Life*—derived, moreover from the former—and the Assyrian story of Ahikar, the royal adviser, narrator of fables and proverbs, solver of enigmas, who was also murdered (although only supposedly) and came back to life. The influence of the *Ahikar* on the legend of the 5th century and later on the *Life* is the element that enables us, we believe, to envision how the Delphic ritual of the *pharmakos* was tied to the character of Aesop, the Samian, from the same 5th century onwards.

In the Hellenistic and Roman Ages various stories were in circulation about Aesop, variously linked to themes of the Seven Sages, the Cynics, etc. Yet the important point is the existence already of a *Life of Aesop*, of which papyrus fragments have reached us, and also Byzantine versions dating back to a lost original from the 1st century BC. This *Life* belongs to a genre of popular literature that spread in continually altered versions. We will see that it is deeply influenced by the Assyrian *Life of Ahikar*, from which it even translates an extensive passage. We will also see that it brings together a wide range of themes of the Cynic philosophy and the socio-cultural environment of Graeco-Roman Egypt. On the other hand, it is very likely that some of the elements of this *Life* are ancient and have simply not reached us through previous sources. It must be pointed out that the *Life* offers the data already known from ancient times

in expanded form; in particular, the life of Aesop as slave of the philosopher Xanthus, his journey to Samos and his relationship with Croesus, his death in Delphi.

It is important to discuss the *Life of Ahikar* here, albeit briefly, because we think that it is the features common to Aesop, the Delphic narrator of fables who died unjustly, and the character *Ahikar*, secretary to king Sennacherib, that had the effect of shaping a legend of Aesop as an Oriental, Phrygian or Thracian character and a *Life of Aesop* that received a new influence from that of Ahikar as early as the 5th century. It must be pointed out that the *Ahikar* was translated into Greek by Democritus, according to Diogenes Laertius, and that a papyrus from Elephantine provides evidence of knowledge of this in the Egypt of the 5th century BC.

In the *Life of Ahikar* this character tells in the first person of how, being a secretary of Sennacherib and not having children, he decided to adopt his nephew Nadan as his son, following divine advice. There then follows the series of proverbs with which Ahikar instructs Nadan on life and morals; the latter proves ungrateful, and slanders him before the king with the help of a false letter in which Ahikar appears to be a traitor working for the king of Egypt; the order is given to kill Ahikar, which the executioner, Nabusemakh, does not fulfil, restricting himself to burying him in a hiding place under the door of his house. On finding out about the supposed death of Ahikar, the king of Egypt issues a challenge to the king of Assyria to send him a man able to build him a castle between the sky and the earth, a man capable of solving problems such as this, as Ahikar usually was. If this was the case, the king of Assyria was to deliver his income for three years to the king of Egypt, otherwise the Egyptian would pay.

But neither Nadan nor anybody else is capable of accomplishing the enterprise. And it is then that Sennacherib finds out from Nabusemakh that Ahikar is alive. The king receives him happily and the treachery of Nadan is uncovered, whereupon Ahikar is sent to Egypt, where not only does he answer many difficult questions and enigmas, but also builds the castle requested: two eagles tied with ropes ridden by children. Ahikar returns victorious and has treasures heaped upon him by Sennacherib. There follows the reprimand that he gives his son in the form of fables and anecdotes; he has been like such and such an animal or such and such a man, who behaved in such and such an ungrateful way. Nadan cannot bear this speech and dies.

Many of these themes are re-encountered in the *Life of Aesop*. In this Aesop gives lessons in the form of proverbs, fables and anecdotes; he saves his master by solving an enigma for him; he also saves the Samians by interpreting an omen and persuading king Croesus with a fable. I will not go into other influences in more detail here; for this see Chap. II 4.

The important point for us to bear in mind here is that the theme of the Delphian character, a narrator of fables (in the *Life*, before dying, he tells various others in addition to that of the eagle and the beetle) who dies unjustly, is slandered, and then comes back to life, is substantially the same as that of Ahikar. This coincidence is not strange, as in both cases we are dealing with the ancient theme of the god or hero who dies and comes back to life. Yet the coincidence clearly made it possible for the life of Aesop, with the latter transformed into an Oriental character, to be expanded around the model of the life of Ahikar, in the 5th century and particularly in later times.

Judging by the passages from Herodotus, Aristophanes and Plato the Comic concerning Aesop, the core of his history in the 5th century was indeed the Delphic episode; although this Aesop of Delphi was transferred to the island of Samos. The character who is condemned to death by the town, is flung over a cliff and brings about hunger and punishment, to come back to life a year later, has wisely been identified by A. Wiechers (38) with a *pharmakos*, the character who in various Greek cities and towns was annually driven away, jeered at, stoned, accompanied by a funeral song. The ritual brought about liberation from the impurity accumulated during the year; in the distant past the *pharmakos* was killed. The jeering and abuse that those such as Hipponax or Aristophanes hurl at their enemies, at the great characters that have been defeated, such as Cleon, explicitly originate from this ritual. Yet the old year and the new are definitively the same, and these rituals of expulsion, of a type midway between the tragic and the carnivalesque, were habitually followed by other rituals of the welcoming or arrival of renewed life; and so it is frequently the case that the character driven away and the one who arrives have the same features.[40]

In Greece, this ritual of the expulsion of the *pharmakos* was performed in an environment midway between the tragic and the carnivalesque; it was similar to that of the death of Carnival, the "Peropalo"

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[39] *Aesop in Delphi*, Meisenhein am Glan, 1961, pp. 31 ff.
[40] Cf. *Fiesta*, pp. 413 ff., 501 ff.

(in Spain), the Old Woman, etc., in modern carnivalesque festivals. And there is a close correspondence with the theme of the Delphic Aesop. Indeed, the robbery of a golden goblet of Apollo is, according to Istrus, the *aition* or supposed cause of the death of the *pharmakos* in the Thargelia of Athens; and all the information we know on the Greek *pharmakoi* corresponds to that on Aesop and vice versa. Already in the 5th century, as we have said, we have Aesop represented on an Attic vase as ugly and unsightly, the same as the *pharmakoi* of Hipponax. This is all very far removed from the character of the Oriental legend.

Nevertheless, the themes of unjust death, the divine punishment of hunger and plague, atonement and resurrection remind us of obsessive themes of Babylonian, but also Egyptian, Hittite and Greek mythology: Tammuz, Osiris, Telipinu, Dionysus, Persephone, are just some of the most well-known examples of gods of this type. The *pharmakos* is clearly a perpetuation of same at popular, almost folkloric level; as we have already said, it is at these levels that the Greek gods best conserve these ancient features.

This Delphian *pharmakos*, later confused with an Oriental character, displayed the features proper to the *pharmakoi*; those of a Thersites (with whom Planudes compares him) or an Irus or a Margites; those of Hipponax's characters and of the beggar poet Hipponax himself, ugly and unsightly; those of the beggar to whom the poet Asius refers. Apart from the above, the character of Aesop presents a new feature, that of his ingenuity as a narrator of fables. The fable of the eagle and the beetle, specifically, means that the weak cannot be taken advantage of, as they may also take revenge on the powerful, as happened when the Delphians killed him and were punished for this. That is to say, we think the character of the *pharmakos*, jeered at and driven away, also made interventions of a comic type, telling fables or proverbs or jokes alluding to his circumstances, attacking and satirizing, as did Ahikar, as did comparable carnivalesque characters such as the Carnival, the "Peropalo", etc.; and, in Greece, the characters of the comedy and the iambic and comic poets themselves, whom we discussed in the previous section.

This hypothesis may be strengthened by referring to a series of elements in the *Life of Aesop* which do not appear in the legend of the 5th century, but which undoubtedly date back to that time, because they are neither of Oriental origin nor come from the environment of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages.

If, in the festivals in which the *pharmakos* is expelled, there then usually follows the arrival of the renovating and divine principle, as we have said, such as *eiresione*, swallow, god Dionysus, etc., then these two moments from country life also appear in the *Life of Aesop*, referring to its hero. Aesop is certainly the reviled *pharmakos* who is about to be killed again and again; he is an ugly and wretched slave, a cripple, a hunchback, a mute. We are reminded here of the description, in the poet Asius, in the 6th century BC, of the beggar, the slave, crippled and branded, who is presented at the wedding of Meles, father of Homer. The theme is ancient for Aesop; we may recall that it was already on a vase from the 5th century. The theme of the figs that he supposedly ate is even symbolic, as precisely the *pharmakoi* were adorned with a necklaces of figs, they were given figs to eat, they were called κραδησίτης and σύβακχος, "the man of the fig". The *pharmakos* was an incarnation of the fig and Aesop inherited traces of this.

Yet, at the appropriate moment, Aesop is the saviour of his master Xanthus and the person who provides him with food. He works in the field, obtains vegetables free of charge through his ingenuity, provides the stocks of food. This is the beneficial aspect of the *pharmakos*. Elements corresponding to this figure are the victory of Aesop over his owner, his description as true master, the reversal of situations. And also his character as a fortune-teller and man protected by the gods. And his phallic character, with his possession of the wife of his master; she receives him as being sent by Aphrodite. It is the theme of the god who arrives and couples with the woman of the country, the theme of the Lenaeas, of which there are echoes in the song of the swallow.

The comparison by Aesop of the sexual act with the harvesting of fruit accentuates, we would say, his agrarian character, as participant in the ritual cycle of fecundity; in the *Life* W (75), the woman says to him specifically, with clear sexual allusion, that she has contracted him to dig her field. And Aesop tells a story (129) that is markedly similar to that of the widow of Ephesus (H. 299, Phaedrus, *App.* 15, Petronius, *Sat.* 111) in which the man without a wife who wants to couple with the woman without a husband is precisely a ploughman; they couple in the field, as in a series of rites of various peoples that are well-known to us.

To sum up, in the *Life*, when Aesop is bought by Xanthus, he has the appearance of the saviour god who arrives, guaranteeing

food and sexual life, intimately related to the cycle of fecundity in nature. He has the ugly appearance of the ancient *pharmakos*, but is somebody described as a "demon" (δαιμόνιον) on account of his victories and his riddles; he is also described as κάθαρμα, an "impure object", like the *pharmakoi*, but he triumphs over his master and describe him as ὑπερκάθαρμα, "more impure still" (31). In this context it is understood that the relationship between Aesop and Xanthus is ambiguous. Aesop is partly the one who comes to help him, but he is partly the one who comes to replace him. The struggle between the two, based on tricks, enigmas, etc., has to do with ritual *agones*, the presence of which in the festival and the comedy, between the representatives of the old year and the new, we have discussed; an example of this is that between Xanthus and Melanthus to which we will refer and in which the origin of the legend of Aesop perhaps lies. The conclusion of this, as we have already said, is in the final death of Aesop and in his final resurrection, whereby the cycle of the *pharmakos* continues. Although the *Life* already diverges from this last part, as is to be expected.

We must suppose that this ambiguous relationship between the master and the slave, which we find in the *Life* and which we link with beliefs that were expressed in the oldest rituals, already appeared in the Aesopic legend of the 5th century, in which it was no coincidence that Aesop was a slave and unsightly, triumphed with his ingenuity and was unjustly persecuted. This data marries very well with the material of ritual origin in the *Life*, to which we have just referred; it would be strange if this were not, in its central core at least, ancient.

We may observe now that in both the ancient legend and the *Life*, in addition to the features of the god who arrives and of the *pharmakos*, which we have just described, there are details on his wisdom, his ingenuity, his satire, his triumph over kings and philosophers. This, we must stress, is something new with respect to what we know about the *pharmakoi* who were driven as the symbol of impurity of the year gone by in Athens and other cities and towns. We must wonder if this feature of Aesop was ingrained, in spite of this, in the same ancient beliefs as those from which we think his legend arose.

We must think that this is so because the features that are attributed to Aesop within this framework are also present, on one hand, in characters of the comedy and the lyric, on the other, in poets

such as Hesiod, Archilochus, Hipponax and the Homer of the *Life*, as we have presented them. The same mixture of weakness and force, ingenuity and satire, low birth or ugliness and divine protection, are in them. They take part in *agones* or confrontations, they solve enigmas, tell jokes, fables, etc. That is to say, the characters of the festival, in the flesh or carnivalesque hypostasis, have features in common with each other and with the iambic poets who took part in it or were inspired by it. Aesop, a traditional *pharmakos*, told his fables, solved his enigmas, satirized, as did all the other characters we have mentioned. Obviously, some of these could have been animals, while on other occasions animals were the object of simple stories.

The fable is the popular equivalent of the myth, the result of a split that created this sort of comic myth. Archilochus used it to brand his enemies, making fun of them and threatening them. Other poets did the same; initially, without referring to Aesop. Yet this character who took part in certain festivals, telling fables, undoubtedly, gained such emphasis at a given moment that he went on to sometimes be mentioned as the source of these fables. Aristophanes does this when he refers to that of the eagle and the beetle; Semonides, in the 6th century, does not yet do so. This *pharmakos* clearly contained features that distanced him from the Ahikar character and brought him near or identified him with those taking part in the Greek festivals, such as the themes of the joke, the reversal of values, which he introduced into his fables. In the latter he did no more than follow Archilochus and the other poets. Note that it was natural for the *pharmakoi*, who died in an Apollinarian ritual, such as that of Delphi and those of the Athenian Thargelia, to enjoy the protection of the Muses and Apollo, as did Archilochus, who tells us so explicitly. The fables of both were the same, or of the same tendency. Yet Socrates, according to the *Phaedo*, put fables of Aesop in verse before dying and at the same time composed a preface dedicated to Apollo, as he considered himself a devotee of this god. Proof that iambic genres were not only associated with Dionysus and Demeter.

Moreover, if our hypothesis is true, the character Aesop comes from a Delphic ritual, although it later extended to other places where there were undoubtedly similar characters. His Phrygian or Oriental origin would in our view be due to the character being related with that of Ahikar. And, even without reaching this point,

it would be due to a general knowledge of the existence of an Oriental fable, which entered Greece in the 7th century. The mention of the specific location of Phrygia is due, perhaps, to the presence in the Delphic legend of names similar to those from Phrygian history.[41]

We think, more specifically—although this is already extremely hypothetical—that the Delphic ritual has its origin in Boeotia, where the river Asopus runs. Not far from here, in Eleutherai, the ritual fight took place between "the Blond one" (Xanthus) and "the Black one" (Melanthus), integrated into the Dionysiac cult and belonging to a well-known type in which the two principal representatives of winter and summer fought. It is not impossible that this Xanthus, defeated by Melanthus, offered the prototype for the battle of ingenuity between the master Xanthus, "the Blond", and the slave Aesop, called "black" in the "Life"; an *agon* from before the death of Aesop in Delphi in his capacity as a *pharmakos*. If this were the case, at the festival of Eleutherai in honour of Dionysus Melanaigis there was an *agon* of fables and ingenuity between the two contenders, a parallel to what occurs in many carnivalesque festivals of the subsequent age, and in Greek literary themes, such as the *Certamen* of Homer and Hesiod, those of the Seven Sages, that of Secundus and Hadrian, etc.[42] Similar names were to be found in Phrygia, such as the river Aesepus, Xanthus, a river in the Troas, also the name of a Trojan and of Achilles' horse, in Homer. It is possible that, based on this and the existence of the Oriental fable and the Ahikar character, the figure of Aesop was transplanted to Phrygia at some time. Or else to Thrace, whose people and language are of the same origin.

Though some of the information that appeared subsequently was of secondary importance, it did establish the legend of the 5th century told to us in very incomplete form by Herodotus, Aristophanes, Aristotle (if this comes from Eugaion) and others. Already at this time, we must think, the central core—perhaps comprising the Samian Aesop, of Oriental origin, the narrator of fables—was expanded with elements coming either from the legend of Ahikar or from the Delphic ritual of the *pharmakos*, rooted in the elements of Greek religion and poetry that we have mentioned. Both sets of elements were supported

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[41] It is not documented in ancient times, apart from this, cf. below, p. 661.

[42] Cf. my work "Elementos cínicos en las 'Vidas' de Esopo y Secundo y en el 'Diálogo de Alejandro y los Gimnosofistas'", *Homenaje a Eleuterio Elorduy*, Bilbao 1978, pp. 309–328.

by each other, perhaps through the similarity of names, undoubtedly through correspondence of elements. That is to say, although there is a historical core to the figure of Aesop, by the 5th century this was already a legend. That of the contemptible yet sacred character who narrates his fables as satire and advice and who is later cited as the narrator of all fables, by the use of a simple literary device. This is what is meant by λογοποιός, "narrator of fables" in Herodotus; it does not mean the author of a written collection, which not only is not documented, but rather is incompatible with everything we know about the Greek fable and the Oriental fable in that age and even until much later.

Thus the figure of Aesop, the narrator of fables, is also placed conclusively in the iambic or comic environment of the festivals, themes, characters and genres that we have studied. In the environment of the fable, in short.

In any event, there is a point to which we should now draw the reader's attention. It is practically certain that in Eleutherai or in another area an Aesop character was presented mimetically, just as various animals and semi-divine beings were presented mimetically in dances and *agones*; but in Greece Aesop was fundamentally a motif in tales and stories, as were the animalistic or non-animalistic characters that were mimicked at other times and as were the very poets who directed the choruses. The fundamental innovation in the history of the fable took place, then, when the participants at the festival or the banquet, even the poets who gave stable form to the stories, instead of narrating certain fables in relation to concrete events by themselves, began to narrate them as "Aesop said" (or as "a Carian said", etc., always with an Oriental setting, as we can see). Given that evidently only a part of the ancient genre of the αἶνος could fit within this formulation, there was therefore an attempt made to establish the bounds of a more restricted genre, that of the *Aisopeioi logoi*; implicitly including those narrations of the same type that did not appear as attributed to Aesop.

We have already stated the reasons for the thematic similarity between the Aesopic fable and the "iambic" genres prior to Aesop, as well as for the attribution of an Oriental origin to the former, and, implicitly, to the whole genre. The important point here is that, from the moment when the narrow ritual in which Aesop was undoubtedly originally presented mimetically was internationalized and developed, the legendary figure of Aesop already offered a clear

framework for a whole branch of literature that was formed by opposition to the myth, with very characteristic features and purposes.

IV. *Conclusion*

We have considered the theme of the Oriental origins of the fable briefly with respect to the Aesop character, and we will consider it again, in general terms, in the next chapter. These origins clearly exist, and have converged with original Greek elements.

Until now little attention has been paid to these original Greek elements, yet they must be considered decisive. We have discussed them in both the previous chapter and in this. As in many other cases, only the existence of certain bases and certain needs within a culture ensures that elements are adopted from another one to develop its own; a development, particularly in Greece, within original lines. This was the case with the epic poem, the lyric, the cosmogonies, the ceramics, models, etc. So too with the fable. There is a Greek Aesop underlying the Oriental character that merged with him; likewise, the Greek animalistic fable (and the animalistic ritual), underlies the Oriental fable that reached Greece in a given moment. Another theme is that of the common ground of the Greek and Oriental fable, the mythical Greek and Oriental character in the remote past. This undoubtedly exists; it must be sought, as we have indicated, in features common to the agrarian important religions. However, this theme goes beyond the scope of our current subject.

For us the important point to make here is that the Greek roots of the animalistic fable, of the animalistic rituals and of the Aesop character, are clear and evident. That, on one hand, only one section of this animalistic literature is defined as fable, that displaying "comic" features, which gradually separated itself from the myth in general. That, on the other, this animalistic fable was still considered, even in the 5th century, to be identical generically to fables with divine or human elements that we would perhaps qualify as myth or anecdote. And that this group, in turn, is part of a broad section of Greek festivals and literature.

Nothing can be understood of what the fable was for the Greeks, of its appearance fundamentally in iambic poetry, of its attribution, sometimes, to an ancient *pharmakos*, of its intention and its characters insofar as they are comparable to those of certain poetic gen-

res and to those of the authors of these themselves, if this whole group is not placed within the concepts of the "iambic" and the "comic". By this we mean that festive, satirical, deviant aspect of certain festivals or part of certain festivals, always within the sphere of the agrarian festivals. These were not only festivals in honour of Demeter and Dionysus, as we have seen that there were even some worshipping Apollo. The concept of these being agrarian festivals is the primary one, coming before the association with these divinities, before even the association with ancient divinities of the collective type, whether animalic or not (satyrs and others).

The rituals in which animalistic *comi* (silent or speaking) took part, as well as the stories by poets or by characters who were mimicked, of the type of "Aesop", are the origin of the animalistic fable. But together with other types of fables and elements such as maxims, words of derision, festive similes, etc. All this around the eternal themes of the confrontation or *agon*—power changing hands—and the origin of things; themes that were developed with reference to the present, that is to say, with outpourings of satire and irony, threats and exhortations.

Of course, animalistic themes achieved literary treatment on a vast scale, as we have said, ranging from the myth to the simile, the proverb, etc., to the fable; and, of course, to the animalistic representation, which later resulted in the lyric and the comedy. Only gradually did the fable start to stand out from this group, what is more, being linked with non-animalistic elements and associated with certain types of poetry. There are already animalistic literary themes in Homer, but no fables as yet; in Hesiod the fable is poorly distinguished from the myth; in Archilochus it already takes a shape that is confirmed and perfected in Aristophanes. There is no doubt that Oriental models contributed to this process of enrichment and perfection. But these were adjusted to accommodate the new setting, modified. This will be seen more clearly when we study these in the next chapter, although already in II 1 we anticipated how, within the Greek fable, the Akkadian fable of the eagle and the serpent had to be profoundly modified.

Supplement

On the relationship between the fable and various Greek satirical genres, cf. F. R. ADRADOS, "Hechos generales y hechos griegos en el origen de la sátira y la crítica", in *Homenaje a Julio Caro Baroja*, Madrid 1978, pp. 43–63. On the relationship between the mythical or fabulistic characters that performed this criticism, cf. F. R. ADRADOS, "The Life of Aesop and the Origin of the Novel in Antiquity", *QUCC, n.s.* 1, 1979, pp. 83–112.

As regards the Aesop character, there continues to be an abundant bibliography on him. For example:

Q. CATAUDELLA, "Aristofane e il cosidetto Romanzo di Esopo", *Dioniso* 20, 1942, pp. 5–14. He believes that already in the time of Aristophanes there existed a "Romance of Aesop", which would have included the fable of the beetle and the episode of Delphi.

C. GARCIA GUAL, 1978: popularity of Aesop in the 5th century; he thinks he translates the atmosphere of popular protest.

S. JEDRKIEWICZ, 1979: Aesop (in the *Life*) as defender of the oppressed, critic of the court anticulture, defender of the oppressed.

J.-Th. PAPADEMETRIOU, *Aesop as an archetypal Hero*. Athens 1997.

M. SCHAUER–S. MERKLE, "Aesop und Sokrates" in N. HOLZBERG (ed.), *Der Aesop-Roman*, Tübingen 1992, pp. 85–96. On the *Vita Aesopi* see Part III, IV.

M. L. WEST, "The Ascription of Fables to Aesop in Archaic and Classical Greece", in Adrados 1984, pp. 105–136. He thinks that the book already existed c. 415 BC; this is suggested by Ar., *Av.* 471 (οὐδ' Αἴσωπον πεπάτηκας). This is doubtful in my view.

CHAPTER FOUR

ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN THE GREEK FABLE

I. *The Oriental Fable*

1. *Ancient Ideas on the Oriental Fable*

For a long time, the theme of the origin of the fable was approached in terms both simple and false; asking whether the Greek fable derives from the Indian or whether it is the latter that comes from the Greek. Whatever the answer, it was taken for granted that there was, either in Greece or in India, the introduction of an extraneous genre.

The various historical solutions to the problem to which we have referred can be found in the article *Fabel* published by A. Hausrath in *RE* VI 2, col. 1704 ff. Specific fables from the *Panchatantra*—wrongly dated, but in any event its original version is from no earlier than the 3rd century BC—were simply compared with Greek fables from the collections, on the basis of the confused edition by Halm. Once two more or less similar fables were found, there was learned discourse on whether the differences found were due to Greek innovation or to Indian innovation.

As Hausrath rightly says in the aforementioned location, the risk of this procedure is that the authors of these works of research—Weber, Benfey,[1] Schröder, Ribezzo, Marchianò, Jenssens, etc.—did not distinguish between the Greek fables from different chronological stages.

Though the truth is that in their time this was done very imperfectly; there was knowledge of the existence of certain fables in the Archaic or Classical Age, but the collections were not dated. On the other hand, as far as the Indian fable was concerned, not even its chronology was recognized; Benfey and almost all the others followed the so-called *textus simplicior*, a Medieval text poorly edited by

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[1] His study, in his ed. *Panchatantra*, Leipzig 1859 (republ. Hildesheim 1966), was the one that initiated the treatment of the theme.

Kosegarten, whereas they ignored older texts such as the *Tantrākhyāyika* and the so-called *Panchatantra of the South.*

In general, recourse was made to deductions based merely on stylistic impressions or those of other types, the thesis most generally followed being that of Benfey on the Greek origin. It was in fact Hausrath who, in said article, initiated a more correct method, which has hardly been followed, however. When one of the fables in the *Panchatantra* was in the Greek literature prior to the collections as well as in the collections themselves, it was clear to Hausrath that the source was Greek, since the passage of a fable from Greece to India was conceivable in the Hellenistic Age, in which Alexander opened India up to the Greeks, but not in the age of Archilochus, on the other hand.

We cite Hausrath's proposals in this regard below, on Indian fables derived from the Greek ones. For the moment, we will refer to the presence of the former in the *textus ornatior* of the *Panchatantra,* that is to say, the version from Pūrṇabhadra from 1199, which is very closely related to the *textus simplicior* mentioned above, citing on the basis of the page of the translation by Ryder.[2]

"The Stag, the Fox and the Lion" is not only in Babrius 95 and referred to in Aristotle, *HA* VI 28, but, as Hausrath already suspected, appears in Archilochus (*Ep.* III); the Indian counterpart in *Panchatantra,* pp. 395 ff. R. replaces the stag with the ass, but it is practically identical.

"The Peasant (or Brahman) and the Serpent" (H. 51, Par. Bodl. 167 Cr., Rom. II 10 = p. 331 R.). In Nøjgaard's view, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 406 ff., the version of the *Panchatantra* and the prototype of the whole known ancient tradition (within which Romulus is the most closely related to the *Panchatantra*) independently modify a composition preceding the two, undoubtedly Greek.

"The Eagle and the Fox" (H. 1, Phaedr. I 28, Par. Bodl. 186 Cr., etc., *Panchatantra,* p. 75 R.). The fable is already in Archilochus, *Ep.* 1, as we know. It must be noted that in the *Panchatantra* the story is simply that the serpent that breaks the friendship with the crow is punished thanks to the cunning of the jackal; the fable of the heron, the serpent and the crab is parallel (pp. 188 ff. R.). The distance from the Greek original is great; however, see below.

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[2] *The Panchatantra,* translated from the Sanskrit by Arthur W. Ryder, Chicago 1964 (1st ed. 1925): that is to say, for example, p. 107 R. It is the most diffused.

"The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat" (H. 136, Bab. 79, Phaedr. I 4, *Panchatantra*, p. 413 R.). The theme is already in Theognis, as we know (Hausrath mentions Democritus in Stobaeus III 10.69). In the *Panchatantra* the jackal lets go of the meat to capture a fish, a vulture takes the meat and the fish escapes. But the theme of the animal that sees itself in the water is re-encountered in *Panchatantra*, pp. 86 ff. R., in which the lion drowns by jumping in a well to kill another supposed lion.

"The Weasel and Aphrodite" (H. 50, Bab. 32, Phaedr. VI 17 = *Panchatantra*, pp. 263 ff. R.). The story in the *Panchatantra* is about a female mouse turned by a brahman into a girl, who when the moment arrives, wants to marry a mouse, so the brahman restores her to her natural form. In spite of Hausrath's view, however, it must be said that it is by no means certain that the theme (similar in both literatures, but not identical) is ancient in Greece.

"The Grateful Eagle" (not-H. 199, Par. Bodl. 144 Cr. = fable in Benfey, *Panchatantra* I, p. 363 = *Panchatantra*, pp. 112 ff. R.). It is already in Stesichorus, as we know.

"The Ass with a Lionskin" (H. 199 = p. 409 R., with tigerskin).

These are the Indian fables that Hausrath considers more or less likely to be of Greek origin; some of the *Jātaka* must be added, in which he proposes the same. As we can see, the crop is not very bountiful. Neither is that of Edgerton,[3] who indicates just *Panchatantra*, pp. 409 ff. R. "The Ass with a Tiger or Panther Skin" (= H. 199 "The Ass with a Lionskin") and *Panchatantra*, pp. 395 ff. R. "The Ass without Heart or Ears" (Greek version mentioned above). Edgerton proposes—without demonstrating this—that these fables come from India and that, except for cases such as these, there is independence between the two fabulistic traditions.

We think firstly that the amount of material may be increased through adequate study, to which we will contribute some elements in another part of this volume.[4] Secondly, that some important considerations must be made on this same material.

Firstly, when there is no evidence of a fable related to an Indian fable within Greece before the Hellenistic Age (as is the case, among those mentioned, of "The Weasel and Aphrodite" and "The Peasant and the Serpent", and also the case of various other fables whose

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[3] *The Panchatantra*, I–V, Poona 1930, p. 9.

[4] Cf. pp. 692 ff.

existence we have referred to above), there is no a priori reason for discounting the opposing hypothesis to the one so far followed, that is, the Indian influence on Greece. The communication that began between Greece and India with Alexander was in both directions; without moving away from our theme, we need only recall what we said on Oriental influences on the *Life of Aesop* and other more or less parallel *Lives*.[5] The Greek source must either be demonstrated by means of particular considerations (the likelihood of the greater antiquity of the Greek version, in specific cases) or by means of other general ones, relating to the influence of Greek themes (Cynic ones, specifically) on a long series of Indian fables, as we will show in III 5.

Since our knowledge of the Greek collections is, as we know, very partial, it may well be the case that this or that Indian fable comes from a Greek collection that has been lost to us; of course, from a collection without epimythia throughout, whether that of Demetrius or another later one. In one specific case, that of the fable of the peasant and the serpent, we have seen that Nøjgaard proposed that the Indian fable came from a model prior to all the Greek and Latin versions that have been conserved.

Secondly, the fact that there is evidence of a Greek fable with an Indian counterpart in Greece from the 7th or 6th centuries BC does not decide the question as clearly as Hausrath thinks. Although the origin of the Panchatantra must be placed in the 3rd/2nd centuries BC, this dating refers to its origin as a collection, I think with imitation of the Greek collections that originated around the same time, which, clearly, were known in India; it does not refer to each and every one of the fables, many of which are undoubtedly ancient in India. And it may be the case that the similarity between certain Indian and Greek fables is due not to direct influences in one direction or the other, but to the dependence of the two versions on an ancient, Mesopotamian model.

Indeed, we will see that the Mesopotamian fable influenced the Greek fable very directly. This is a well-known fact today, which we will explain and to which we will add some new elements. And it is not at all unlikely (although, as far as we know, this has not been investigated until now) that the Mesopotamian fable reached India through Persia, perhaps specifically through the Persian satrapy estab-

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[5] Cf. also our work already mentioned "Elementos cínicos . . .", pp. 323 ff.

lished in the valley of the Indus. On the pages that follow we will attempt to demonstrate that this is precisely the case, without, however, invalidating the fact that, as regards other fables, there was a dependence on the Greece of the Hellenistic period. Very specifically, the fable by Archilochus of the eagle and the fox, whose Akkadian model is known ("The Eagle and the Serpent") has versions in India in which the crow and the serpent take part, which are clearly of Mesopotamian origin; there are other totally clear examples. Furthermore, we will show that the "frame" in which the fables of the Indian collections, such as that of the *Panchatantra*, are set is precisely of Mesopotamian origin.

That is to say, our more extensive knowledge (though incomplete, of course) of the Greek fable allows us to study the problem of the relationships between fables in the Hellenistic Age and perhaps even later more effectively than has been done till now. We are assisted in this not only by the chronological stratification of the collections of Western fables, which we have been able to establish today up to a certain point, but also by the parallel stratification we have been able to establish today in the Indian tradition, also up to a certain point. If our oldest evidence of the *Panchatantra*, that is, the *Tantrākhyāyika*, is placed at around 200 BC or perhaps later, then a series of later collections exist, spread over dates that can be established approximately, see below, pp. 306 ff. We can anticipate here that collections not too far removed from this one (the *Panchatantra of the South* and the basic Indian text of the Pahlavi translation that produced extensive derivations, in Medieval literatures in particular) come from around 500 AD; and, in addition to the *Hitopadeśa*, the *textus simplicior* and the *ornatior* mentioned above are wholly Medieval. It must be noted that some of the Indian fables that Hausrath considers to be derived from the Greek ones are absent from the *Tantrākhyāyika* and the remaining ancient tradition, specifically, "The Brahman and the Serpent" (only in the *textus ornatior*), "The Jackal that Let Go of the Meat" (in this and the *simplicior*), "The Grateful Eagle" (only in the *ornatior*). The problem remains, then, of whether these fables, in spite of the lateness of their documentation, are ancient Indian fables of Greek origin or whether they are Medieval Indian fables, perhaps independent.

On the other hand, we now have the way clear to study relationships of another type, derivations of Greek and Indian fables starting from the Mesopotamian fabulistic tradition, of which we gain a better understanding with every passing day. What is more, this

can be reconstructed to a certain extent by comparing certain Greek fables and certain Indian fables.

Yet we must not fall prey to a new form of extremism and replace the view that the Greek fable derived from the Indian, or vice versa, with another, whereby the Greek fable is summarily considered to have derived from the Mesopotamian fable. This has already begun to happen on occasions, though not systematically.[6]

In contrast with this position, whether actually held or simply possible, we have postulated in the previous chapters that the Greek fable has Greek roots. The fable has its place in festivals and poetry that we have described as iambic and comic; it is not an aggregate, it is something that fits perfectly into this environment. On the other hand, it is something that has to do with more or less playful rituals centred around the animal, as well as with beliefs and stories relating to these rituals. This does not mean that this Greek basis of the fable may not have received external influences in order to develop. We have pointed out, for example, that essential animals in the Greek fable—the lion, the monkey—are either extraneous to Greece or external to the religion and the rituals, or both at the same time. We have pointed out that the very fact that an Oriental homeland is attributed to the Delphic *pharmakos* Aesop supports the belief in an Oriental influence on the Greek fable. And this is not the only material to support this view; Babrius, 2nd prol. says that the fable comes from the Syrians (that is to say, the Assyrians) and there is further ancient evidence,[7] as well as the existence of Carian, Lydian, Egyptian fables, etc., already mentioned in I 1.

The actual situation is, then, that the Greek fable, born at the festival and the banquet, was developed under the influence of the Oriental fable, in much the same way as the indigenous legend of Aesop was also orientalized, as we have already seen. This is not an anomalous situation, but is perfectly normal and to be expected. It is as I explained in detail in a book on the origins of the Greek lyric; the short monody of the Greek mixed lyric expanded due to the influence of the monody developed from earlier times in Oriental cults and literatures, on the basis, moreover, of a similar religious and literary environment.[8]

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[6] Thus E. Ebeling, *Die Babylonische Fabel*, Leipzig 1927, p. 50. Opposed to this is Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 434 ff.

[7] Cf. Josifović, *Živa Antika* 6, 1956, pp. 161 ff.; art. "Aisopos", *cit.*, col. 30.

[8] Cf. *Origenes de la lirica griega*, Madrid 1975, pp. 190 ff.; "La lirica griega y

On the same dates, then, the 7th and 6th centuries BC, elements of the great Mesopotamian tradition arrived in Greece, coming from Assyria, Babylon and the various towns of Asia Minor, influenced by those cultures and that of the Hittites; these elements were introduced into a literature that was still practically oral and—though it possessed comparable elements—was moving with a chronology that was slower in developing. This was possible because the basic point of departure was the same, that of the agrarian cults and the festivals in which these were expressed; since gods, festivities, dances and literature were closely linked, it was easy for the influences to take place. And it was Greece that received them.

Moreover, the influence—generally accepted today—of Mesopotamian epic poetry and cosmogonies on Greek epic poetry and cosmogonies must be interpreted in the same way. Their introduction was not simple. Greece possessed an epic poetry with Indo-European roots whose features are easy to specify, and the Hittite cosmogonies undoubtedly acted upon a religious environment that was very willing to receive them. There is never simple introduction, there is expansion or development of pre-existing elements within an environment very willing to receive the elements arriving from outside. In the case of the fable we believe we have demonstrated this fully.

2. *The Mesopotamian Fable. General Outline*

Our knowledge is gradually increasing on the Mesopotamian fable, written in the different languages of the region, from the Sumerian to the Assyrian; it is sometimes conserved in the original language, at others in translations or copies dating from different times, so it is often difficult to establish the true age of the original composition. As is well known, these literatures form a continuous whole, going as far as the texts conserved in the library of Ashurbanipal and on Neo-Babylonian tablets, undoubtedly even as far as the literature or oral tradition of Persians, Phrygians, Carians, Lydians, etc. There was very close contact with the Greeks in the 7th and 6th centuries, so it was easy for influences to occur.

We only have knowledge of a very limited amount of Mesopotamian fabulistic material; this is partly because it is published in incomplete form, based on mere references, partly because they are not

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el Oriente", *Travaux du VIe Congrès International d'Etudes Classiques*, Paris 1976, pp. 251 ff.

so much fables as animal proverbs and similes, although it is not easy to tell the difference. The comparison between Mesopotamian fables and Greek fables can seldom be made in relative terms, although the comparative study of the Indian material can help, as we have already said. Before making this comparison, it is appropriate here in any event to consider briefly the entirety of the fabulistic material (in a broad sense) of Mesopotamia, to look at its formal aspects and characteristics. This is very important when studying the influences on Greek literature.

Yet there still remains a preliminary task to be performed: to set out the bibliography, the form in which this material is published or studied. Sadly, a complete and independent edition does not exist. On the other hand, we will see that in Mesopotamia we cannot refer to a "fable" genre as such, as the fable is no more than one element within other genres; an isolated edition would destroy the context in which it appears.

This context is that of the "Wisdom Literature" referred to in the title of the book by W. G. Lambert (*Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford 1960) which brings together all the material in Akkadian, Babylonian and Assyrian (or translated into these languages) known on the date of its publication. It replaces the older work by E. Ebeling, *Die Babylonische Fabel*, Leipzig 1927, but must be supplemented with subsequent publications, such as the book by B. Alster, which gives the Sumerian text of the *Instructions of Suruppak*, of which Lambert only gives a small Akkadian fragment;[9] there are also various other publications of Sumerian texts, by Kramer[10] and Gordon.[11] We add the *Ahikar*, with which we are also well acquainted.[12]

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[9] B. Alster, *The Instructions of Suruppak*, Copenhagen. See other "Instructions" from a father to a son in Kramer, *La historia empieza en Sumer*, Spanish translation, 4th ed., Barcelona 1978, pp. 63 ff., 116 ff. Cf. also "Sumerian Proverb Collection Seven", *Revue d'Assyriologie* 72, 1978, pp. 93–112.

[10] N. S. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, Indian Hills, Colorado 1956, reissued in 1968; it contains data on collections 1 and 2. I quote from the Sp. trans. (above, in n. 9).

[11] F. I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, The University Museum, The University of Pennsylvania, 1959, 2nd ed., New York 1968. Cf. by the same author: "Sumerian Proverbs: Collection Four", *JAOS* 77, 1957, pp. 67–79 and "Sumerian Animal Proverbs and Fables: Collection Five", *JCS* 12, 1958, pp. 1–21, 43–75. Also "Animals as represented in the Sumerian Proverbs and Fables: A Preliminary Study", pp. 22–249.

[12] Cf. the translation by R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudoepigrapha of the Old Testament*, II, Oxford 1913 [1971], pp. 728 ff.

In the book by Nøjgaard[13] and in the edition of Babrius and Phaedrus by Perry,[14] some of this material is studied from the standpoint of a comparison with the Greek fabulistic tradition, with use also of the older book by Ebeling already cited. It must be added, however, that, after the book by Lambert, only since the publication of "A New Look at the Wisdom of Sumer and Akkad" by Gordon, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 17, 1960, pp. 122–52 (cited as: "New Look . . .") have we been able to gain an overall idea of Babylonian wisdom literature, including the fable. According to Gordon, 106 Sumerian fables and parables are now identified (he refers to fables of possible action as parables), to which must be added those that do not appear in Sumerian literature, but at a later date, though this does not mean they cannot have a Sumerian origin.

However, the reader will do well to take two things into account. Firstly, that of this seemingly large number of fables, many are unpublished, and we only know them through Gordon's references. Secondly, that there remains the terminological problem of distinguishing between animal similes, proverbs and fables, a distinction that is not always clearcut; it must also be added that non-animal similes, proverbs and anecdotes appear together, seemingly without the Sumerians having a notion of a generic distinction.

So the first thing that must be borne in mind when the Mesopotamian fable is studied with the intention of comparing it with the Greek or Indian fable is that it is not an independent genre. Actually, we should not find this strange, since we have seen that in Greece the "fable" genre was initially not clearly distinguished from the myth, the portent, the simile, etc., and, in fact, never reached the point of gaining a totally cohesive character, even within the collections of fables. At most, some collections of proverbs exist that only contain animalistic material (proverbs or fables); more generally this material is spread out among the rest of the proverbial material. The same applies to other genres, entitled *Instructions, Poems of the Suffering Righteous, Disputes*, etc., which include the biographical genre that appears in the *Ahikar*; these genres can be distinguished because they have a frame, a subject, but fables, proverbs and comparable non-animalistic elements appear indiscriminately within this.

The Mesopotamian wisdom literature to which we are referring

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[13] *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 433 ff.
[14] Pp. XXVII ff.

has a Sumerian origin. Gordon[15] thinks that its definitive composition dates back to the age of the Neo-Sumerian renaissance of about 2000/1900 BC, although our texts usually date from the ancient Babylonian period (about 1700/1600 BC). At other times we have later copies or Akkadian, Neo-Babylonian or Assyrian translations, while some texts in these languages may be originals of same, such as the *Ahikar*, for example. In any event, and leaving aside some evolutions, all this literature forms a whole. And it is closely comparable to the wisdom literature of other peoples, particularly the Israelites (*Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Job*) and the Egyptians. For a good general overview (although it is poor on the specific point of the fable) it is useful to consult the introduction by M. L. West to his edition of Hesiod.[16]

Shown below is a brief review to the main Mesopotamian wisdom genres in which the fable and related elements are found, namely *Proverbs*, genres with a "frame", *Disputes*; and the epic.

3. *Mesopotamian Genres that Include Fables*

a) *Proverbs*

Gordon, "New Look . . .", reviews 24 collections of proverbs, mostly unpublished or published in incomplete form. There has been a huge increase in material since the time of Ebeling, who only knew one collection of proverbs with animalistic material; this collection has been re-published by Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, pages 213 ff., as the only collection of proverbs. The material to which J. A. van Dijk referred in his *La sagesse suméro-accadienne* from 1953 was also still of modest proportions.

We must refer, then, substantially to the "New Look . . ." by Gordon; as well as to Ebeling's material, he mainly makes reference to that published by Kramer and himself, but which also offers a classification and study of a considerable amount of unpublished material.

As we have said, the collections of proverbs amass various materials without a frame, which are often repeated in the various collections. Only on rare occasions, as has also been said, is the material

[15] "New Look . . .", p. 124.

[16] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, Oxford 1978, pp. 3 ff. On Sumerian proverbs, the new book by B. Alster, *Studies in Sumerian Proverbs*, Copenhagen 1975, must also be seen.

exclusively animalistic. It is very often the case that each "proverb" is classified by its initial word, for example, "thing", "curse", "city", "elephant", etc. Yet other collections present the "proverbs" in an order that we might describe as chaotic if not for the fact that, on occasions, those with closely related contents are grouped together.

The miscellaneous character of these collections also applies to this content. We have referred to proverbs and fables, we have noted Gordon's distinction between fables as such (of "impossible" action) and "parables" (of possible action), two types that occur among Greek fables. But the boundaries are not clear and there also remains the problem of the extent to which the fables are true fables according to the Greek standard, a subject on which Nøjgaard expressed a rather negative view, to which we will return later. Leaving aside this and referring to the entirety of the material of the collections, and not only to their animalistic part, we will indicate the distinctions that Gordon introduces more or less successfully.[17] There would be precepts, maxims, simple apothegms ("a poor man is always concerned about what he is going to eat"), adages ("the dog recognizes the man who loves him"), paradoxes ("my ox is going to give you milk"), jokes ("one day the palace is a mother who has recently given birth, another a mother in bereavement"), reproaches, compliments, wishes ("may Inanna make a woman with warm thighs go to bed with you"), burlesque sayings about peoples.[18] All this without including animalistic fables as such and anecdotes, some of which might be described rather as short-stories and tales, such as "The Old Man and the Young Woman", "The Three Oxherds of Adab" and "The Lazy Slave".[19] As regards length, this varies between one line, two (the most frequent) and a greater number of lines; they are occasionally of considerable length. This means that in both the non-animalistic and the animal sector there are all the links that we have mentioned with reference to Greek literature between the maxim, the insult, the joke, the attack, etc. As in Greece, animalistic fable and human anecdote are no more than one of the element in the collections.

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[17] "New Look...", pp. 130 ff.

[18] On the types of "proverbs", their content, syntactic structure, style, etc., we also refer you to "New Look...", to the *Sumerian Proverbs* by Gordon himself, pp. 1 ff. and 285 ff., and to the book by B. Alster mentioned above.

[19] Cf. B. Alster, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 94, 117.

b) *Genres with a "Frame"*
These genres are characterized by a "frame", either biographical or referring to a moment in the life of a man or two men; within this there are fables and proverbs, in a similar manner to that encountered so far. Included are attacks, lamentations, similes, sarcastic remarks, maxims, etc. The amount of animalistic material tends to be more modest, but it exists nevertheless. Within Mesopotamian literature, these genres are comparable, among others, to the didactic literature of Hesiod, for example, who advises his brother with maxims and fables, in the midst of attacks and lamentations.

We cannot aspire to offer an exhaustive list of these genres. We will, however, mention the following:

Instructions

As an example we cite the *Instructions of Suruppak*, of which there was previously a minimal fragment and which have now been published by B. Alster. They occupy about 285 lines, the oldest fragments of which date from about 2500 BC and others from about 1800. They are the advice given by the sage or king Suruppak to his son Ziusudra, who was going to be the only survivor of the flood. The advice is negative and positive, with proverbs, etc., including a kind of fable:

> When a man put a great ox on his shoulders
> he could not cross the river.
> When you have lived beside the powerful of the city,
> son of mine, free yourself of them.

This material may be called either a fable or a simile ("like . . ."), or a proverb; in any event, it is clear that by virtue of the "frame", the animalistic theme is transformed into an exemplum, like in Greece.

Other texts of the same type can be found in Lambert and Kramer, and references to yet others in West. There is, for example, the *Wise Advice*, addressing a son, the *Advice to a King*, etc. On the other hand, Gordon ("New Look . . .") makes reference to new, more or less comparable Sumerian material, such as the work *A Scribe and his Perverse Son*, in which the former accuses the latter of squandering and ingratitude. Similar works appear in Egypt; for example, a father gives advice to a son in the *Instruction of Ptahhotep* and in the *Instruction of Amenem Opet*; in this case and in others, the son is precisely a prince. A text from Ras Shamra gives advice of the same type.

Lamentations

The most noteworthy example is the *Lament of the Suffering Righteous*, comparable to the Book of Job, in which the righteous person is finally liberated from his sufferings.

Dialogues

The themes already mentioned may be presented in this form. Thus, the work entitled *The Father and his Son with Bad Habits* becomes equivalent to an "instruction"; the *Babylonian Theodicy*, the dialogue between a man who complains of the injustices of the world and a friend who instructs and consoles him, mixes themes of lamentation and instruction. On the other hand, the *Dialogue of Pessimism*, between a king and his slave, would seem to be satirical. These works appear in Lambert's collection. And in the article by Gordon we find other more or less comparable Sumerian material, such as the dispute between *The Supervisor and the Scribe* and various other disputes, also in a scholarly setting.

Biographies

We refer here to the *Ahikar*, whose subject matter we have already discussed. Within the frame of the biography of the secretary of Sennacherib there appear instructions to his son, lamentations on bad luck, reproaches to the son. But not only this; the part in which Ahikar answers the king of Egypt is equivalent to the instructing of the latter by the former and the role of the secretary close to the king of Assyria implies a relationship of the same type. There are, then, various elements that have converged in the *Ahikar*, namely the theme of the father and the son and that of the secretary or adviser and the king, those of the instruction, the attack and the lamentation. On the other hand, it must be noted that the theme of the dialogue between the king who asks questions and the wise vizier who answers them is very ancient, from Sumer; it is found in *The Old Man and the Young Woman* and *The Three Oxherds of Adab*, which we cite above.

In all these writings we again encounter, among others, animalistic material, either in the form of a simile, a proverb or a fable. Thus, in the *Babylonian Theodicy* there are animal exempla demonstrating

that the bad (the lion, the *nouveau riche*...) remain unpunished, but the other speaker answers by showing how they are punished; for example, the arrow will reach the wild ass that tramples on the field of crops, the trap awaits the lion devouring the livestock, the king will punish the *nouveau riche* (59 ff.). These are proverbs that explain the future; at the same time, there is the beginning of the literary procedure of discussing with exempla and fables, which was less frequent in Greece than in India and our own Middle Ages. In the same work, there is a mixture of human exempla: "The prince is dressed in..., the son of the poor man is robbed..." (181 ff.), but these are answered with others set in opposition to the former (235 ff.). Animal similes are also to be found, such as "The first-born follows his path like a lion, the second is satisfied with being a muleteer..." (247 ff.). At other times, the proverb and its human application are consecutive, as with the fable and the epimythium: "The first calf is small, the following one double the size. The first son is weak, the second is a heroic warrior" (260 ff.). There is also no shortage in this work of aetiological elements reminiscent of Greek fables, such as when the story is told (276 ff.) of the creation of man and how he was endowed with the ability to tell lies.

Of course, the number and characteristics of the animalistic elements vary from work to work, but what interests us here is to note that they are inseparable from this genre of literature and that it is the presence of the "frame" that essentially differentiates it from the previous one. However, I do wish to emphasize the frequency of these elements in the *Ahikar*, which, as we have seen, played an important role as a model (together with other similar works) for the Greek *Life of Aesop*, while we will see that it was also used in parallel as a model for Indian collections of fables such as the *Panchatantra*. It is essential, therefore, to consider the role of the fable in this work. But not without first noting that the biographical "frame" of this more recent work is no more than an extension of "frames" of previous, Sumerian works, involving instruction (sometimes with dialogue) or lamentation; while the proverbs and other elements it contains are no more than the continuation of those contained in the other genres mentioned. That is to say, after the simple collections of proverbs and works with a small "frame", the Ahikar represents a culmination, a kind of a third grade, but along the same lines (although the collections of proverbs may, in turn, come from or be enriched with those of these latter works). Irrespective of all

this, the *Ahikar* also represents the starting point for another theme we have already mentioned, the myth of the god who dies and comes back to life. The confluence between this myth—and the lamentations and accusations connected with it—and the wisdom genres resulted in the *Ahikar* and, evidently, other parallel works whose existence we will infer through their echoes in Greek and Indian literatures.

Returning to our theme, in the first set of admonitions to Nadan (II 1 ff.), Ahikar uses various animalistic (and vegetable) elements, among others. Such as similes (*Ahikar* II):

6 Son of mine, do not hurry like the almond tree whose flower is the first to appear and whose fruit is the last to be eaten; be patient and sensitive, like the mulberry, whose flower is the last to appear and whose fruit is the first to be eaten.

24 Do not desist from hitting your son: the stick is for children like manure for the orchard, like a rope for an ass, like a tie for the ass's leg.

25 Son of mine, the words of the liar are like fat sparrows, the fool eats them.

Elsewhere we find proverbs or instructions:

35 Son of mine, throw stones at the dog that has abandoned its master and followed you.

38 Son of mine, soften your language . . . because the dog's tail gives it bread, whereas its mouth gets it beaten.

51 . . . better a sheep within reach of your hand than a calf far away; better is poverty that collects than wealth that is squandered; better a bird in the hand than a thousand flying; better a woollen mantle on your back than linen and silk on someone else's.

The impossibility of changing nature is the theme of

62 Son of mine, when the waters are high without earth, when the bird flies without wings, when the crow becomes white as snow and bitter becomes sweet as honey, then the fool will become wise.

Yet a passage such as the one below can already properly be called a fable:

14 Son of mine, the rich man eats a snake and they say "he ate it as medicine". The poor man eats it and they say: "He ate it because he was hungry".

And the closeness of simile and fable can be seen by comparing

> 28 ... he who has neither brothers nor wife nor children ... is like a tree beside the road, whose fruit is picked by all the passers-by and whose leaves are broken by all the animals that pass.

with the Aesopic fable (H. 185) of the walker and the plane tree (which, apart from this, is found in *Ahikar* II 28 referring to a tree in general). Or consider the relationship between

> 65 Son of mine, do not face a man in all his power nor a river in flood

and the Greek fable we have already cited and, within Mesopotamian literature, the dispute between the tree and the reed, see below.

We have not been exhaustive, but we believe this is sufficient for our purpose here. Some very similar elements are to be found in the series of reproaches by Ahikar to Nadan (VIII 1 ff.). Not to mention similes of the most common types; a series of these contain actions and are transformed into fables, sometimes ending with a "closing statement" like the Greek fables, on other occasions not. Their beginning is always the same: "Son of mine, you have been for me like ...". Without prejudicing our study of the structure of these fables later on, we may summarize these here (*Ahikar* VIII):

- 3: The Scorpion and the Rock.
- 4: The Gazelle and the Sumac.
- 5: The Man who Threw a Stone at the Sky.
- 6: The Man and his Friend.
- 9: The Lion and the Ass.
- 11: The Ox and the Lion.
- 14: The Farmer and the Field.
- 15: The Bird and his Companions.
- 16: The He-goat and his Companions.
- 17: The Dog and the Potter.
- 18: The Pig and his Companions.
- 24: The Tree and the Woodcutters.
- 25: The Swallows and the Cat.

Some of these similes, which are already full-blown fables, have corresponding very closely related Greek fables, as we will see. We need only mention one here, so it can be seen that its style is closely related to that of the Greek fable:

> Son of mine, you have been for me like the small swallows that fell from the nest. A cat caught them and told them: "If it had not been for me, a great evil would have befallen you". They answered him saying: "Is that why you have put us in your mouth?".

Further proof of this fabulistic character (not always animalistic, as we can see) is the fact that on some occasions (10 "The Trap and the Bird") the introduction is missing and the fable is narrated directly. On the other hand, there is a succession of animal proverbs which may in turn be the embryos of fables, such as 20; and there is abundant use of an animal's name as an insult (19 jackal).

Of course, in this section these fables or fable-similes or proverbs have a common intention, determined by the context, namely an attack against the ungrateful, the punishment of the evil. This is a special case within the extensive series of possibilities open to the genre.

c) *Debates*

There has long been an awareness of the existence of debates (between gods, natural elements, plants, animals . . .) in Oriental literature, as well as of their irradiation to ancient and Medieval European literatures. Cf. M. Steinschneider, "Rangstreit Literature", *SBWGW* 155, 1908, as well as A. Wünsche, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der Weltliteratur*, Leipzig 1905, with special reference to disputes between plants. Regarding Aegypt, cf. E. Brunner-Traut, *Altaegyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel*, Darmstadt 1977, pp. 56 ff. A review of these debates in Greek literature, from Hesiod, Epicharmus, Prodicus onwards, is offered by L. Radermacher in his edition of *Ranae* by Aristophanes (2nd ed., Vienna 1954), pp. 20 ff. Debates in the Greek fable are collected by Josifović, *loc. cit.*, col. 28, cf. also above, p. 243. Note that Callimachus, in his *Iamb* IV, attributes an Oriental origin (specifically Lydian) to his dispute between the laurel and the olive, a thesis that was accepted and further investigated by Diels (*Internationale Wochenschrift* 4, 1910, pp. 993 ff.).

Now, it must be noted that our knowledge of the Mesopotamian "disputes" has increased in an extraordinary manner in recent times. Further disputes have been added to the very few disputes cited by Ebeling; information is provided on these by Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 161 and Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff. and they have been published by Lambert, *op. cit.*, pp. 150 ff. However, Gordon's publication, which we have repeatedly cited, offers even more complete information, and contains the published and other unpublished material (cf. pp. 144 ff.).

The "disputes" to which we are referring here are not always easy to separate from the dialogues referred to above and from other

disputes between gods and men in sectors of the literature (epic poetry, for example) that are far removed from wisdom literature. If we restrict the genre to within the limits established in the edition by Lambert and the work by Gordon, we can say that the central motif of these disputes is a debate between two or more animals, plants, minerals, inanimate objects or natural phenomena. And that most of these, insofar as they are well conserved, have a mythological "frame", which presents the dispute and closes at the end.[20] Thus, the difference with respect to the compositions with a "frame" that we discuss above is only in terms of degrees. "Disputes" as such are distinguished by the fact that there is concern with a single central motif, amply expounded, and by their direct relationship with mythical themes, often relative to the origins of the world.

We can mention the following "disputes":

The Summer and the Winter.
The Livestock and the Grain.
The Bird and the Fish.
The Tree and the Reed.
Silver and Copper.
The Pick and the Plough.
The Millstone and the *Gul-gul* Stone.
The Tamarind and the Palm.
The Ox and the Horse.
The Riding Donkey and the *Gul-gul* Stone.
The Wheat and the Goddess Nissaba.
The Fox, the Dog, the Wolf and the Lion.

These disputes—sometimes transmitted in Sumerian, sometimes in Akkadian, sometimes in bilingual texts—normally develop the theme whereby one of the two contenders is superior, as is the case in the continuation of the genre in the Graeco-Latin fable. This is not the case of "The Wheat and the Goddess Nissaba", however, in which the former accuses this underground and agrarian goddess in a rather imprecise manner (perhaps in relation to the theme of the vegetation withering every autumn); nor in the case of "The Fox, the Dog, the Wolf and the Lion", a series which is truly difficult to reconstruct as a whole and has been described as an "animal epic". It in fact contains themes of fables that are continued both in Greece and

[20] The dispute between the summer and the winter, commented on and translated by Kramer, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 ff., can be seen as an example, as can that of "The Livestock and the Grain", in the same work, pp. 164 ff.

in India. The fundamental interest stems from the fact that the debate regarding the activities of these animals is in a mythological context: the fox complains to Enlil of a drought, and ends up worshipping this god at the end of the work; there is a scene of judgement (perhaps two) before Shamash between the wolf and the fox. This important work comes from the first Babylonian Age (about 1700 BC), but it appeared until the Neo-Babylonian Age, contemporary to Archilochus.

4. *The Epic*

After the fable of the elephant and the mosquito, published by Ebeling in the first collection of *Proverbs* made available, and the dispute between the tamarind and the palm, it was in the fable of the eagle and the serpent, which is in the Akkadian epic *Etana*, that the model of a Greek fable, that of the eagle and the fox in Archilochus, was clearly visible for the first time in a Mesopotamian fable.[21]

In fact, we are dealing here with an intermediate stage between the myth and the fable, something we will not find strange if we recall what we said about the connection between the Greek fable and myth and religion and what we have just seen on the mythical environment of the Mesopotamian "disputes". This mythical environment is also in the proverbs or fables included in the collections of proverbs and in the genres "with a frame". We have already given some examples, but more material needs to be added. Thus, the punishment of the evil man or animal in the *Babylonian Theodicy* is in the same religious context as the fable of the eagle and the serpent, in which it is the god Shamash who punishes the evil eagle. The theme of a god who punishes also appears in the proverbs and fables of the *Ahikar*. On other occasions there are themes related to that of the origins of the world, as we have already said. Clearly, this is not always the case, as the Mesopotamian fable frequently depends on a simple description of the world (as do the proverb and the simile). But there is also a fable of mythical-religious origin, as

[21] Cf. R. J. Williams, "The Literary History of a Mesopotamian Fable", *Phoenix* 10, 1956, pp. 70 ff.; I. Trencsény-Waldapfel, "Eine Aesopische Fabel und ihre orientalischen Parallelen", *AAntHung* 7, 1959, pp. 317 ff.: A. La Penna, "Letteratura esopica e letteratura assiro-babilonese", *RFIC* 92, 1964, pp. 24–39; and my paper "El tema del águila de la épica acadia e Esquilo", *Emerita* 32, 1964, pp. 267–282.

we will see also occurs in India. Very specifically, the Indian theme of the bird that lives in the branches of the tree and the serpent at the foot of it, with the latter being killed by a warrior stranger (cf. pp. 322 f.), is re-encountered in Kramer, pp. 169 ff. (the killer is Gilgamesh, although the theme of the enmity between the two animals does not come into play; these themes are all, it seems, derived from the *Etana*).

It is significant that within the Mesopotamian epic only in the case we have indicated do we encounter a fable; indeed, we repeat, one that could also be described as a myth. However, in Kramer, *op. cit.*, pp. 280 f., 282, more or less comparable animal stories are found in epics. As we have seen, animal similes and portents appear in Homer, not fables; there are some, on the other hand, in the *Mahābhārata* (some succeeded in crossing over to the Medieval European tradition through the *Kalilah wa Dimnah* and other works). It has been said on occasions that the elimination of the fable in Homer depends on what we would refer to as the "chivalrous", not popularist, character of his epic. The fact is that in Mesopotamia the epic included not only proverbs, maxims, etc., as in the cases of Homer and the Indian epic, but also myths, which in some cases acquired a fabulistic character; and this procedure was followed in India and, in a certain sense, censured in Greece; at the same time, the fable of the eagle and the serpent, with the punishment of the former by the god Shamash, was imitated in Greece (and, as we will see, in India). We will discuss this in greater detail later.

5. *Archaic Elements in the Indian Fable*

a) *The* Panchatantra *and the Indian Fable*

Apart from the collections we will discuss, of which the main one is the *Sendebar*, and loose fables, already mentioned, in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Jātaka* and elsewhere, the fundamental collection of Indian fables is the *Panchatantra*, as we know. It is appropriate to offer some considerations here on the character, date and various recensions of this work, since numerous fables only appear in some of these; these are additions that do not come from the original *Panchatantra*.

The *Panchatantra* offers a model of a collection of fables that is partially different from the Greek collections. There are five fables, whose characters alternate action with the telling of fables that sup-

port their respective viewpoints; within these fables there are others, and so on; that is to say, the fables contain others inside them, as in Chinese boxes. In each book there is a fable that acts as a frame and then the fables frame each other successively. On the other hand, the whole work has a frame, which is the story of how the brahman Vishnusarman sets about educating the king's children with the help of fables. It must be added that the fables as such are alternated—as in the Greek fable—with tales and novelettes and that often the characters opposing those who narrate the fable and frame it introduce maxims, proverbs and similes; we will discuss this at greater length later. On many occasions all this material, which is in verse, originates from proverbs or quotations from previous authors. Thus the fables and tales function as exempla and the verses (plus certain passages in prose) fulfil the same function as the promythia, epimythia, closing statements and maxims in the Greek fable, although in this case the organization is different.

On the other hand, it must be noted that, within Sanskrit literature, the *Panchatantra* is a work of *nīti* which is set in contrast to those of *śāstra*. The latter are manuals on conduct in life and politics, supported by fixed, abstract rules. The *nīti*, on the other hand, does not aspire to perfection; it seeks the possible, with recourse to decisive action, ingenuity and even deception, which may even allow you to escape destiny. This is exemplified with human fables and anecdotes, neither more nor less than in the Greek fable.[22] The *nīti* evidently came about as a reaction against *śāstra* literature, which it criticizes. The correspondence between the date of the *Panchatantra*—not established precisely, moreover—and the moment when, after the conquest of Alexander, close contact was established between Greek and Indian cultures, and that when the collections of Greek fables had just appeared and were in the process of fully evolving, makes it likely that the latter were not external to this first redaction of the Indian fables in the form of a collection; we will deal with this in greater detail in Part III, Chap. V. There are indeed features in common, confessedly, between the two collections; they aim to offer practical, realistic teachings on human life, teachings that do not disdain to resort to satire, deception, irony, that are centred

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[22] Cf. R. Geib, *Zur Frage nach der Urfassung des Panchatantra*, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 21 ff.

on common ideas such as the power of nature and fortune or destiny, that once again make intelligence and cunning prevail over brute force. The Greek collections of fables could very well have been used as stimuli for the creation of the *Panchatantra* to test out a new type of instruction, the *nīti*, in contrast with the dominant *śāstra*. This of course starting with the fables of any origin that existed in India, to which others of Greek origin could possibly have been added.

Yet we must have recourse to different resources to date the original *Panchatantra*. It interests us now, for the study of its archaic materials, which will be continued in the chapter on its Greek materials, to give an idea of the date of its independent composition and to also give an idea of its different recensions. As we stated earlier, there are numerous fables that are only in the Medieval recensions, the so-called *textus simplicior*[23] and the so-called *textus ornatior*.[24] This does not mean that these added fables cannot, in some cases, be ancient too, but any critical study must take this circumstance into account.

The oldest text of the *Panchatantra* is the so-called *Tantrākhyāyika*, a recension discovered by J. Hertel at the beginning of the century in various manuscripts from Kashmir, to which he devoted numerous works and an edition with a translation.[25] Hertel and all the Indianists have recognized that this recension dates back to an earlier period, as it is relatively closely related, moreover, to certain others, that is to say:

1. The *Panchatantra of the South*, a long series of manuscripts from the Deccan, of which a critical edition as such does not exist.[26]

2. The lost recension on which depends the translation, also lost, into Pahlavi (about 550 AD); deriving from this are the Syriac translation from about 570 and the Arabic translation by al-Muqaffa and

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[23] Translated by Benfey. Cf. the ed. by E. Kiehlhorn and G. Bühler, Bombay 1885–1886.

[24] Published by J. Hertel, *The Panchatantra-Text of Pūrṇabhadra* . . ., Cambridge 1912 and translated by A. W. Ryder, among others.

[25] Cf. particularly: "Ueber das *Tantrākhyāyika*, die Kasmirische Rezension des *Panchatantra*", *ASGW* 22, 1904, no. 5; "*Tantrākhyāyika*. Die älteste Fassung des *Panchatantra*", *AKGWG* 1910; "*Tantrākhyāyika*. Aus des Sanskrit übersetzt . . .", Leipzig and Berlin 1909; cf. also *Das Panchatantra. Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung*, Leipzig 1914.

[26] There is an essay in J. Hertel, "Das Südliche Panchatantra. Sanscrit-Text", in *ASGW* 24, 1906, no. 5. Comprising a group with this are the Nepalese recension (very incomplete) and the *Hitopadeśa*, a collection with a very free composition.

from the latter, in turn, a long series of Medieval translations, including the Spanish one from 1251. This whole branch has parallel titles to those of the Spanish version: *Calila e Dimna* or *Cuentos de Vidpai.*[27]

According to Hertel, in his work on the *Panchatantra* cited above, the first group of recensions and the one translated into the Pahlavi formed one a branch of the tradition, together with two Medieval texts (with the *ornatior* fundamentally derived from the *simplicior*), although these Medieval texts contained a large number of additions. This branch would in fact be a sub-branch of the K group, whose second sub-branch would be represented to us by some fables introduced by Kṣemendra and Somadeva in the 11th century AD, in their translations into Sanskrit of an earlier poem, called *Bṛhatkathā* and composed in a dialect of Kashmir. This whole group K as a whole would be one of the two branches of the tradition, the second being constituted by the *Tantrākhyāyika.*

Thus, according to Hertel, the various recensions conclusively date back to an archetype that already contained corruptions and starting from here the tradition split into two twice over; one branch of the *Tantrākhyāyika* is (Ś) and the other is (K); in the latter there are in turn two branches, Br (versions in the transl. of the *Bṛhatkathā*) and NW (the group that includes the *Panchatantra of the South* and also the Pahlavi version and Medieval recensions).

This position is challenged by Edgerton, who, in an article of *AJPh* mentioned above,[28] postulated that the *Tantrākhyāyika*, the group of the *Panchatantra of the South*, the *textus simplicior* and the Pahlavi recension conclusively derive independently from the original. He therefore attempted to reconstruct this original through the correspondences between these various recensions. However, the study devoted to the theme by R. Geib, to which we have also made reference, returns in general terms to Hertel's *stemma*. In his view,[29] within K (the branch that does not include the *Tantrākhyāyika*) there is a second bipartition, a branch centred around the *Panchatantra of the South* and another

[27] On this branch, see J. Vernet, *La cultura hispano-árabe en Oriente y Occidente*, Barcelona 1978, pp. 310 ff., which summarizes the current state of our knowledge. See also below, pp. 707 ff. The Castilian text was published by J. E. Keller and R. W. Linker, *El libro de Calilla e Dimna*, Madrid 1967.

[28] "The Hindu Beast Fable in the Light of Recent Studies", *AJPh* 36, 1915, pp. 44–69 and 253–279.

[29] Cf. pp. 143 ff.

that includes the versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*, the Pahlavi and the *textus simplicior*. The *ornatior* supposedly came not only from this, but also from the *Tantrākhyāyika* and a text closely related to the *Panchatantra of the South*.

What most interests us in this context, in any case, is the chronology of these recensions and the fables they contain. In 1904 Hertel, who suggests that 16 of the 41 fables of the *Tantrākhyāyika* and a number of verses are interpolated—we will return to this later—proposed the date of around 200 BC for its predecessor, the archetype on which our whole tradition depends; Edgerton tentatively endorses this date in *AJPh* 1915. To support his argument, he uses certain cultural information, such as the wooden temples, and the citing of Cānakya (that is to say, Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya, the minister of Chandra Gupta I, who reigned starting from 322 BC) as somebody close in temporal terms. The date of the *Tantrākhyāyika* would supposedly not be very much later, while the so-called N-W, that is to say, the prototype from which the *Panchatantra of the South* supposedly came, is usually placed at about 500 AD, on account of its containing a citing of Kalidaśa; the original Sanskrit of the Pahlavi translation must have been more or less contemporary, judging by the date of the latter, and also judging by the common elements, the prototypes of the other recensions; although not, of course, their Medieval reworkings and expansions.

We therefore have a more or less altered text of a recension from the Hellenistic Age and derivations of others from the Gupta era, about 500 AD. It is significant that, although it is not exactly possible to reconstruct the archetype from which all these lines originate, the differences in relation to the collected fables are very small. That is to say, the fabulistic basis of the *Tantrākhyāyika*, whatever its undoubtedly mixed origin might have been (Mesopotamian, Indian, Greek), hardly increased at all in Antiquity. And if it was influenced by the Greek fable, this influence was exercised once and for all initially, and was not repeated, or hardly repeated, later. Unless, of course, we accept that the new fables that were incorporated into the *Panchatantra* in the Middle Ages, that is, in the 10th and 11th centuries for the *textus simplicior* and in exactly 1199 for the *ornatior* of Pūrṇabhadra, come from a popular tradition, whose sources must in turn be traced and that there is no a priori reason to rule out the possibility of their being Greek, among other possibilities. But this does not concern us at this stage; the important thing to grasp

is that in any study, as a methodological principle, we need to separate the fables of the ancient recensions (the differences between which are fewer) and those of the Medieval expanded recensions.

Now, returning to the original *Panchatantra*, we must point out that Hertel, in his book of 1914, modified his previous proposal, moving the origin of the work to the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century.[30] We must argue against such an early dating, from the standpoint of the relationships with the Greek fable. But let us offer some explanations here. To sum up, they consist in the fact that, after O. Stein's work, the idea tends to be rejected that Kauṭilya, the minister of Chandra Gupta (a dubious personality, moreover), was the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, or manual of politics, which has reached us and whose quotations in the *Tantrākhyāyika* (and, supposedly, in the original *Panchatantra*) Hertel considered as proof that this latter work was only a short distance in time from the book by Kauṭilya. On the other hand, Geib has proven it likely that the five verses that are common to the *Panchatantra* and to our *Arthaśāstra* are interpolations in the former and in both originate from a third source. He also repeats that our *Arthaśāstra*, known by the *Panchatantra* judging by quotations in prose, was not by Kauṭilya, but from later, although it had had contact with the latter's work.

That is to say, there are arguments, from the viewpoint of Indian philology, for bringing forward the date of the original *Panchatantra*. It may even be thought, as Edgerton does,[31] that its cultural and spiritual landscape seems to refer it to the age of Hellenism. On this basis, it is the comparison of the *Panchatantra* with the Greek fables that, we believe, it borrows, that enables us to date it more precisely, since we have reached certain conclusions in this book on the chronology of the collections of Greek fables. We will defer the theme, then, to Part III, Chap. 5.

Yet we must deal here briefly with the problem of the fables that appear in each recension. It is clear that the fables that were more recently included in the collections must be viewed with special care when determining the archaic elements of the Indian fable (and, also,

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[30] Cf. J. Hertel, *Das Panchatantra cit.*, pp. 9 ff., 20 ff. Opposing this view, O. Stein "Megasthenes und Kauṭilya" in *SAWW* 191, 1922, no. 5, pp. 12 ff., 297 ff., and R. Geib, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 ff.

[31] *The Panchatantra, cit.*, p. 7, affirms that the work is unlikely to be from before the 2nd century BC (justified by the frequent presence of the Graeco-Latin word *dinara*).

the Greek elements). It is wise to begin this investigation with the oldest material.

We have already stated that this material is very uniform. A study of the book by Hertel, of the work by Edgerton and, particularly, of the tables of distribution of the fables in the various recensions given by Hertel himself in another work[32] shows that approximately the same fables are in the *Tantrākhyāyika*, the group N-W (with an exception, which we will discuss later), the Pahlavi version and those derived from the *Bṛhatkathā*. On the other hand, numerous new fables appear in the *textus simplicior* and the *ornatior* and, we may add, in the *Hitopadeśa*, a collection considerably reworked in Medieval times (between 800 and 1373), although it derives from the N-W group (specifically from the *Panchatantra of the South*). The authors added other fables from collections lost to us or from popular tradition to the traditional fables. The same must be said of the so-called *Tantropākhyana* of Vasubhāga, which contains fifteen "interpolated" tales.[33]

Directing our attention now to the ancient collections, certain discrepancies between them may be due to late interpolations. This is the case of "The Shepherdess and her Lover", which, out of all the recensions, is only present in the *Panchatantra of the South*, and is the only story that Edgerton[34] considers interpolated in it. The same may be said of three stories that only appear in Kṣemendra, one of the translators of the *Bṛhatkathā*, with two of them also in the texts *simplicior* and *ornatior*. In contrast, a story that is missing from only one of the two recensions of the *Tantrākhyāyika* (the α), "The Old Man, his Young Wife and the Thief", in III undoubtedly represents a loss that occurred in a secondary phase. The same must probably be thought of the absence of certain fables from the *Panchatantra of the South* and the Pahlavi version, as in the case of that of Citranga in II, that of weaver Somalika in I (also absent from the *Bṛhatkathā*); or certain fables that are only in the Pahlavi version and the Medieval ones (III, "The Ass Disguised as a Tiger"). At other times

[32] "Das Südliche *Panchatantra*. Uebersicht über den Inhalt der älteren Panchatantra-Recensionen bis auf Pūrṇabhadra", *ZDMG* 58, 1904, pp. 1 ff. It is a pity that the Pahlavi tradition is only represented by the Syriac version. Likewise within the frame of his book *Tantrākhyāyika* from 1909, "Einleitung", pp. 100 ff., with considerable detail on the ancient tradition.

[33] Cf. G. T. Artola, *Panchatantra Manuscripts from South India*, Madras 1957, also with information on the whole question of the various recensions.

[34] *Art. cit.*, p. 58.

the situation offers possible alternative solutions. When, as in the fable of the astute jackal in I, the *Tantrākhyāyika* goes with the whole tradition except Somadeva, the *Panchatantra of the South* and the Pahlavi version (judging by the Syriac)—an identical case to that of the blue jackal—two different hypotheses can clearly be offered: that these fables of 1. I have been lost from one group of recensions or have been interpolated in another. The same applies in the case of "The Clever Prostitute", only found in the *Tantrākhyāyika* (α) and in the Pahlavi version.

As we can see, there are very few cases, and we believe we have listed them all. Attention must be devoted to them one by one when the problem of the origin of these fables is considered. Edgerton offers his own solution in his attempt at reconstructing the original *Panchatantra.*

Edgerton believes, in short, that the *Tantrākhyāyika* added some stories; Somadeva has added, not eliminated, and there is only one clear interpolation in the *Panchatantra of the South*, which we have already cited. Hertel's positions are more radical, in that he proposes that 16 of the 41 fables and stories of the *Tantrākhyāyika* do not belong to the original *Panchatantra*; supposedly they would either have entered the archetype t, crossing over from there to the whole tradition, or have entered the *Tantrākhyāyika* itself. That is to say, in his view it is not only the fables that are in the *Tantrākhyāyika* and not in other branches that may have been interpolated, but also others present in the whole tradition. Consider, in any case, that these would always be quite ancient interpolations, if we place the original *Panchatantra* (as he does) at about 300 and the *Tantrākhyāyika* somewhat later.

To tell the truth, Hertel's method is quite subjective and Geib's later is also somewhat so. In his book,[35] Geib attempts to refute some of these proposals, but continues to consider at least three fables to be interpolated in the form in which we know them: "King Śivi", "The Ass without Ears or Heart" and "The Weaver Somalika". I am not at all certain that he is right, even in these cases, although the story of King Śivi displays a rather isolated example of Buddhist or Jainist mentality in the fables and that of Somalika, as we have seen, has problems of transmission. The fable of the ass without ears

[35] Pp. 95 ff.

or heart is so closely related to the Greek fable of the ass, the fox and the stag in Archilochus that the view that it is not ancient is highly debatable, as it is also present throughout the tradition; the argument that it is a copy of another fable, in I 13, in which the camel takes part, is specious, as the fable of the ass is much less altered and more closely related to the Greek.

So, in short, with some slight doubts in minor cases, the *Tantrākhyāyika*, with its 41 fables—a very small number in comparison with the Greek collections—conserves some material from the original *Panchatantra*, some material from the Hellenistic Age. If at all, it has lost very few fables, which are conserved in the other ancient recensions.

b) *Some General Considerations*

We have stated earlier that if there are Mesopotamian elements in the Greek fable, as it is clear that there are, it proves equally likely that a Mesopotamian influence exists on the Indian fable and that the study of this makes it possible to reconstruct ancient Mesopotamian fabulistic elements which in turn influenced the Greek fable.

We have already stated earlier that such research is not easy. Firstly, many Indian fables may have been indigenous, either Indo-European or from the peoples established in India from times prior to the Indo-Europeans. No more and no less than in the case of Greece. It must be added that both the Indo-European fables and the Mesopotamian fables had to be adapted to fit the Indian environment and that this occurred to a greater extent than in Greece. In India it is the jackal that plays the role of the fox; in Greece the fables are populated with lions, monkeys, elephants and other animals that are non-existent there.

Secondly, the Mesopotamian fable was able to enter India at any time between the primitive Sumerian period in about 2500 and the conquest of Alexander, as Iran has always been a much travelled transit route. Given the relative uniformity of the Mesopotamian tradition and the late character of the Indian collections, the problem of the date of entry of the Mesopotamian fable to India is hard to resolve.

Consider, for example, the inhabiting of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia by peoples of Indian language in the second millennium BC, a presence of which there is evidence from the 15th century in documents found in Cappadocia and in others, written in Mitanni lan-

guage, found in the Hittite archives of Bogazkoy. The relationship may, however, be more recent, through the Persians, who in Darius' time transformed the region of the Indus into a Persian satrapy.

Thirdly, the true problem lies in separating the possible Mesopotamian material from the influence of the Graeco-Latin fable (which, for its part, may have been exercised in various stages), and from the possible influence of the Indian fable in the Mediterranean world. That is to say, when there is an approximate correspondence between an Indian and a Graeco-Roman fable, an attempt must be made to establish whether this correspondence is due to the common Mesopotamian model or to later influences in one direction or the other. Today, however, we can only proceed up to a certain point in our attempt to resolve this problem. In our Part III we will make some further comments on this. For the moment we will simply pose this question: is it possible to trace a Mesopotamian, pre-Greek, influence, to help us reconstruct the fabulistic traditions in the Indian fable which the Greeks encountered, in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, when they began to write fables, in the 7th century BC?

An attempt must be made to answer this question from different angles. The first concerns the literary genre within which the fables are framed; the second, that relating to general characteristics or features of groups of fables and specific correspondences between certain fables. First let us look at the first point.

If we leave till later the problem of the Greek influence on the origin of the Indian collections of fables and on the Indian fable itself as a genre, we have to distinguish two classes of elements in a collection such as the *Panchatantra*:

a) Indian Features. The mixture of prose and verse, frequently including maxims or illustrations taken from earlier literature, is obviously a feature of Indian literature that clearly goes beyond the *Panchatantra*.[36] And likewise the long and diffuse style of the fables of this work, full of digressions, in contrast with the fables of the Greek collections. It is undoubtedly from here that the system comes whereby within a fable others are framed, narrated by the animals of the first, sometimes reaching various levels of narration until the frame-fable is re-encountered. The best example of this is book I of the *Panchatantra*, which (in the *Tantrākhyāyika*) contains no less than 17

[36] Cf. J. Hertel, *Das Tantrākhyāyika, cit.*, "Einleitung", pp. 20 ff.

fables and stories included within the fable of the two jackals, like Chinese boxes. But this does no more than take procedures of this type in the Indian epic to the extreme.

As regards content, the fables as a whole not only present an animal world and a society with an Indian character, but they also very frequently reflect the world of the Brahmanic religion, of a Vaishnava sect, according to Hertel.

b) Mesopotamian Features. Now, if the Greek collections might have offered the stimulus for the drafting of the *Panchatantra* and if devices very proper to Indian literature were introduced into this draft, we do not believe this is all there is to be said. We think that in India, before the arrival of the Greeks, there must have been precedents of fables and anecdotes that were linked, not used in isolation as an example, and linked precisely by means of devices that we have seen functioning in Mesopotamian literature. This is demonstrated because:

1. The whole *Panchatantra* is an organization within a frame similar to others that we have seen in Mesopotamia; that is, the teaching given by the brahman Viṣṇuśarma to the three children of the king Amarasati, by means of fables and stories. What has been done has been simply to increase the number of fables and stories, while eliminating proverbs, instructions, etc., or including all this within the fables themselves, undoubtedly due to the Greek influence, as we have said. But the scheme is the same.

Note, on the other hand, that the theme of the *Ahikar* is repeated, approximately, in the fable in the *Panchatantra*, pp. 49 ff. R. (not in the *Tantrākhyāyika*), the story of the king's secretary who is unjustly dismissed from his position, who regains favour. The theme of the king and the secretary or vizier is in fact repeated on other occasions, and a large proportion of the wisdom literature contained in the proverbs and fables of the *Panchatantra* must be interpreted precisely as the instruction given to a prince or king; by the jackal to the lion, for example.

2. There is also a trace of the device used in the Mesopotamian "dialogues", consisting of a battle between the two opposing characters using animal proverbs or fables; we also find this device used in Greece. Now, something that is only occasionally used in Mesopotamia is customary here; we need only read the beginning of book I, in which the two jackals rebut each other by these means, that is,

narrating fables and rendering proverbs or instructions in verse. This use of the fable as an "exemplum", which is ancient, is in fact the source of the narrative system that envelopes some fables within others. And throughout the *Panchatantra*, lengthy discussions between the lion and the jackal, the crocodile and the monkey, etc., based on proverbs, instructions, similes, etc.—that is to say, material comparable to that which we have found in Mesopotamia—also include fables. Thus we often find small verses including fables which, moreover, are not developed, fables which are usually preceded or followed by a moral. Here are some examples of this:

I, frame, p. 33 H: A foolish swan that, during the night in the sea, more than once bit the reflection of the stars while looking for the stems of the nocturnal lotus and was thus deceived, now does not even bite the white lotuses by day, because he fears that its flowers are the reflections of stars. Thus men who tremble before liars even see a danger in the truth.

II, frame, p. 61 H:[37] The bird sees the bait of the trap from a distance of a hundred and ten *vojana*, but the same bird does not see the rings of the snake, when its time has arrived.
When I see the torment that the demon Rahu (producing eclipses) causes the moon and the sun, that even elephants and snakes are captured, and the poverty into which even the wise fall, I think: "Destiny is powerful . . .",

This combination of proverb or instruction and short fable is familiar to us in Mesopotamian literature, as we have seen; on the other hand, it sometimes refers to recognizedly ancient fables. And it maintains the characteristic parallelistic and antithetic style. This demonstrates that verses that begin a lengthy fable, such as that of the elephants freed from their trap by the mice, may in fact originate from this same tradition; the long fable is no more than a development. I am referring, for example, to *Panchatantra*, p. 273 R.:

> Make friends, make friends, whether they are strong or weak: remember the captive elephants who were freed by mice.

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[37] On the way of citing, cf. below, p. 321, n. 42.

The presence of these two devices, on one hand in Mesopotamia, on the other in the *Panchatantra*, seems sufficient proof that they were not independent; all the more so if, as we will see, both are re-encountered in Greece, in my view, on account of Mesopotamian influence, see below. It might be thought that their presence in the *Panchatantra* is a chance occurrence. Far from it. Without any claims to exhaustiveness, we present some Indian works (known directly or through their descendants) displaying similar characteristics:

1. Through Medieval versions in numerous languages, of which the oldest is the Castilian one commissioned by Prince D. Fadrique in 1253, which is known by the title of *El libro de los engaños e los asayamientos de las mugeres*, there is knowledge of an ancient work of Indian origin, entitled using the name of the philosopher entrusted by a king with the instruction of his son: Cendubete in Castilian, Sindban in Syriac, Syntipas in Greek, Sendebar in Hebrew, etc.[38] The work comes from a lost Indian text through Pahlavi—as in the case of the *Panchatantra*—with Siddhapati as the original name of the sage.[39]

In this work the theme of the philosopher who teaches the king's son is combined with that of the evil stepmother who slanders the king's son, that of the sages who defend his innocence and the stepmother who accuses him and that of the final intervention of the prince. Here we find the device of debate by means of opposing fables and stories.

2. The biographical frame to impart teaching, sometimes by means of fables, sometimes by means of exempla, instruction, etc., is found in Indian works such as the *Jātaka*, already mentioned, the *Milindapanha*,[40] a dialogue between the Greek king Menander and an Indian ascetic; the *Thousand and One Nights*, of Indian origin, as is known, in which the frame is shifted to the story of the Sultan and his wife Shahrazad, who delays her death by telling stories. From here there is a move to works which are already more properly biographical, but which conserve the same elements, such as the *Life of Buddha*,

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[38] Cf. A. González Palencia, *Versiones castellanas del "Sendebar"*, Madrid-Granada 1946, with an interesting introduction, and also the edition by J. E. Keller, *El libro de los engaños*, Chapel Hill 1959 (there is another prior to 1953).

[39] Cf. G. T. Artola. "Sindibad in M. Spanish", *Modern Language Notes* 71, 1956, pp. 37 ff. and J. Vernet, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

[40] Cf. "Elementos cínicos . . .", p. 322 and below Part III, Chap. 4, p. 670.

which crossed over to the West as *Barlaam and Josaphat* and the *Life of Milarepa*.[41]

3. It must also be noted that the scheme of the teachings imparted by the father to the son or by the philosopher to the prince or king reached the West both in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages; fundamentally, based on Indian models. In our article "Elementos cínicos . . ." and also below (Part III, Chap. IV) we argue in favour of this transmission in Antiquity, in the case of the *Dialogue of Alexander and the Gymnosophists* (the king and the philosophers), the *Life of Secundus* (this philosopher and the emperor Hadrian), the dialogue of Apollonius of Tyana and the brahman Iarcas in Philostratus, *VA* III 18 ff. As we will consider later the subject of the *Life of Aesop*, which was influenced by the *Ahikar*, or other instructions from the Classical Age, in which the influence must have been Mesopotamian or from Asia Minor, we will not go into these here. But we will at least mention Medieval imitations of the theme, which were undoubtedly indirectly influenced by Indian models; these include the *Disciplina Clericalis* by Petrus Alfunsus (theme of the father and the son), the *Conde Lucanor* by Don Juan Manuel (theme of the king and his philosopher) and other works besides. The frame was later varied in works such as the *Decameron*, the *Canterbury Tales*, etc., but the origin was always the same.

Of course, in works such as these—which, moreover, absorb a variety of fabulistic and storytelling material, not only Indian—the role of the fable is of greater or lesser importance depending on the case. Yet the model of teaching and even amusement by means of fables and stories conclusively comes from India and, through India, from Mesopotamia. A new echo of this model can be seen in the use of fables in disputes, such as those used by Trotaconventos and Doña Garofa in the *Libro del Buen Amor* (which, on the other hand, is a good model for the mounting of fables within a biographical frame).

This presence in India of collections of fables and stories, in which these are used for teaching within a restricted biographical frame and sometimes also used in a debate, is too extensive to be purely coincidental. It is evidence of the existence of ancient collections, of Mesopotamian inspiration, at least in their organization, although they may later have been expanded and modified, certainly based

[41] See the transl. by J. Bacot and M. Serrat, Barcelona, Work, 1971.

on a Greek model. This can be demonstrated with an even greater certainty if it is shown that the fables of the Indian collections sometimes present general features, sometimes other specific and detailed ones, that link them with those of Mesopotamia (and, through them, with the Greeks, occasionally derived from the same model).

c) *Specific Themes and Fables in Mesopotamia, India and Greece*

As we have said, leaving aside the question of the framing of fables in collections and of the survival of ancient elements such as the exemplum-fable, proverbs or instructions, accompanied or not by summarizing similes and fables, etc., we must consider either general or particular features linking fables or groups of fables with other Mesopotamian and Greek ones, sometimes even Egyptian ones. This is a study that we can perform more effectively now than in the past, when the stratification of the Greek fable had not been achieved, nor was the Mesopotamian fable at all well-known; yet this study still presents considerable difficulties, particularly:

1. The reconstruction of the original *Panchatantra* has not been achieved. Specifically, Edgerton's proposal was placed in doubt later on, by Geib in particular. And it cannot be completely replaced by the *Tantrākhyāyika*, which, although clearly the more archaic collection, has added elements, on the extent of which there is discussion, moreover.[42]

2. The comparison is also difficult for other reasons. Our knowledge of the Mesopotamian fable is limited; we often do not know in the case of the Greek fable whether a particular fable is Hellenistic or from earlier times (and similar doubts occur with regard to the Egyptian fable). On the other hand, we have seen that many themes of the Classical Greek fable were continued in the Hellenistic fable; it is therefore not easy to separate the two ages. Thus, the themes of nature, the abuse of the strong and intelligent deception, which appear throughout the Greek fable and also in the Indian fable, are difficult to date. On the other hand, it is likely that themes such as that of destiny or the damage caused by wealth, which also appear in the Indian fable, are not ancient, but are really Indian or Hellenistic Greek.

[42] Cf. on all this below, pp. 707 ff. It is obligatory, definitively, to base the comparison on the *Tantrākhyāyika*, but with reservations in the case of some fables and

Let us look, however, at some indications that make the presence of ancient fabulistic themes that also occur in Greece and that can definitely be described as Mesopotamian likely in India. I will concern myself with those whose Mesopotamian origin is mere conjecture.

I am referring, first and foremost, to the theme of the lion ruling over the animals, accompanied by his servant the fox (in India the jackal). It is clear that, in the Greek fable, the lion is an animal brought in from the outside, whereas it is original in the Mesopotamian and the Egyptian fable. The theme of the kingdom of the lion appears in India; he is accompanied by his court of animals, among whom the jackal stands out, as we have said, but we also find the monkey, the ass, the camel, etc. This kingdom is already recognizable in Archilochus, particularly in the fable in which the stag is attracted to the cave (*Epode* III); it is also implied by "The Fox and the Lion" (*Epode* IV) and by the role of the fox together with the false king, the monkey, in *Epodes* VI and VII. In the first of these, on the other hand, the theme appears of the election of the king of the animals. What is more, in the Greek fables of the collections the theme of the lion and his court, of his ministers the fox and the monkey, is much more developed.

We are dealing here, quite evidently, with a Mesopotamian theme. The lion presiding as king over the animals already appears on a lyre from the first dynasty of Ur, about 2500, and on a seal from a little later the animals play music to the lion, sitting on a throne.[43] It seems clear, then, that the theme of the kingdom of the lion both in the Greek fable and in the Indian, into which the whole of book I of the *Panchatantra* is organized, derives from here. The lion and his two servants the jackals are there; a single jackal servant appears in other places and on other occasions.

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adding on rare occasions, at least in tentative form, some of the ancient recensions. In a second phase there may have been recourse to fables added in the Medieval recensions.

Our way of proceeding, from now on, will be as follows. When a fable is in the *Tantrākhyāyika*, we will cite it by book and number, adding the page in the translation by Hertel (p. . . . H.); when it is absent from here and is in the *textus ornatior*, we will cite it from the translation by Ryder, as above (p. . . . . R.); if need be, in fables that are also absent from here, we will use the translation of the *Hitopadeśa* by J. Alemany (Madrid 1895) and the translation by S. Rice, *The Ancient Indian Fables and Stories*, London 1924, which adds a variety of material, sometimes with origins that are difficult to work out.

[43] Cf. E. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel*, Darmstadt 1977, p. 45.

In our written evidence of Mesopotamian fables, it is of course not totally clear that the fox appears at the service of the lion. In the proverbs in collection 2 he appears simply as a boastful and cowardly animal, who takes advantage when he can (proverbs 2.64 ff., for example, 66: "The fox carried a stick: whom do I hit?—The fox carried a legal document: whom do I sue?"). Now, in the "dispute" between the lion, the dog, the wolf and the fox, insofar as its fragmentary condition allows this to be recognized, the lion is the animal of unquestionable power and the fox fixes things to get out of difficulties with his cunning (cf. below, pp. 357 f.). He has a similar role in relation to the wolf in *Pop. Saying*, pp. 44 ff. (in Lambert). This is already in a certain sense the same fox who makes fun of the monkey and performs so many clever actions in the Greek fable, who sets the lion against the bull or makes him devour the camel and the ass, etc. in the Indian fable. On the other hand, cf. below, p. 331 on the role of the fox (or jackal) as servant in Egypt.

The theme of the kingdom of the lion definitely derives from his role as royal symbol and as guardian of tombs and royal palaces in Mesopotamia and also in Anatolia and Egypt and even in Greece. As regards the role of the jackal or the fox as servants, this comes from these animals' habit of following the lion to devour the remnants of his victims.

Let us move on now to discuss completely different theme, that of the eagle and the serpent. It is present in Greece in portents and similes, from Homer on, but is sometimes replaced in the fable, starting from Archilochus, by that of the eagle and the fox; though we may recall that the theme of the confrontation between the eagle and the serpent is also found in Greek fables, starting from Stesichorus.

We have indicated above that the fable by Archilochus of the eagle and the fox is a derivation from the myth-fable of the eagle and the serpent in the Akkadian *Etana*; and we have devoted a detailed study, mentioned above, to this theme. In the Greek fable the serpent is an evil animal and is replaced by the fox. In India there are clear traces of a version of the fable in which the serpent takes part, which is therefore of Mesopotamian origin.

Of course, the theme is not exactly the same. In the Akkadian fable, the eagle lives in a tree and the serpent at the foot of it, with the eagle the treacherous one who devours the serpent's young. The god Shamash helps the serpent to take revenge; this is approximately the same as in the fable by Archilochus, except that the serpent is

replaced by the fox and Shamash by Zeus. In the *Panchatantra* it is the crows (I 4, pp. 22 ff., H.) that live in the tree and the serpent at its foot; they are also on friendly terms, but the latter is the treacherous one; and the jackal takes part, to warn the crow of the trick whereby a king makes the serpent die. The theme is practically duplicated in I 16, pp. 53 ff., H., with the herons, the serpent and the crab as protagonists. The theme has been changed, making the serpent take the role of the bad character, as was often the case (Archilochus also avoided using the good serpent, replacing it with the fox), with the eagle being replaced by another bird and with the jackal coming into play in an identical role to the one he plays at other times together with the lion; the crab is also present. New elements have been introduced, therefore; topical elements, certainly, but the initial element corresponds: the bird and the serpent coexist together with a tree, there is betrayal and the death of the young, the punishment of the culprit. The point of departure is clearly Mesopotamia, as it is for the Greek fable.

In addition to the fables whose Mesopotamian origin is deduced from the themes they contain, which we have mentioned, we can attempt to find some others. But if we look for fables that are specifically documented in the Mesopotamian literature published to date, which, on the other hand, appear in the *Tantrākhyāyika*, we only find one.

"The Eagle and the Tortoise". In H. 259 we find the theme of the tortoise that wants the eagle to teach it how to fly, achieving no more than falling and being destroyed; H. 2 "The Eagle, the Rook and the Shepherd" is certainly derived from this. This theme—at least its beginning—is repeated in the *Panchatantra* I 11, pp. 41 ff. H. The tortoise begs his friends the eagles to take him flying, which they do, but when the jackal makes fun of him, he tries to answer and when he opens his mouth, he falls (the theme of the fable of the crow; furthermore, in the Indian fable the tortoise survives at the end). The Indian fable may seem to have derived from the Greek, given the reference made in the former to the theme of nature. But we believe it repeats a theme from the *Ahikar*, in which the "castle" carried by the eagles consists of a structure into which some children go; in the Indian fable, the eagles take the tortoise into the air by means of a stick that they carry and the tortoise grips.

However, I find another three fables with the same circumstances outside of the *Tantrākhyāyika*; these are sometimes fables of Meso-

potamian origin of which there is no evidence in India until later times, sometimes they are echoes of Greek fables.

We have already said that "The Oak and the Reed" (H. 71) and "The Reed and the Trees" (H. 239), in which the plant that bends with the torrent survives and the one that resists is uprooted, is certainly alluded to by *Ahikar* II 65; cf. also a "dispute" in Gordon, "New Look . . .", page 146. But there is also an allusion in the *Panchatantra*, cf. p. 76 R.: "you do not need means to cause damage to brutish enemies, since they themselves fall like trees on the river bank".

"The Mango and the Walkers" (*Panchatantra*, p. 39 R.). We have already indicated the presence in the *Ahikar* II 28 of the theme of the tree standing at the side of the road, as well as its corresponding theme in Greece (H. 185 "The Walker and the Plane Tree"). We have the theme of the mango and the walkers in the place cited in the *Panchatantra*, in which the mango speaks complaining of the treatment it receives, as does the plane tree in the Greek fable.

"The Elephant and the Mosquito". From Ebeling onwards the Mesopotamian origin of the fable "The Bull and the Mosquito", no. 84 of Babrius, has been indicated; this corresponds very exactly to "The Elephant and the Mosquito" (in Ebeling, p. 50 and Lambert, p. 217); the large animal never even finds out whether the mosquito settles in him or not. This fable's intention is already present in the Sumerian proverb 2.65: "A fox stepped on the foot of a wild bull: did I hurt you?" It has not been previously noted that this fable is also alluded to by the *Panchatantra*, p. 103 R., the difference being that it refers to the lion: "The lion of the jungle, who can take the elephant's life with his claws, disdains to kill the mosquito". As regards this fable, it must be pointed out that it has been proposed,[44] as seems likely, that "Kinglet" must be interpreted instead of "mosquito". But it is significant that a fable precisely about the mosquito and the elephant has been found in Mesomedes (second century),[45] a version with a theme identical to those mentioned.

Apart from this, there are themes whose Mesopotamian (or Mesopotamian and Egyptian) origin is well documented, such as that of the

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[44] R. Borger, "Die Mücke und der Elephant", *Orientalia*, N. S. 33, 1964, p. 462 and M. Stol, "Le 'roitelet' et l'éléphant", *RA* 65, 1971, p. 180.

[45] By Stol specifically, l. c., cf. the fable in E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* I, 1961, p. 31, no. 11.

origin of things (aetiological fables), that of disputes between plants, etc. We will deal with all this later on.

d) *Appendix on Greek and Indian Fables that are possibly Ancient, but not Documented in Mesopotamia*

We often find motifs in fables from India and Greece that are close or identical, of which, however, there is no evidence in Mesopotamia, although they are likely to have this origin. This becomes plausible when these motifs are unlikely to have arisen independently and do not appear to be particularly linked to the Cynic mentality of the Hellenistic fable nor to the Brahmanic mentality of the *Panchatantra*. The likelihood is even greater when we consider Greek fables that appear from ancient times, or others we have seen that have Mesopotamian origin and are already found in Archilochus or Stesichorus. The likelihood of the antiquity of a fable or motif also increases when it is closely linked to ones that are already related of Mesopotamian origin. It is indeed the case that parallel developments may have occurred.

Here we will give an account of these motifs and fables, repeating some material from pp. 288 ff., and adding some other material. We will begin with the fables appearing in Greece in ancient times and, within these, those of which we find echoes in the *Tantrākhyāyika*:

"The Nightingale and the Hawk", a fable by Hesiod, which recalls the story of "The Pigeon and the Hawk" in the *Panchatantra* (III 7, p. 122, a fable of King Śivi, although the fable is recent in its development, as Geib suspects—cf. above, p. 313—the starting point is ancient). The ending is indianized, with the sacrifice of the king to save the pigeon.

We have seen that "The Stag and the Lion" by Archilochus has a parallel in the *Panchatantra*, specifically *Panchatantra* IV 2, pp. 145 ff. H.; in both fables, the fox (or jackal) attracts the weaker animal with deceit, turning it into the lion's prey. The parallel is an exact one: the animal arrives, is deceived twice and the second time it dies; the fox (or jackal) says that it did not have a heart, judging by its stupidity (he had eaten it). What is more, this fable, in its essential features, is found twice more in the *Panchatantra*, the difference being that the camel takes part with the lion and the jackal, playing the role of the victim, (I 9 and 13, pp. 37 f. and 44 ff. H.).

The theme of the sick lion who attracts animals to his cave and the fox who does not want to enter because he sees the tracks of

animals that have entered, and none coming out (H. 1971). This theme is from Archilochus *Epode* IV, and it appears in the *Panchatantra* split up into two fables: *Tantr.* Ap. III, and *Panchatantra*, pp. 156 ff. H. (the jackal makes the lion give away his presence in the cave, then goes away) and p. 458 R. (the monkey discovers the presence of a demon in the lake, there are tracks going in and none coming out; he flees, of course). This latter fable is not in the *Tantrākhyāyika*, as we can see.

Outside the *Tantrākhyāyika* entirely, we still find:

"The Grateful Eagle". This theme is in the fable by Stesichorus and also in Par. Bodl. 144 and 176 Cr. In the former case, the eagle makes sure his benefactor does not drink from the goblet poisoned by the serpent, in the second, he wants to give him a gift (the fox dissuades him), in the third, he stops the wall from falling on him. In the *Panchatantra* (Rice, p. 72), the eagle whom a brahman had saved from a well saves him when he is about to die of hunger and thirst. The tiger and the serpent are also grateful, for the same reason, and only the man is ungrateful. This is an ancient theme, see below on the grateful mice; there are also other examples.

Let us now look at some other fables or motifs in which the antiquity of the Greek documentation is not so great, since they belong to our collections. Let us begin with the fables of the *Tantrākhyāyika*. The Graeco-Indian parallelism may be interpreted either as a common Mesopotamian inheritance, or as a Greek influence on the Indian fable (or, as is less likely, the reverse).

The theme of the animal that does not change although it acquires human form; cf. above, p. 289 on the weasel and the female mouse (*Tantr.* III 9, pp. 125 ff. H.).

The theme of the ass dressed with a lionskin in H. 199 seems to be derived from the theme of the monkey-king dressed the same way, who is the object of mockery when uncovered. The motif is re-encountered in "The Ass with a Panther Skin", *Panchatantra* II 3 (Geib, p. 104) and "The Ass with a Panther (or Tiger) Skin" (*Tantr.* III 1, p. 109 H.). This theme is the same as that of the disguised animals, who are rejected or killed when their true identity is recognized. We have mentioned various examples above, in the Greek fable, the protagonist of which is usually the rook (H. 103, 125, 131, Phaedrus I 3), but also the wolf (Babrius 101). The theme reappears in *Panchatantra* in the fable of the blue jackal (I 8, p. 31 H.), in which he is accepted as king of the animals on account of his blue paint, but is later killed.

The theme of the grateful mouse, who frees the lion from his net (H. 155) or frees the elephants from the ropes of the trap into which they had fallen (*Panchatantra*, R., p. 274). This role of the mouse is repeated, for example, in R., p. 283.

The theme of the frog and the snake; there are elements in common between H. 44 and *Panchatantra* III 10, p. 131 H. (the snake protector of the frogs; they climb on him, and end up eating him). See a variant on p. 388 R.

The theme of the animal that supposedly needs to eat another to get well. This is what the fox succeeds in making the sick lion do with the wolf in H. 269, and what the crocodile's wife attempts to do with the monkey in *Panchatantra* (*Tantr.* IV 1, pp. 140 ff. H).

The theme of the king of the animals. As well as the kingdom of the lion, there is mention in general terms in the Greek fable of the election of the king of the animals (in Archilochus *Ep.* VI), of the kingdom of the rook (H. 123), of the crow (H. 126), of the king of the frogs (H. 44), etc. In the *Panchatantra*, there is in turn talk of the kings of the elephants, the swans, the frogs, etc., and in particular there is a description (III 2, page 110 ff.) of the election of the king of the birds (as in H. 123), which has caused the enmity between crows and owls.

Further themes may be added. Sometimes we suspect that some themes in the *Panchatantra* derive from some of the ones previously mentioned, such as when it is the hare and not the jackal that destroys the lion devouring animals (I 6, pp. 24 ff.). However, see pp. 348 f. on the role of the jackal played by the goat from Sumerian times.

The theme of the lion who foolishly fears the noise produced by a lesser animal, that of the frog (H. 146), that of the cock (H. 84, etc.). In *Panchatantra* (*Tantr.* I frame, pp. 5 ff. H.) he fears the bellow of the bull.

The theme of the bird who advises the other birds not to allow the mistletoe to grow, as they will be hunted with it, as occurs in the Rylands Papyrus (compare my *art. cit.*). In the *Panchatantra* (*Tantr.* III, 11, pp. 138 ff. H. it is a climbing plant, with the help of which the hunter climbs up the tree and sets a trap, into which the birds fall. The adviser bird is now a goose or a swan instead of an owl.

We must add to these other fables or fabulistic themes that are not present in the *Tantrākhyāyika*:

The theme of the brahman and the serpent, who are irreconcilable because the latter killed the former's son. Cf. above (p. 331 R.).

"The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat", cf. above (p. 413 R.).

The theme of the mosquito defeating the elephant: cf. H. 292 and *Panchatantra*, p. 153 R. In H. 267 the mosquito defeats the lion.

The theme of the serpent that keeps a treasure, who is criticized or killed; compare Phaedrus IV 21 and *Panchatantra*, pp. 347 ff. R.

The theme of the wolf cub raised with the dogs, who later reveals his true nature (H. 276). This is closely comparable with the fable of the small jackal raised with the lion cubs in *Panchatantra*, pp. 404 ff. R. The theme of the lion cub that later reveals his nature is already found in Aeschylus, cf. my work in *Emerita* 33, 1965, pp. 1 ff.

It can be easily seen in these fables that, in exactly the same way as in those documented in Mesopotamia, duplications of the Greek fables appear not only in the *Tantrākhyāyika*, but also in subsequent collections, which undoubtedly brought together and added ancient Indian material. We will return to this later.

6. *The Egyptian Fable*

The ancient information on the fable not only points in the direction of Asia (the Assyrian origin of the fable according to Babrius, the attribution of a Phrygian or Thracian homeland to Aesop, the existence of Libyan and Carian fables), but also of Africa. There is mention of Libyan and Egyptian fables. On the other hand, although the lion, a central animal in the fable, is likely to have entered the fable from Asia, the monkey is, a priori, likely to have come from Egypt (although we have already said that the monkey was known in Crete and Thera in the first half of the second millennium), as is the cat. Other African animals, such as the crocodile, may have entered the fable in the Hellenistic Age. But the monkey, as we know, is already found in Archilochus, and cannot be attributed to the recent Egyptian elements of certain fables in our collections. The monkey and the crocodile in the Indian fable must have been introduced into it (as must the tiger, etc.) from the local fauna, independently.

Before attempting to trace the Oriental origins of some Greek fables, we must attempt to give some idea of the Egyptian fable, as we did with the Mesopotamian fable. We mainly follow the book by Emma Brunner-Traut cited above, which brings together and updates the previous bibliography.[46]

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[46] The book by the same author *Tiergeschichten aus dem Pharaonenland*, Mainz 1977,

The Egyptian fable is not as well-known to us as the Mesopotamian fable. To begin with, we do not know within what genres or literary forms it was included, since almost all our documentation is archaeological. Above all, it comes from figurative ostraca fragments found in Der el-Medîne (dynasties 19 and 20, 14th–12th centuries BC). One or two "satirical papyri" do not modify this situation and the older archaeological documents are very inadequate and the only contribution they offer is to make the history of the fable date back to the very distant past, the end of the fourth millennium BC.

Yet not only do we not know, as we have said, the literary genre that "transported" the fables, perhaps along with various other elements, as in Mesopotamia. The fact is that these ostraca and papyri are illustrations without text, so we cannot identify the literary form of the fables themselves.

In fact there are only two exceptions in existence, two fables whose text is conserved more or less complete in Egyptian papyri: the fable of the "dispute between the body and the head" from about 1100, and the "book of the sycamore and the *moringa* tree" (or "palm tree", as it was previously translated). The first fable was found on a scholastic tablet, the second in the inscription on a box of papyri belonging to Amenhotep III—and empty, unfortunately—as well as on a Turin papyrus of the 20th dynasty. This situation does not give us a clear idea of the framing of the fables, but it does show us that the genre of the "dispute", which we have also found in Greece, also existed in Egypt, as in Mesopotamia and other Oriental countries (Israel, for example). We can do no more than hypothesize about the remote origins of same.[47]

At this point it is appropriate to offer some information on these two fables. The Egyptian fable of the body and the head is generally considered to be a model for what appears in Livy II 32.9–11 (the fable of the stomach and the limbs, told by Menenius Agrippa to the Roman populace), which is more or less the same as H. 132 "The Feet and the Stomach". They belong, in fact, to the same type of dispute that includes Bab. 134 "The Serpent's Head and Tail";

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contains beautiful reconstructions of fables, starting from the archaeological documents in particular. They cannot really be taken, however, as well documented fables.

[47] Cf. E. Brunner-Traut, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff. Moreover, the fabulistic form is usual in these cases: a dialogue in which each one of the parties demonstrates their own excellence.

but it is also found in India in the fable of the bird that had two arguing beaks (*Panchatantra*, p. 216 R.). In short, this type is a variant on the genre of the "dispute", which it seems must have existed not only in Egypt, but also in Mesopotamia.

What is likely here is an absolute certainty in the case of the "disputes" between plants. In addition to the Egyptian example, we must include those already mentioned from Mesopotamia, as well as those from Greece, cf. below, p. 356.

There are no Egyptian texts, on the other hand, of other types of fables. The Leiden Papyrus I 384, which dates from the 2nd century AD, but which shows a story from the Hellenistic Age (there is a Greek translation, however), tells the myth of the cat-goddess Tefnut (sometimes a lioness), who had retired to Ethiopia and who is made to return by the messenger of the gods, the monkey-god Thoth; this is the myth of the return of the Sun. The monkey tells Tefnut various fables, as in the *Panchatantra* or the *Life of Aesop*; in fact, these are exemplum-fables that blend in well with the whole tradition of the fable, whether Mesopotamian or Greek. I do think, however, in contrast with Brunner-Traut's view, that these fables—and very specifically that of the vulture and the cat and that of the lion and the mouse, the only ones related explicitly—are derived from Greek fables, obviously in expanded form. I will concern myself with this theme in the chapter devoted to the diffusion of the Greek Hellenistic fable. I suspect that another demotic text, which tells the fable of the swallow who dried up the sea because it had not protected her young,[48] is also of Greek origin; I refer the reader to the place cited.

We will remain, then, with the illustrations referring to fables. From these we can deduce the existence of the fable of the fight between the cats and the mice, with the initial victory of the latter, with the cats turned into the former's servants, and their final defeat; all of this explains aetiologically the enmity between the two animal species. This was a very widespread fable in Egypt, which we know on account of numerous illustrations, from the 14th century BC to the Coptic wall paintings of the 7th/8th centuries AD, and which can be sufficiently well reconstructed through the echoes of it re-

[48] On this fable and the previous ones, cf. E. Brunner-Traut, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff.

maining in Turkish and Arabic literatures (and later in the European ones).[49] The origins of the fakir-cat in the Persian poem from the 14th century, a work by Obeid Zakani, may be found in the ascetic-cat of a known Indian fable from the *Panchatantra* (*Tantr.* III 4, pp. 1 ff. H., cf. H. 79); however, since Egypt is the place where the cat was domesticated for the first time, it is likely that this Indian fable and various related Greek fables originate from Egypt. We will look further into this theme in the place indicated above.

Apart from the fable of the war between cats and mice, we have mostly reconstructed isolated motifs from the Egyptian fable. Even so, it is worthwhile to relate some of these:

1. Animal-king: we find animals serving or worshipping others, sometimes seated on a throne, specifically, the mouse, the ass and the fox. But not the lion, despite his role as guardian of tombs and symbolic animal of the pharaoh. Brunner-Traut's conclusions on this theme,[50] are based above all on the papyrus from Leiden mentioned above, which many suspect contains Greek fabulistic material.

2. Animal-servant: in this role we find the crocodile, the fox, the cat and the monkey. At other times there are animals worshipping another or approaching a temple, such as the cat, the goat, the jackal, the dog.

3. Animal-musicians and dancers. A very common motif. The animals occasionally form an orchestra, like a palace choir. Specifically, we are referring to the lion, the crocodile, the monkey and the ass. But there are also animals who dance, specifically, the he-goat dances before the fox, who plays the harp or the oboe; the monkey dances, while he himself plays the oboe. On the other hand, certain animals, such as the lion and the ass or the lion and the gazelle, play draughts or similar games.

4. The theme of the world turned upside-down. We find cats acting as herdsmen for geese, foxes for goats; and animals that work (bear the yoke, cook, etc.). At other times, the theme of the world turned upside-down consists in the fact that, for example, the cat acts as the mouse's servant, as we have already mentioned, or the crow climbs the tree with a ladder while the hippopotamus is among its branches, etc.

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[49] Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.

[50] *Op. cit.*, pp. 51 and 61.

5. Animals who speak: this can be seen from the attitude of some characters on the ostraca, not to mention a series of myths.[51]

In short, in much earlier times than in Greece, particularly starting from the 14th century, but even much earlier, we find fabulistic motifs that remind us of elements already mentioned. We will discuss these parallels, both the general ones and those relating to specific fables, later in this chapter. Certainly, features such as the humanization of the animal world, irony, the world turned upside-down, etc., may have come about in parallel and independently, but knowledge of the Egyptian elements cannot but have reinforced certain indigenous motifs of Greece, whereas, when the animals concerned are extraneous to Greece, such as the monkey and the cat, the whole impetus may have come from Egypt.

However, it is appropriate that we stress the differences once again. These could possibly be:

1. Greater emphasis, in Egypt, given to religious elements. We have already referred to these in relation to acts of worship in which various animals are involved, such the fox and the ass, which in Greece virtually does not occur. We must repeat that in Egypt animals such as the monkey, the dog, the ass, the jackal and the cat are the physical forms taken by gods, the crocodile and the beetle have a sacred character, etc. The bond of worship and myth, on one hand, and fable, on the other, is more alive than in Greece and even than in Mesopotamia.

2. Although the lion and the fox (and the jackal, sometimes difficult to distinguish) are frequently found in the Egyptian fable, they do not appear in the customary relationship between the king of the animals and his clever servant. Neither do we find the theme of the eagle and the serpent. These themes, which are central in the Mesopotamian and Greek fable, seem to be absent here.

3. There are considerable reflections of Egyptian life, such as the animal musicians—imitation of the real choir—the monkey dancers, the cats. On the other hand, there are no fables of the elephant, which disappeared from Egypt in prehistoric times, nor of the horse, introduced by the Hyksos in the 17th century, nor of certain other animals. Furthermore, our documentation must be incomplete, as there are no fables of the beetle, yet it seems normal to suppose

[51] On all this, cf. E. Brunner-Traut, pp. 7 ff., 33 ff., 51.

that this animal, which appears in a well-known Greek fable succeeding in making Zeus punish the eagle, would have taken on this role in Egypt. On the possible influence of the Egyptian fable on the Greek fables of the monkey, the cat, the beetle or on that of the flute-playing wolf, cf. below, p. 355.

We cannot, then, place the fable within the Egyptian literature of instruction, nor are there any collections. Nor do we see clearly in it a character of criticism or threat, as there is in Mesopotamia and Greece. Yet in spite of everything, a series of features that we have mentioned do correspond, through parallel development or direct influence, with others in the Greek fable. Though in fact the theme of the world turned upside-down, the victory of the weak over the strong and of irony are inseparable from the fable generally.

II. *Oriental Fable and Greek Fable*

1. *Genres in Which the Fable is Included*

We have seen that in Greece the fable appeared in the context of animalistic and anecdotic—if the word is applicable—genres, also in connection with the myth; these fables were always "exempla" set within more lengthy genres, exempla displaying common features as regards themes and structure. Only gradually did the fable genre begin to take shape within these, without, however, ever being defined in a totally clear and precise manner. Within this genre we have referred to agonal fables and aetiological fables and in both we have found *agones* in the most literal meaning of a confrontation between animals, natural beings or plants in terms of their excellence or nature.

This whole fabulistic panorama is also offered to us, with greater or lesser clarity, in Mesopotamia and in Egypt. It is in the former location, however, as we have already stated earlier, that we can best see its two aspects, namely the setting of the animalistic fable, together with other elements in connection with it, within more extensive genres, and its types and structure. Let us begin with the first point.

An exception must be made for the fable of "debate", which in Mesopotamia and, so it seems, in Egypt, had an independent expression; that is to say, each of these fables, with its "frame", constituted

a work, and were not illustrations or exempla in a longer story. In the other cases, it is extremely characteristic that the fable appears, in both Mesopotamia and Greece, as an illustration for these long stories alongside other sub-genres to which we have referred. There is no doubt that in Greece they all have a common origin, in a religious and festival setting, a "iambic" setting, which we have described; in Mesopotamia it is more difficult for us to capture that original setting, from the more distant past, although we have indeed identified religious connections on occasions. Now, there is not doubt that the crossing over of all these sub-genres into Greek literature was favoured by their presence in Mesopotamian literary genres of greater antiquity that were known in Greece.

We can also sustain this thesis for the epic, although Homer is full of "instructions" based on maxims and myths, similes and portents too, but not fables. All this also occurs in the epics and cosmogonic poems of Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, in which fables also tended to be included, judging by the fable of the eagle in *Etana* and by comparison with the Indian epic. Except that, in this case, Homer did not follow this model. His poems have their own characteristics, which exclude the fable.

Yet it is the work of Hesiod that really has relevance in this context, very specifically *Works and Days*. As West saw very well in his edition cited by us earlier, this work falls within the works of "instruction" of Mesopotamia and Egypt. It constitutes a frame totally comparable to those we have learned to recognize there, consisting of the instructions Hesiod gives to his brother Perses, the unjust man who, helped by unjust judges, devoured the country estate of the former. In these "instructions" there is complaint, attack and instruction in succession, using maxims, myths and a fable, the first in Greek literature, namely the fable already cited of the hawk and the nightingale, undoubtedly of Oriental origin, since we have found a trace of it in Indian literature.

The *Works and Days* are, then, the equivalent both of the "Instruction" and of various Mesopotamian dialogues and lamentations and its difference from the collections of proverbs consists in the very existence of the frame and in the conditioning that this imposes. It also combines another equally Oriental genre, that of the calendar of agricultural work. There is nothing strange in the fact that Hesiod, who also introduced a modified version of the Oriental cosmogonies into Greece, wrote this work, obviously to counteract or respond to

Homer. A man whose family originated from Cyme in Asia, and later moved to Boeotia, where he combined the activities of a poet with the life of a shepherd and farmer, which put him in contact with the realities of everyday life, he clearly took advantage of the resources of Asian wisdom literature to express his own viewpoint.

Thus, irrespective of the quality of a model that this or that Mesopotamian or Egyptian fable may have offered for Greek literature, it is clear that certain genres of wisdom literature, with their "frame" and their mixture of fables, proverbs, etc., were used as a model for the didactic poetry genre within which the first Greek fable appeared, the *Works and Days* by Hesiod. Yet this genre acquired special characteristics in Greece, very specifically the introduction of a preface derived from the lyric, as was also the case in the *Theogony*.[52]

We not only find this model in Hesiod, however. As we have stated in a book we have just cited, the development of the monody in Greece took place through the expansion of the initial and minimum monody that preceded the dance or the choral song; sometimes, from the one that followed it or that was inserted within it. This expansion, we conclude—we refer the reader to our explanation, which we cannot repeat here—took place by imitation of the Oriental monody, known throughout Asia Minor, whose development took place earlier chronologically than that of Greek poetry. It basically consists in the introduction of the myth, but also of the simile, the maxim, the fable and the anecdote. That is to say, of the same elements of "instruction" that we are encountering, although in the lyric it is the myth that plays the most significant role.

Furthermore, although these elements may to a certain extent come from the epic, in which all of them play a part (except for the fable), they may also come from didactic poetry or "instruction". Archilochus, for example, wronged by Lycambes, whom he threatens and indoctrinates with a fable, that of the eagle and the fox, does no more, in short, than follow the model of Hesiod, except that he contents himself with a single fundamental element of "instruction", a fable, though of course mixed with threats and maxims. And the same is the case when he addresses the politicians of Paros with the fable of the monkey, Neobule with that of the fox that sees tracks going in, but no others coming out of the lion's cave, other characters whom he warns with the anecdotes of the robbed fortune-teller or

[52] Cf. my *Orígenes de la lírica griega*, pp. 59 ff.

of Aethiops the Corinthian, who sold his plot of land in Syracuse for a honey cake. Of course, the same must be said of the fables of Stesichorus, which have the character of a warning to the citizens of Himera or to his friends.[53] And of others by Semonides, Simonides, etc., to which we have referred. Various poems by Solon and Tyrtaeus are also instructions, directed at the Athenians and Spartans respectively; they do not use fables, however, but similes and maxims. Yet above all we have the collection of elegies attributed to Theognis, which, with all the additions that may have accumulated over time, has as its core the teaching of the young Cyrnus by the poet Theognis, by means of maxims, similes, instructions, fables, etc.

Most of the Greek lyric, the monody particularly, is the application of the wisdom literature we have been discussing to a particular circumstance. It consists of advice, warnings, attacks using the traditional resources of this literature, including the fable. Clearly there were Greek precedents, as we have already stated. But to become literary, they undoubtedly needed a model. This model is found in the wisdom literature. It is evident that it was known in Greece, on one hand, because the poem by Hesiod cannot be understood in any other way; on the other, because the *Ahikar* left clear traces in the legend of Aesop and was translated by Democritus. On yet another, because a series of dialogues in the work of Herodotus—but, above all, that of Solon and Croesus in book I (an impossible dialogue, the chronology does not marry)—must be understood on the basis of the Oriental models of the dialogue between the king and the philosopher; the whole legend of the Seven Sages was undoubtedly conceived on the basis of this model, and likewise that of the wise Scythian Anacharsis, like them, the author of maxims.

W. Aly[54] has studied the novellesque character of a series of stories by Herodotus of a style more or less similar to that of Solon and Croesus. Furthermore, this story is the most important from our viewpoint and has been explicitly compared by Aly[55] with the theme of the *Ahikar*; the king tests the sage with his questions, a theme the diffusion of which in Oriental literature and that derived from it, apart from the *Ahikar*, we have already discussed. The sage answers

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[53] Cf. above, pp. 161 ff.

[54] *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seine Zeitgenossen* 1921, 2nd ed., Göttingen 1969.

[55] *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

with maxims, similes and paradoxes and always finds an answer according to the divine order; when he is not heeded, punishment comes—as in the case of Croesus.

Of course, Herodotus does not restrict himself to the story of the dialogue of Solon and Croesus; in his work there are numerous more or less parallel situations. With one or two exceptions (one may be Mardonius, who plays a royal role), there is always a king or a people involved on one hand and a sage on the other, who may be a member of the Council, a foreigner, etc. Major studies have been devoted to the theme, using earlier precedents; one such study is by O. Regenbogen[56] who established the initial scheme, extended by Herodotus, of the Solon/Croesus dialogue and indicated the parallels in the work of the historian (and outside it, such as the themes of the Seven Sages, of Aesop . . .), among other places, in the dialogue of Cyrus and Croesus,[57] in which the defeated Croesus acts in relation to his victor as the "typical adviser" (or "dissuader", *Warner*) of the Oriental story.[58]

Other such studies are that by H. Bischoff, "Der Warner bei Herodot"[59] and that by R. Lattimore, "The Wise Adviser in Herodotus".[60] Sometimes the dominant features are those of the "dissuader", who warns the king or a people, when consulted by same, of the misfortune that will befall them if they do not desist from a certain course of action; sometimes they are those of the wise adviser, who suggests ingenious ways out and solutions to difficult situations; sometimes both features are mixed, and occasionally the themes of the oracle or the dream are also combined. Substantially, however, the approach is always similar.

For example, Gyges advises Candaules not to display his naked wife and, by not heeding this, misfortune befalls the latter (I 8). Bias or Pittacus dissuade Croesus from attacking the Greek islanders, cleverly giving him the false news that the latter are gathering together an army of horsemen against him (I 27). Croesus warns Cyrus against the dangers of mortality (I 207). Artabanus advises Darius not to

[56] O. Regenbogen, "Solon und Krösus", art. from 1930 collected in W. Marg ed., *Herodot*, Munich 1962, pp. 357 ff.

[57] Herodotus I 207, cf. p. 403.

[58] Cf. also F. Hellmann, *Herodots Kroisos Logos*. Berlin 1934, and T. Krischer "Solon und Kroisos", *WSt* 77, 1964, pp. 174–177.

[59] In Marg., *op. cit.*, pp. 302 ff.

[60] *CPh*, 34, 1939, pp. 24 ff.

invade Scythia (IV 83) and to Xerxes not to invade Greece (VII 10). Demaratus explains the value of Sparta to Xerxes (VII 102). Harpagus suggests to Cyrus the stratagem of using camels against horses (I 80). Croesus advises Cyrus to make the Persians become effeminate, in order to govern them more easily (I 155). Hecataeus advises the Ionians to make themselves powerful on the sea, if they plan to rebel (V 36); they do not pay attention and are defeated. Panites of Messenia explains to the Spartans how to find out which of the two royal twins is the older (VI 52), etc.[61]

These stories, combined with novellesque themes and accompanied by maxims, are very frequently explanations of oracles, various clever ideas such as that of the islanders using cavalry against the continent. There is also a fable, that of the fisherman and the fish, although here it is Cyrus who tells this to the Ionians (I 141). There is nothing strange in this; Croesus, when defeated, acts as adviser to the victor Cyrus. And there are dialogues between kings, such as that between Polycrates and Amasis (III 40). Also present is the theme we have met in the *Ahikar*, of the father advising his son, as in the romance of Periander and his son Lycophron (III 50 ff.).

It seems clear that more or less historical stories have been shaped around the model of the Oriental narrations we have cited. Neither can an Oriental influence be ruled our, as regards dialogues, on the famous discussion between Darius, Megabyzus and Otanes on the best form of government (III 82 ff.), although this basically contains Greek themes.[62]

All this converged, in Greece, with the view of the poet as a wise adviser, the role of Tyrtaeus, Solon, Pindar and many others.[63] And also—why not?—with the Greek agonal tradition in music and sport. We have already said that the Homer of the *Life*, poets such as Archilochus, the Aesop of the legend and the *Life* and the heroes of the comedy have many of these common features that make them inspired sages, who advise, criticize sharply, solve problems and enigmas; their role does not differ, in its legend at least, from that of the legendary Seven Sages, of Tyrtaeus and other poets, of the advisers in the stories of Herodotus. On the other hand, this role has a

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[61] Cf. a complete report in Lattimore, pp. 25 ff.

[62] Cf. H. Apffel, *Die Verfassungsdebatte bei Herodot*, Düsseldorf, 1967, particularly pp. 19 ff.

[63] Cf. *Orígenes de la lírica griega*, *cit.*, pp. 132 ff.

relationship, as we have already seen, with that of an Ahikar; it is not at all strange that maxims and fables are attributed to them. Nor that they face each other in *agones*, such as the well-known one between Homer and Hesiod.

It is impossible to attribute all this to the single influence of the *Ahikar*. We have seen that for Hesiod, works of "instruction" or "laments" should rather be proposed as models. But also dialogues such as some of those indicated may have influenced his work, just as it did that of Archilochus, the *agon* recently mentioned, etc.

We have attempted to show, making the Mesopotamian origin of various "frames" from Indian literature credible, precisely that the models that could have been imitated to frame proverbs, fables, myths, reciprocal attacks and lamentations were very varied. The main ones are those in which taking part are a father and a son (king and prince, sometimes), a king (or prince) and his philosopher or secretary, a king and his wife or else a woman and somebody whom she slanders. As we have said, there may be either instruction, or debate, or lament or attack. Of course, in Greece rituals and real life activities offered points of departure for similar schemes, as we have seen in Chapter II 3. But their transposition into literature is difficult to understand without the Mesopotamian models, which are nevertheless revealed when Perses is instructed by Hesiod, Cyrnus by Theognis, the Delphians by Aesop, the Himeraeans by Stesichorus or Croesus by Solon; when Archilochus insults Lycambes or Neobule. Or when, in works of fiction to which we have referred, Homer solves problems or enigmas or competes with Hesiod. In works such as these, which sometimes contain elements from real life, sometimes other topical and literary elements in which the Greek and the Oriental converge, the fable appears alongside the other sub-genres we have already indicated, further proof of the Mesopotamian literary influence. Although of course the Greek fable presents its own features, which, without moving away from the Oriental fable, underline the iambic and comic element we have discussed.

2. *Compositional Structure of the Oriental and Greek Fable*

As we have observed, we have to judge the Oriental fable, with respect to its older specimens, almost solely through the Mesopotamian fable. The Egyptian fable has eluded us, except in the case of the disputes, which are not very different from the Mesopotamian and

other Oriental ones, including the Greek ones; of the other fables, the only one that is in a certain sense reconstructable, that of the war between cats and mice, seems rather, as has been said, to be a kind of "animal epic", a genre of which, moreover, we have examples in the Greek *Batrachomyomachia* and in the Mesopotamian series the fox, the dog, the wolf and the lion.

As regards the Indian fable, we have seen that, in its "frame" and content, it conserves Mesopotamian features, but alongside these it also has other Greek ones and, particularly, those that are clearly Hindu. These include the concentric organization, the mixture of traditional or invented verses, the tendency towards the diffuse and novellesque story. When certain "closing statements" or final maxims appear in this, they may be suspected, as we will see elsewhere, of having a Greek influence. For this reason, it is wise not to use the Indian fable to reconstruct the compositional structure of the Mesopotamian fable, which in any case we know directly, although in incomplete form, and which is closer, as we will see, to that of the Greeks. On the other hand, we have already stated earlier that the Mesopotamian fable is the most useful not only for reconstructing the age of certain "frames", but also that of certain themes and certain specific fables.

Let us now move on to deal directly with the compositional structure of the Mesopotamian fable and other animalistic elements, as well as anecdotes, instructions, etc., that are totally parallel. We have discussed how all these elements form a cohesive whole within the literature of instruction and others. Even when the animalistic predominates, as in certain collections of "proverbs" or in the second discourse by Ahikar to Nadab, the bounds between the animalistic and the non-animalistic, the fable, the simile, the proverb, etc., are very extended. Neither more nor less than is the case in Greece, as we had the opportunity to see in II 2. We will attempt, then, to clarify the differences and links between the elements more or less closely related to the fable and the fable as such, which, as we stated earlier, is very similar, on occasions, to what it is in Greece. Later we will deal, as a separate sub-genre, with the "disputes" to which we have already referred.

Within the former type, and before arriving at the fable as such, we might distinguish between:

a) Instruction, sometimes followed by a simile, an explanation or an antithesis. We will highlight some of these that are in some way closely linked to fables. Examples:

I 3: Do not cut the neck that has already been cut.

4: Do not say to Ningishzida (an infernal deity): make me live.

II 1: When one has brought devastation to a place . . . has perverted its rites . . . has eliminated its divine guiding principles. Do not pervert its rites! . . . Do not eliminate its divine guiding principles!

II 24: Son of mine, look for an ox that is fat and an ass with good hooves, but not a slave that escapes, etc.

II 7: Son of mine, do not act rashly like the almond tree, etc. (it is clear that a comparison such as this can easily result in a fable).

65: Son of mine, do not stand against a man in all his power, nor a river in flood. (As we have already said, this proverb is undoubtedly related to the fable of the oak and the reed or the trees and the torrent (H. 71, 239), which we think is from Mesopotamian times, compare above, p. 324).

70: Son of mine, if you find some item together with an image, offer it its part. (Certainly connected with a fable such as H. 183 "Hermes and the Woodcutter", in any event it can easily be constructed starting from this).

These are just some examples, out of many possible ones, of proverbs that can easily produce a fable or perhaps are related to an existing one. They are always a direct speech by the adviser to the advised; there is an implicit situation and Adir. follows, with A the adviser.

b) Proverb, indicating what a given animal or a given person is like or what they do; it is sometimes also followed by a simile. It may be the case that two proverbs follow one another, with the latter a sort of conclusion starting from the former. Here are a few examples:

Gordon (1958), *Col.* 7.76: The dog barks his dreams.

Babyl. Theod. 181 ff.: The son of the prince is dressed as . . . the son of the poor man is robbed.

237: The ungodly man deceives the rich man, but a mortal weapon pursues him.

247 ff.: The first-born follows his path like a lion, the second is content to be a muleteer.

Col. 2.12: Fate is a vestment that covers someone on the steppe.
Col. 2.91: The ox ploughs, the dog destroys the furrows.
Ahikar II 25: Son of mine, the words of a liar are like fat sparrows; those who are empty of understanding devour them.
14: Son of mine, the rich man eats a snake and they say "he ate it as medicine". The poor man eats it and they say: "He ate it because he was hungry".
36: Son of mine, the flock that leaves many tracks becomes prey to wolves.
Popular Sayings II 15: The pig is not appropriate for the temple, it is not allowed to walk around the streets, it is an abomination for all gods, damned by Shamash.
Ahikar IV 11: The evil man pronounces hostile words to the governor, speaking cleverly, hurling vile comments. The ruler thinks and prays to Shamash: "Shamash, you know. Make him responsible for the blood of the people".

The characteristic of the proverb is that it describes what an animal or a man of a certain type is like, how they behave or what happens to them: the pig, the rich man, the flock that leaves many tracks, or else all men, when they comment differently on the same actions of the poor and the rich man. In contrast with the instruction, in which how somebody imparts instructions to another person is described in direct style, here it is described how things are, which, moreover, acts indirectly as an instruction. There is a generic description, then, sometimes simple, sometimes antithetic, sometimes even followed by a comment in direct style. Types (act. = active, dir. = direct, ind. = indirect.):

Aact.
Bact.
Aact/Cdir. Bact./Cdir.
Bind. Adir.

Greek proverbs of types such as "the fool learns after suffering", "the neighbour envies the neighbour, the potter the potter and the poet the poet", in Hesiod, "The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog just one that is decisive", in Archilochus, "not even the lion always eats meat, sometimes, no matter how powerful he is, impotence reaches him", in Theognis, and others, are definitely comparable.

It is very clear that from the proverb it is easy to cross over to the fable, or else that the latter can be summarized in the proverb;

we have already demonstrated this when discussing Greek matters. On the other hand, there exist different proverbs or interpretations of reality, which may be used to preach two morals that are also different, such as, in the *Babylonian Theodicy* (50 ff.) when there is discussion of the lion that devours the animals without taking an offering of flour to appease the gods—which implies that wrong-doing is not punished—and there is the reply (61 ff.) that the well awaits him—which implies the opposite ideology; other exempla are given in the same passage, such as those of the wild ass and of the nouveau riche. Note that animal and human terms are dealt with indiscriminately, and also that these Mesopotamian proverbs are easily convertible into fables.

c) Simile or Fable-Simile as Explanation of an Action.

We have seen this resource in the series from the *Ahikar* "Son of mine, you have been to me like . . ." that we have already discussed. Here we are only interested in showing that the links between simile and fable are imperceptible, reaching the point in some cases, as we have said, of eliminating the introduction and narrating the event directly. In practical terms, the similes in this section of the *Ahikar* are already fables and will be studied as such below. Yet when there is no action, there is nevertheless a simple simile, as in VIII 13: "Son of mine, you have been to me like the cooking-pot onto which they have put golden handles, but its bottom has not been cleaned of grime".

The type is already Sumerian, cf., for example, *Col.* 2.85: "Like an ox that has escaped from the field, it is full of rebelliousness".

d) Specific Anecdote or Animal Story. This is sometimes not easy to distinguish from the simple proverb or maxim; nor, at other times, from the more detailed story, with opposition between two or more characters or complex action and, sometimes, direct speech, albeit by only one character. We occasionally find the antithetic form (parallel and opposing actions, although independent); expansion by means of the simile; and the conclusion, which becomes a kind of epimythium, which most commonly remains implicit. Here are some examples:

Babylonian Theodicy 185 ff.: The vegetarian devours the banquet of the nobleman, while the son of the nobleman and of the rich man survive on carob beans. (Here there seems to be a distancing from the normal situation, an anecdote).

Col. 2.9: (The god) Destruction approached me, whose

future had not been fixed. He told me: I am indebted to you. I want to remain at your service.

2.63: The crab whose house had filled with water entered his friend's.

2.99: The priest threw his son into the water and said: he should have built a house, as I did, he should have allowed the people of Sumer to live, as I did.

Popular Sayings III 42: The bird-catcher who did not have fish, but had captured birds, jumped into the town moat with his net for birds. (The conclusion may be something like the idea that nobody is happy with their fate). When the male prostitute entered the brothel and raised his hands to pray, he said: my money has gone to the owner. You, Ishtar, are rich, I, not so much so.

Kramer, p. 184: The blacksmith's dog could not knock over the anvil, so it knocked to the floor the water pot that was on it.

p. 184: I escaped from the wild bull and the wild cow came at me.

Ahikar VIII 6: (Son of mine, you have been like) the man who saw his friend trembling with cold and tossed a pitcher of water in his head.

15: (Son of mine, you have been like) the partridge that was able to save itself, but with its song caused the others to die.

If we can somehow separate these stories from the fable as such, it is because, fundamentally, we are dealing with non-fictitious stories. Neither the animals nor the people act in an unusual or incredible way, the former do not speak. On the other hand, the compositional schemes are more or less the same as we are accustomed to seeing:

Aact.-Aact.
Aact.-Bact.
Aact.-Adir.

These are very simple types. But the truth is that the link with the fable is imperceptible. A passage of the *Ahikar* such as VIII 17, for example "(Son of mine, you have come to me like) the dog that came to the potter's stove to warm itself, and as soon as it was warm, it began to bark at him" could easily be transformed into a fable. In fact, the Greek fable of the farmer and the serpent (H. 62) is practically identical, although in the latter the farmer warms the animal at his breast and, when it bites him, he addresses it with a

"closing statement". On the other hand, although these anecdotes or stories normally offer their teaching implicitly, they may also have a kind of moral, as in the passage already mentioned of the *Instructions of Suruppak.*

e) Fable.

We give this name to specific stories that are generally fictive and often have an agonistic or else a critical or paradoxical character. They occasionally have the same schemes that have been seen earlier, that is, they consist of two lines and refer to a single protagonist. It may also be the case that we have no more than one direct speech, following an implicit previous situation. Furthermore, we very frequently have a prior situation followed by an action, and sometimes by an independent conclusion or closing statement, as in the Greek fable. In these cases the fable may prove to be rather lengthy. Let us look, in sequence, at examples of these three types.

1. Simple Fables, or Situation Fables

Gordon (1958), *Col.* 5.38:	After throwing its rider, the horse said: "If my load is always like this, I am going to be weakened".
39:	After throwing its load, the ass said: "I still have the pains of the past in my ears".
116:	The dog went to a banquet, but when he looked at the bones, he left, saying: "where I'm going, they will give me more than this".
Gordon (1959), *Col.* 2.67:	The fox urinated in the sea and said: "the whole sea is my urine".
2.67:	The fox stepped on the wild bull's foot: "Did I hurt you?".
Pop. Sayings 15:	When a stud jackass was mounting a she-ass, he whispered in her ear: "let us hope the ass you bear is a good runner, like me, do not make him like a working ass".
Ahikar VIII 14:	(Son of mine, you have come to me like) a farmer who sowed a field with twenty measures of barley, and when he harvested it he obtained twenty measures. And he said to it: what I sowed, I have gathered, but you are ashamed at your bad name.
18:	(Son of mine, you have been to me like) the pig that was led to the bathroom, but when it saw a gutter full of mud, it jumped into it and washed and said to his companions: "Come and bathe".

24: (Son of mine, you have been to me like) the tree that said to the woodcutters: "If you had not had something of mine in your hands, you would not have descended upon me". Cf. H. 262.

These and other fables, sometimes consisting of two lines, sometimes longer, correspond to a type that is very common in Greek, which we have called situation fables; for example, that of the eagle wounded by the arrow adorned with its own feathers, in Aeschylus. Its scheme is Asit. (or act.)-Adir. Of course, at other times there is no speech, only action; but these fables are hard to distinguish from those we have classified under d) as stories or anecdotes. One could of course include in this certain ones such as *Ahikar* VIII 48: "The mouse that gathers . . . in the meadows makes fun of the wasps that eat up the fruit from the orchards", as the mouse is given humanized feelings. Or one such as Gordon, "New Look . . .", page 139: "The goat shows off, talking about being a matron, but she practises prostitution". We have already said that there is no clearcut distinction.

2. Direct Speech without Introduction

This is the case, for example, in Gordon (1958), *Col.* 5.12 "Oh ox, I am trapped on your path", 5.59 "Oh lion, your ally is in the forest", etc. This type, which is equivalent to an "instruction" or proverb in the form of an incomplete fable, has been missing in more recent times (*Popular Sayings, Ahikar*).

3. Agonal Fables

There is a whole grading process, from the least complex to the most complex. There exists, for example, an agonal action without speeches in a fable such as:

Pop. Sayings 32: A mongoose entered a water pipe, pursued by a dog. The dog went to enter and was trapped, allowing the mongoose to escape.

A fable such as this, which we could also qualify as a type d) story, contains A/Bsit.-Bact./Aact. (the mongoose survives).

More examples of this type can be given (for example, *Pop. Sayings* III 21 "The Fox and the Dog", *Ahikar* VIII 11 "The Ox and the Lion", 33 "The Mole and the Eagle"), but another, in which a final "closing statement" is included, is much more common. Some examples are hard to distinguish from the "situation" type, if not for the fact that the existence of an *agon* is clearer here:

Gordon (1958), *Col.* 5.42: The ass was swimming and the dog looked at it and said: "When is it going to come out so that I can eat it?"

Gordon, "New Look . . .", p. 139: The butcher kills the pig, saying, "why do you scream? This is the road on which your father and your grandfather walked, now you are going on it, and still you squeal!".

The formulation is Bsit.-Adir, or, perhaps, A/Bsit.-Adir. It is undoubtedly, as in *Ahikar* VIII 3 "The Scorpion and the Rock", hard to reconstruct (perhaps related to H. 95 "The Snake and the File"). On the other hand, we find A/Bsit.-Bdir in:

Pop. Sayings 19: When escaping from a mongoose, a mouse entered the cave of a snake. He said: "you have sent me a snake-charmer, Good health!".

The mouse, who looks like losing, attempts to put a brave face on it and save the situation. Now, the other model in which the initial situation is a confrontation between two opponents, with the *agon* being resolved by means of direct speech by both of them, is a much more productive model. A good example of this is the fable of the elephant and the mosquito, already mentioned by us:

Pop. Sayings 50: A mosquito,[64] after it had settled on an elephant, said: "Brother, am I very heavy for you? I'll go down to the pond". The elephant replied: "It is all the same to me if you continue. What more does it matter to me to carry you? Nor does it matter to me if you leave". (On parallels to this fable cf. above, p. 324).

Kramer, p. 191: The elephant boasted of his importance, saying: "There is no one like me in the world. Do not attempt to compare yourself with my person (?)". The Kinglet answered him, saying: "I too, small as I am, have been created, exactly like you".

This type is repeated a great deal in the *Ahikar*.

[64] But cf. above, p. 324, n. 44.

VIII 4: . . . a gazelle came upon a sumac and ate it. And the sumac said: "why do you eat me, seeing that they tan your hide with me? And the gazelle said: "I'll eat you while I am alive and when I die they will pull you up by your roots".

9: . . . the lion that reached the dawn together with an ass and said to him: "Your good health, sir". But the ass said: "That greeting should have been received by the one that tied me last night and did not tie my headpiece well so that I could not see you".

25: . . . the small swallows that fell from the nest; and a cat caught them and told them: "If it had not been for me, a great evil would have befallen you". They answered him, saying: "Is that why you have put us in your mouth?".

27: . . . the snake that was in some brambles and was thrown like this into the river; and a wolf saw them and told them: "Evil has climbed on evil and somebody worst than the two is pulling them". The snake said to him: "If you had been here, you would have paid for the goats you have eaten".

35: . . . the palm that was by a river and all its fruit fell into the river and when its owner went to cut it, it said to him: "Leave me this year and I will give you carob beans". And the master said: "You have not been productive with your own, are you going to be so with another's?".

In these fables there is, as we have said, a prior, explicit or implicit *agon*; later the *agon* of speeches resolves the situation either de facto or on the basis of who is right. The swallows are devoured, the palm is cut, the ass is devoured, the gazelle is considered the winner, the snake shames the wolf. Basically, the same is the case in 26, in which there is a simple dialogue between the men and the cat:

26: . . . the cat, to whom they say: "stop stealing and you will leave here and you will enter the palace of the king, as you wish". And the cat said: "If I had silver eyes and golden ears, I would not stop stealing".

It can easily be seen that these relatively long fables from *Pop. Sayings* and *Ahikar* do not differ greatly from the Greek ones in terms of their structure. Furthermore, we find fables in which the action and speeches are multiplied, as in the most archaic Greek versions of the fable, in Archilochus particularly.

Gordon (1958) I, *Col.* 5.55: The lion had caught a defenceless goat. "Let me go", said the goat, "and I will give you a sheep that's a friend of

> mine". "If you want me to let you go", the lion said, "tell me your name". The goat answered: "do you not know my name? It is 'You-are-intelligent'". When the lion reached the sheepfold, he said: "Now that I have reached the sheepfold, I am going to let you go". And the goat replied from the other side: "You have let me go! Were you so intelligent? Instead of giving you the sheep, I am going to escape". (The scheme is: A/Bsit.-Adir./Bdir./Adir.-Bact.-Adir. The goat survives through its intelligence.)

In the *Ahikar* this type is relatively common:

VIII 10: . . . a trap was placed on a heap of manure and a sparrow arrived and saw it and said to it: "What are you doing here?" And the trap said: "I am praying to God". And the sparrow said: "And what is that you have in your mouth?" The trap said: "Bread for the guests". So the sparrow approached and took it and the trap seized it by the neck. And the sparrow said as the trap pressed: "If this is bread for the guests, I wish that God, to whom you pray, never hears your voice". (We have A/Bsit. Bact./Aact.-Bact./Aact. Bact.-dir. It is a perfect scheme of double dialogue with conclusion consisting of action and a speech by the victim: a curse on the lying strong.)

36: . . . they say to the wolf: "why do you follow after the sheep?" He told them: "their smell proves excellent to me". So they took him to the school and the teacher said: "Alpha, beta". The wolf said: "Kid, lamb". (In this fable there is pure dialogue, without an explicit agonal situation at the beginning; but the dialogue is between two interlocutors and there is an intermediate action.)

Of course, it is not obligatory for the fable to finish with a "closing statement". Thus we have, for example, in Gordon (1959), *Col.* 2.69:

> The fox said to his wife: "Come! Let us crush the town of Uruk as though it were a pig, let us tie the town of Kullab to our feet as though it were a sandal". When they were at a distance of 600 Gar from the town, the dogs began to howl. And all the slave women shouted threateningly with the shout of "go, go" (it is understood that the foxes flee).

These complex fables are comparable to that of the eagle and the serpent in *Etana*, imitated as we know with no less complexity by Archilochus. In the Akkadian story, there is also a beginning A/Bsit.: friendship between the eagle and the serpent, betrayal by the former. There follows a dialogue Adir./Cdir. between the snake and the god Shamash; then there is Aact./Bact.: the snake hides in the bowel of a dead ox, the eagle approaches in spite of the warning

of his chicks (C2dir). And it is concluded with the punishment of the eagle, with new dialogue between same and Shamash, who does not want to liberate him from the well. To summarize:

A/Bsit.-Adir./Cdir. Aact./C2dir./Bact.-Bdir./Cdir.

In conclusion, we can say that in Mesopotamia we find a clear link between motifs of instruction, proverbs, similes and stories, on one hand, and the fable on the other, both agonal and situation fables. Inasmuch as we know the material—still for the most part unpublished—it is particularly in the Assyrian Age, in the 7th century, that we find structures more comparable to those of the Greek fable; sometimes structures that we would call classical, sometimes the more complex ones of the archaic fable. However, it cannot be concluded with any certainty that these complex fables did not occur before, as we have found one in "collection five", which is purely Sumerian, and there is a great deal of unpublished material.

In our view there is no doubt that the Mesopotamian fables, which influenced Greece through their "frame"—as we have seen—and their content—as we will see—also influenced the structure of the Greek fable. This is confirmed if we consider the Mesopotamian debates we have listed, which belong to a genre that we have seen is also represented in Egypt and in other literatures of the East, also in Greece. Certainly, in the collections of Greek fables the debates tend to be restricted to schemes with only two speeches.

In the series of "disputes", various of which collected by Lambert, whose relations we discussed above on p. 304, a distinction must be made between simple confrontations and that of four animals, as in "The Fox, the Dog, the Wolf and the Lion", as we have already said. We have also indicated that the former consisted of a mythical "frame" which, in cases in which the "dispute" was conserved in a more complex form, includes an initial action giving rise to the debate and an ending that resolves it in one way or another. Thus, the dispute between Nissaba and the wheat concludes with the victory of this goddess (by means of a judgement?) and a hymn in her honour. As regards the disputes as such, these usually consist of a complex dialogue in which each character gives reasons to justify their own pre-eminence or power; but there may also be a simple dispute, as in "Nissaba and the Wheat" and "The Fox, the Dog, the Wolf and the Lion". There is, therefore, a link with the agonal fable.

Now, the debate on the superiority of the two contenders is ancient, because it is to be found in the two Egyptian fables we have already indicated, that of the body and the head (from about 1100 BC) and that of the sycamore and the moringa tree (13th century). The fragmentary state of these papyri[65] does not enable us to determine whether there were one or various interventions by each character, but it does allow us to see the existence of a "frame" in the first fable, in which the case is debated before the court of 30, the god must discover who is right and who has committed a misdeed. There could, in any event, be various interventions. And various characters could be introduced, as in the Sumerian fable of the fox and also in the one contained in *Judges* IX 8, regarding the kingdom of plants, which crossed over to Greece (H. 293).

In any event, the Greek and Roman fable has tended to eliminate the mythical frame, reducing it to just the mention of the disagreement or debate, and to reduce this to two speeches, whether lengthy, as in the debate in Callimachus (*Iamb* IV) between the laurel and the olive, or rather short, as is almost always the case. There are certain other points that must be mentioned, however. The intervention of a mediator or judge in the fable cited from Callimachus, although this mediator may be rejected by both parties, as in H. 73 "The Dolphins and the Gudgeon"; this is an echo of the ancient presence of a final judgement, which we have seen appearing in the Mesopotamian and Egyptian material. On the other hand, traces remain in the Greek fable of another type of ending, the remains of another "frame", namely when the confrontation is followed by a resolving action, as in H. 239 II–III "The Reed and the Olive" and in H. 46 "Boreas and Helios".

To sum up, we reach the conclusion that there is a typological proximity between these types of fables. This is irrespective of the date of the influence of these Oriental fables on Greece and of the possible multiplication of same within the collections.

Finally, we have already said that, although "The Fox, the Dog, the Lion and the Wolf" has elements of multiple "dispute", framed and terminated with an act of worship, including various situations and one or two judgements, it contains further elements, specifically, the superiority of the lion and the cunning of the fox. We are already dealing with a complex story that has been described as an animal

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[65] See a translation in E. Brunner-Traut, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.

epic and that may be compared with the Egyptian fable of the cats and the mice, with its various alternative versions; there is not doubt that underlying it is a parodical imitation of the epic, in both places. We have encountered this same character—midway between the fabulistic and the epic-parodical—in Greece, in the *Batrachomyomachia*, the fight between frogs and mice, which, it has been proposed, is influenced by the Egyptian fable. There is of course doubt, as we have already stated, as to whether the *Batrachomyomachia* is an "extended" fable (a fable conserved in the *Life of Aesop*, as we know) or whether, on the contrary, this fable is a derivative from the poem. In any case, this question, which may also be posed for the "animal epic" of Sumer and Egypt, is not the decisive one. The decisive element is that in all these places we find a sub-genre of animal literature that is approximately the same; certainly, not without Oriental influence on Greece.

Another point to which attention must be drawn is that in the collections of "proverbs" there appear not only human anecdotes, but also stories and novelettes, prior to their presence in the Greek and Indian collections. For example, in collections 21 and 24 there is "The Bird-catcher and his Wife", which is 30 lines long. We have mentioned some others: "The Old Man and the Young Woman", "The Three Oxherds of Adab", "The Lazy Slave Woman", "The Poor Man of Nippur". They sometimes appear in collections or, at least as far as we are concerned, independently; they belong to the same genre.[66]

3. *Fabulistic Themes and Individual Fables*

The existence of common "frames", of links with related genres and of structural elements in common, all this makes the influence exercised by the Oriental fable on the Greek very likely. This is confirmed by very specific correspondences between the motifs of the fables and between the fables themselves, some of which we have already indicated and to which we will now return.

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[66] Cf. B. Alster, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 94, 117; here we find a translation of "The Old Man and the Young Woman", whereas we can find one of "The Three Oxherds" in Falkenstein, *IF* 60, 1950, pp. 114 ff., and another of "The Poor Man of Nippur" in Gurney, *An. St.* 5, 1956, pp. 145 ff.

a) *The Animal World in the Fable*

In the Oriental fable, as in the Greek, the animal world and the behaviour of animals is conceived on a human scale. There is a kingdom of the animals, which sometimes requires the election of a new king or sees rebellions against the existing one; there is a hierarchy of animals, like masters and servants, a hierarchy that also suffers attacks, with the strong defending themselves and the weak attempting to reverse the situation by all possible means; there are rivalries and wars between them, sometimes with collaboration and alliances.

The lion is the king of the animals in the Mesopotamian fable, as we have seen, which can be deduced from figurative representations and, particularly, from the fable of the fox, the dog, the lion and the wolf. As Lambert indicates,[67] the lion threatens and terrifies, nobody faces him; he has force and the law at the same time. This role of the lion is found repeatedly in other Mesopotamian fables, although we do not see an institutionalization—if this word is applicable here—of the reign of the lion in them, as is the case in the Indian fable and the Greek fable. Though in the latter there may be subsequent developments and even reciprocal influences, the origins of the theme of the kingdom of the lion are undoubtedly to be found in Mesopotamia. As are the origins of the role of animals such as the fox and the jackal. In the Sumerian fable cited, the fox, accused by the dog along with the wolf and also accused by the latter, nevertheless knows how to get out of difficulties by clever means. He does not mind flattering the lion. He is a clever animal who takes on a subordinate position in relation to stronger ones, yet he is boastful and cowardly, certainly a kind of servant to the lion. In fact, from this we gather that the fox or the jackal take advantage of the spoils of the animals devoured by other stronger animals, such as the lion. When in *Pop. Sayings*, 21 we are told that the fox explored the path of the lion and then that of the wolf, to later enter town, from where the dog drove him away, this is more or less what is being said. The presence of the fox together with the fallen lion in a trap in *Col.* 5.58 certainly has the same meaning.

Furthermore, in the Mesopotamian fable, insofar as we know it, there does not appear to be such a strong institutionalization of the

[67] *Op. cit.*, p. 188. On the characterization of the animals in Sumerian literature in general, cf. the article by Gordon "Animals...", cited above.

court of the lion as in India, with a jackal or jackals as ministers. This does not occur in Greece, where the fox certainly appears together with the lion and helps him to find food, but at other times he keeps at a prudent distance and always takes advantage; he also appears in relation with other animals, just as in certain fables the lion has other servants, such as the ass.

On the other hand, the theme of the kingdom of animals in the Greek fable is not always centred around the lion. Elections appear in which the monkey is elected, in which the camel or the rook are present, or else the frogs ask Zeus for a king. This panorama is more similar to that of the Egyptian fable, in which, as we have seen, various animals play the role of the king and various others, not just the jackal, play the servant.

I think that in this case both the Greek and the Egyptian fable conserve ancient motifs, originating in the Mesopotamian fable.

It is undoubtedly also from here that the theme of the friendship between animals and its breaking originates. We have encountered this in connection with the eagle and the fox, a Mesopotamian theme of which we have found traces in India and in Greece (here, sometimes in fables that conserve it as it is, sometimes in those such as the one by Archilochus, in which the snake replaces the fox); with that of the lion and the bull and the lion and the camel, which both in India and in Greece end with the death of the latter animals; and also with that of the mouse and the cat in Egypt. It is likely that Indian and Greek fables in which the same rivalry occurs come from Egypt, where the cat was domesticated for the first time; it has been proposed that this is even the case with the *Batrachomyomachia*[68] and the fable of the mouse and the weasel alluded to by Aristophanes. It is characteristic that the Egyptian version of "The Eagle and the Fox" replaces the latter animal with the cat.

On the other hand, the theme of the breaking of friendship and betrayal, followed by vengeance, appears a great deal in the fables of the *Ahikar*, exemplifying the ingratitude of Nadab towards his father.

The introduction of the monkey into the world of the fable certainly also originates in Egypt. He appears as a dancer not only here, in representations of the fabulistic environment, but also plays

[68] Cf. S. Morenz, "Aegyptische Tierkriege und die *Batrachomyomachie*" in *Festschrift B. Schweizer*, *cit.* in E. Brunner-Traut, *op. cit.*, p. 63, n. 354.

this role in Greece in the fable of his election as king, in Archilochus. On the other hand, the story of the exposed monkey-king appears in Lucian, *Pisc.* 36 and *Apol.* 5 with an Egyptian setting and with an independent version. I believe this material clearly supports the idea of the influence of the Egyptian fable on Greece. Furthermore, Archilochus is so unfamiliar with the habits of the monkey that he makes it eat meat.

Other animals from the world of the fable are common to the Greek fable and to the Mesopotamian, Indian and Egyptian fables. Thus we find the dog, the ass, the sheep, the goat, the bull, the wolf, the horse (this in Mesopotamia only around 1500), the elephant (this not in Egypt) the ducks and other aquatic animals. Sometimes there is no close correspondence with the Greek fable, but there is in the general approaches. We find the lion devouring the ass or the bull, the dog fighting the wolf and the fox, these animals stalking or devouring sheep, goats, birds in general, all this in the Mesopotamian fable. With respect to India, we have already indicated some parallel motifs. In the Egyptian representations, the cats are significant, acting as shepherds for the ducks, as the foxes do for the goats; the fox plays music for the goat. It is clear that these representations of the world turned upside-down end up with the weak animals being devoured, or else on occasions deceived, as in the Greek fable (H. 99) of the wolf and the kid or in the Mesopotamian fable of the lion deceived by the goat.

Of course, as we have said, certain animals are proper to the fable of certain places, although they may later have spread from there. Thus, the lion, the elephant, the monkey, the cat and, perhaps, the beetle (from Egypt) entered the Greek fable. Yet some did not succeed in entering, because they were only introduced into the fable in India, for example, such as the tiger. Or they undoubtedly entered more recently, such as the crocodile. Plants were also adapted to fit the Greek botanical environment, as can be seen by comparing the Mesopotamian and Egyptian "disputes" with those of Greece, in which only indigenous plants take part.

b) *Fabulistic Themes*

We have already seen some fabulistic themes, that of the disguised animal rejected by those among whom it is introduced, that of the heart of an animal as medicine (pretext for its death), that of the small grateful animal, that of the "dispute", that of the animal musicians,

etc. As we know, some are adapted to fit new animals or new subjects in fables. Avoiding repetition as far as possible, and without claiming to be exhaustive, also leaving aside the themes we have just studied of the kingdom of animals, its servants, its disputes, etc., let us analyze some of these fabulistic themes that are present in the Greek fable and are also found in the Oriental fable, whose origin is mostly to be found in Mesopotamia. However, the presence of a motif solely in Greece and India sometimes makes this doubtful, on account of the direct relationships we have discussed.

1. The theme of the "dispute". The most essential point on this has already been stated, regarding the disputes of plants, members, etc., in Mesopotamia, Egypt and Greece, but it is appropriate to emphasize here that it is not only a theme of the Hellenistic fable (although, undoubtedly, in this age it spread a great deal starting from Callimachus). Not only do we know that H. 46 "Boreas and Helios" is in an epigram by Sophocles in Athenaeus 604 F, but it is also found, developed, in comedies by Epicharmus (*The Earth and the Sea, Logos and Logina*), in Prodicus (the theme of Heracles, Virtue and Vice), Aristophanes (debates of the two *logoi* in *Nubes*, on Poverty and Wealth in *Plutus*, etc.), etc.[69] Here there is certainly once again a confluence between Oriental elements and others derived from the Greek *agones*.

2. The theme of the cause of things. We have studied its role in the Greek aetiological fables (cf. pp. 150 ff.) and we have also mentioned its presence in the Indian fable (causes of the enmity between crows and owls, *Tantr.* III 2, pp. 110 ff. H.; the two planets that cause eclipses, *Panch.*, p. 93 Rice) and in the Egyptian fable (enmity between cats and mice). I am inclined to believe that the theme has a Mesopotamian origin, among other things because in Kramer, p. 188, the fable appears of the fox who asks Enlil for horns; this theme of animals and plants asking Zeus for something they lack or attempting in some way to change their nature, which is repeated a great deal in the Greek fable and is essentially aetiological, explains the behaviour of animals and plants for reasons dependent on their creation or on the first stages of the world.

3. The theme of nature. This is connected with the previous theme and is implicit, in fact, throughout the fable in which the strong animal prevails over the weak and those who fight against nature fail.

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[69] Cf. more data in Josifović, *art. cit.*, col. 28.

Mesopotamian fables that we have mentioned show that it is possible neither for the cat to stop stealing, nor for the wolf to stop pursuing sheep; that it is foolish for the mosquito to presume to bother the elephant or for the scorpion to sting the rock; that although the pig's tail is made with seven twists, it cannot compete with the horse (the theme of the frog and the ox, Bab. 28, Phaedrus I 24); that the fox gains nothing by having horns; that it is logical for the ass not to be reassured by the lion's greeting, nor for the small swallows to believe the kind words of the cat; that the pig is sacrificed and each animal succumbs before its traditional enemy. Only in a "world turned upside-down" would the fool cease to be so (*Ahikar* I 62). For their part, the Egyptian paintings of the "world turned upside-down" in which the cat serves the mouse and the wolf and the fox shepherd the animals they crave, are undoubtedly no more than the prologue to the moment when they turn against them. Similar things occur in the Indian fable in the relationships between lion/ass (or camel), cat/hares, etc.; only through divine intervention or their own cunning does the pigeon get rid of the hawk, the monkey of the crocodile. On the other hand, it is absurd for the tortoise to try to fly, it will end up falling (as in the Greek fable); and the theme exists (also Greek, as we have already seen) of the animal that is made to pass for another with the help of a skin or another disguise or goes off with another, with unfortunate results. Clearly, in the Indian fable some of these fables that develop the theme of nature may come from Hellenistic, Cynic fables; particularly, I think, those that raise the opposition between land/sea or sea/air animals. On the other hand, I believe the theme of nature that is often linked with the fables of debate is an old one.

4. The theme of the strong taking advantage. The strong animal, as we have said, ends up devouring the weak, with rare exceptions. The simplest form of this is when, for example, in the Mesopotamian fable in *Ahikar* VIII 11, the ox that is tied to the lion is devoured by him, in 44 the fox is pursued by the dog, etc.; in Gordon (1958) the dog waits for the ass to come out of the water in order to devour him. On other occasions, as we have seen, the strong speak fine words to the weak, both in Mesopotamian fables and in Greek ones in which the wolf and the sheep or the kid take part, or become their shepherd or protector, as in the Egyptian representations; all this is sheer deception. This deception is already described in detail in Mesopotamian fables such as that of the trap and the sparrow.

To sum up, the strong do not have any scruples, which is already stated in the *Babylonian Theodicy*, 50 ff., with animal and human examples. The weak that attempt to deceive the strong are usually unsuccessful, as in the case of the palm that tries not to be cut down (*Ahikar* VIII 35). And in "The Nine Wolves and the Tenth" (Kramer, p. 187) we find the prototype of the theme of "the lion's share" in Phaedrus I 5 and Babrius 67. Of course, the Indian fable confirms this panorama, as has already been seen, although the theme of the bad minister, the one setting the lion against the bull, the ass and the camel, appears frequently here. But this is not always the case. Cf., for example, the crab that, with deceptions, gradually eats the fish in a pond one by one I 5, pp. 22 ff. H. The first is the incorrigible "bad" animal, killed by the crow.

5. The theme of ingenuity that saves the weak. However, there appears at the same time the theme of the ingenious weak animal that survives. As is said in the *Instructions of Suruppak*, what must be done is not to overload an ox—thus making it impossible to cross the river—nor to live together with a powerful animal. It is the flock that leaves traces that it is the victim of the wolf (*Ahikar*, I 36). That is why clever conduct is recommended, as it is sometimes successful, as when the dog pursued by the mongoose survives by entering a pipe that is too narrow for the latter (*Pop. Sayings*, 32 ff.), or the fox escapes from the threats of the dog and the wolf using subtle deception, the goat succeeds in deceiving the lion and ridding himself of him (Gordon 1958, 55). It is not necessary to repeat here the stories in Greek fables in which the lion or the wolf in particular are deceived by the subtle deceptions of the fox or the sheep. But it is appropriate to mention again Egyptian fables, such as the one in which the mice somehow succeed, initially, in making the cats prisoners, or in which the fox is represented playing the flute while the goat dances, which reminds us of H. 99, in which the kid also saves itself from the wolf by making him play the flute. On the other hand, this is also reminiscent of the Indian fable, *Panchatantra*, p. 56 Rice, in which the goat scares the lion with his boasting and manages to survive, although this is comparable rather with the Sumerian fable referred to above, in which the goat saves itself from the wolf by flattering it, saying that it is called "You-are-intelligent" (cf. H. 164, in which the goat is allowed to go free by the wolf thanks to his answers). On the other hand, this cunning has more parallels in the Indian fable. In this, for example, the rabbit can extricate him-

self from the lion by making him throw himself into a well in which he is supposedly going to fight with another lion, but in actual fact against his image (I 6, pp. 24 ff. H.), the crows triumph over the owls with stratagems, etc. Sometimes, however, the theme may be recent.

6. The theme of the punishment of the evil animal. The fable presents the punishment of the evil animal in a rather inconsistent manner. We have already seen that in the *Babylonian Theodicy* a version with this perspective appears alongside another, immoralist one, according to which the powerful summarily prevail. This doctrine gives rise to anecdotes such as those in *Pop. Sayings* IV 8 ff., II ff. and to fables such as that of the eagle and the serpent in *Etana* and various ones in the *Ahikar*, such as that of the man who shoots an arrow into the sky, and this falls onto his head. What is more, sometimes an accusation of wickedness is made by somebody who is even more evil (by the wolf to the snake, *Ahikar* VIII 27. Cf. Par. Bodl. 172 Cr.). There is no point in mentioning examples in the Greek fable here, as we have already seen that these exist, though they are relatively rare. There are also some in India, although evidently also quite rare, for example, the snake that breaks off its friendship with the treacherous heron is killed (*Panch.* pp. 76 ff. R.), as are also killed the jackal that takes advantage of the rams (*Tantr.* I 3, pp. 18 ff. H.), the lion in *Panch.* I 6, pp. 24 ff. R., the "bad" animal in *Tantr.* I 15, pp. 51 ff. H., etc.

7. The theme of lamentation. Both in Mesopotamia and in Greece we have found the model in which an animal or a man complains in a given situation.

8. The theme of gratitude, including that of the weak. We have already discussed the theme of the grateful eagle in Greece and in India and we should add that of the grateful mouse that gnaws the net in which the lion is imprisoned, also with Indian parallels that we have seen. Now, I do not find these motifs, together with the other related ones on pp. 327 ff., outside Greece and India (I think the theme of the lion and the mouse on an Egyptian papyrus is of Greek origin, compare p. 712); they may sometimes be new creations. This theme of gratefulness is linked to that of ingratitude and that of the breaking of the oath or of friendship, the latter undoubtedly ancient.

These themes and various others that could be added, some already mentioned, which usually have less of a guarantee of antiquity, seem

to offer evidence of a common origin, although clearly there are confluences, that is to say, reinforcements of indigenous motifs through the influence of the extraneous fable. The same applies with regard to more general aspects, such as humorous or satirical answers, the critique, the theme of the world turned upside-down, etc., aspects which we will not repeat here because they have been considered in passing on more than one occasion. In our view, they offer reliable data to support the idea of a Mesopotamian (and sometimes Egyptian) influence on the Greek fable, which is our thesis.

Irrespective, then, of specific fables, the themes of the Mesopotamian, Greek and Indian fable display considerable elements in common. If we start with cases in which there is documentation on all three areas, it may be considered that fables from one of them—particularly the Indian, which is the most difficult to date—that appear in the other two in a similar form are probably ancient. And we have observed that, very significantly, fables that in India are found in Medieval collections later than the *Tantrākhyāyika* may be ancient.

Indeed, we have found evidence in India in late periods of three fables whose antiquity is well established, namely "The Mango and the Walkers", "The Elephant and the Mosquito" and "The Trees and the Reed". And, although without direct Mesopotamian documentation, the Indian fables listed on page 324 also appear to be ancient, since the theme of the snake guardian of treasures or else the themes of true nature revealed at the end or of the small who defeat the large, for example, are very ancient. The specific form of these fables may, however, sometimes perhaps depend on the Greek influence.

c) *Some Specific Fables*

We will conclude by giving a report on Greek fables to which—with greater or lesser likelihood, depending on the cases—a definitive Oriental, Mesopotamian or Egyptian origin may be attributed. They are much more numerous than the two fables, that of the eagle and the fox and that of the bull and the mosquito, that are usually cited in relation to this, though they have not been for some time now. What cannot always be guaranteed is the age of the loan, when the fable does not appear in Archaic or Classical times; it is clear that Oriental fables were newly introduced into Greece in the Hellenistic Age, such as the two by Callimachus that we have repeatedly men-

tioned, and that further ones were subsequently introduced. It is known, for example, that there are some in Babrius.[70]

First we have Greek fables of which there is direct Mesopotamian documentation, irrespective of whether there is also Egyptian or Indian. Clearly, we are not referring to fables conserved in identical, but approximate form, with even the animal or the topic changed, while maintaining the main motif. We have (we give the abbreviated documentation):

Archilochus, *Ep.* I (= H. 1, etc.), "The Eagle and the Fox". There is Mesopotamian (*Etana*) and Indian evidence, which we have indicated, compare pp. 305 ff. and 322.

Archilochus, fr. 232 A. πατρόθεν πορδακίδαι offers evidence of the Greek antiquity of the fable of the mule who boasted of his mother the mare and forgot his father the ass (later in Bab. 62, H. 285). This is possibly anticipated by Kramer, p. 193: "Oh mule! Will it be your father that is going to recognize you or will it be your mother?"

Sophocles, *Ant.* 710 ff. (= H. 71, 239, etc.) "The Trees and the Torrent" or "The Trees and the Reed" or "The Oak and the Reed". It is a proverb related in *Ahikar* II 65 and a "dispute", cf. Gordon, "New Look . . .", p. 146, cf. also, perhaps, the theme of the little tree dragged down by the torrent in the poem *Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Infernos* in Kramer, p. 269. Cf. also Indian echoes, p. 324.

Demetrius Phalereus, "The He-goat and the Vineyard", clearly related to "The Gazelle and the Sumac" in *Ahikar* VIII 4.

Callimachus, *Iamb* II "The Gossipy Nature of Men", which we have related to the story of why men are liars in the *Babylonian Theodicy*. Cf. Lambert, p. 89.

Callimachus, *Iamb* IV, Phaedrus III 17 "The Laurel and the Olive" (and H. 263 "The Fir and the Bramble", Synt. 31, Aphth. 22 "The Olive and the Fig"). We have related these fables to the Sumerian one of the tamarind and the palm and the Egyptian one of the sycamore and the *moringa* tree.[71]

H. 15a "The Fox and the Grapes", is perfectly comparable to

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[70] Cf. B. E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus*, *cit.*, pp. LX ff.

[71] Cf. on the fable by Callimachus, M. Sicherl, "Cuestiones de primacía en la fábula antigua", *Actas del V Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos*, Madrid 1978, pp. 249–54.

"The Dog and the Dates", in *Col.* 5.90 (the dog that does not succeed in eating the dates says: "they are bitter").

H. 38 "The Wolf and the Ploughman" and various other fables are comparable with *Ahikar* VIII 36 "The Wolf": this animal is incapable of learning. Curiously, the closest parallel, albeit christianized, is that of P. 585 *Isengrimus monachus*: the wolf, in school, says "*agnus*" or "*aries*" instead of "*Pater noster*", just as in the Assyrian fable he says "kid" or "lamb" instead of "alpha" "beta".

We have already said that H. 62 "The Farmer and the Serpent" is closely comparable to "The Potter's Dog" in *Ahikar* VIII 17.

H. 95 "The Viper and the File" develops an identical theme to that of *Ahikar* VIII 3 "The Scorpion and the Rock".

H. 119 "Zeus and the Camel" and H. 174 "The Weasel and the Mice" (anticipated, perhaps, in Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1182). The themes of these two fables—the camel asks Zeus for horns and is punished, the mice put on horns and lose the war with the weasels because of this—seem to merge in Kramer, p. 188 (the fox obtains horns from Enlil, undoubtedly to end up asking to lose them).

H. 164 "The Wolf and the Sheep" has been compared by us, page 358, with the fable in Gordon (1958) *Col.* 5.55 "The Lion and the Goat" (a clever answer by the latter saves him) and an Indian fable (Rice, p. 56) between the same animals, with the goat saving himself with his boasting.

H. 183 "Hermes and the Woodcutter". Cf. *Ahikar* II 70 (an image of a god must be given its part when a discovery is made).

We have compared H. 185 "The Walker and the Plane Tree" with the simile in *Ahikar* II 28 and the Indian fable of the walkers and the mango, cf. p. 324.

H. 209 "The Field Pigeons and the Tame Ones" uses the motif of the decoy that causes the death of the other birds, as in *Ahikar* VIII 15.

H. 259 "The Eagle and the Tortoise". Cf. p. 323, our reasoning in support of the idea that this fable, of which there are also traces in India, is of Mesopotamian origin.

H. 262 "The Woodcutters and the Oak" develops the motif of the wedge made from the same tree that is cut, as in *Ahikar* VIII 24, although in a different form (there is pain in the Greek fable, boasting in the Assyrian). Perhaps this fable has inspired that of the monkey caught when the wedge falls, the first fable in the *Panchatantra*.

H. 267 "The Mosquito and the Lion", H. 292 "The Lion, the

Elephant and Prometheus", the theme of the small animal that manages to control the large one, perhaps comparable to that of the elephant and the mosquito, cf. above, p. 324, etc.

H. 297 "The Summer and the Winter". This is one of the Sumerian "disputes", cf. Gordon, "New Look . . .", p. 145 and Kramer, pp. 195 ff.

Various fables of the wolf and the lamb, etc., Cf. *Col.* 8.16 "The Wolf and the Goat".

Bab. 56 "The Mother of the Monkey and Zeus", in which monkey's mother believes her son deserves to win the beauty competition organized by Zeus, is comparable to Kramer, p. 187: Thus spoke the bitch proudly: "Whether they (the puppies) have tawny or spotted hair, I love my little ones".

Bab. 67 "The Wild Ass and the Lion", Phaedrus I 5 "The Cow, the Goat, the Sheep and the Lion" present the theme of the powerful who share out and keep the largest part, as in "The Nine Wolves and the Tenth", cf. above, p. 357.

Bab. 85 "The Bull and the Mosquito", as is known, identical to "The Elephant and the Mosquito" in *Pop. Sayings* IV 50 ff., already mentioned.

Par. Bodl. 173 Cr. and *Tetr.* II 32 "The Snake" present a snake sailing downriver on some brambles, insulted by somebody from the bank. The same as in *Ahikar* VIII 27, where that somebody is the wolf, who receives the appropriate answer.

Fab. Syr. 74 from the collection by Lefèvre (cf. p. 148) "The Trap and the Lark". Perfectly comparable to *Ahikar* VIII 10.

At other times it is in Egypt where the model of the Greek fable seems to be found—which does not mean that it may not also have existed in Mesopotamia or even the whole tradition derive from there. Though when we are dealing with Egyptian animals proper, this ceases to be likely.

We have the fables of the monkey, Archilochus, *Ep.* VI and VII (= H. 14, 83), to which we have already attributed this origin (cf. p. 328). The same is likely for those of the mouse and the cat (H. 179 above particularly) or the weasel (in Aristophanes), whether they are Greek or Indian; the *Batrachomyomachia*, as we said, may also come from the Egyptian fable of the cats and the mice. We have also indicated the possible Egyptian origin of the fables of the beetle, particularly H. 2, in which it appears fighting with the eagle, whom not even Zeus can protect from him.

Apart from these fables, we have suspected those fables that show

a "dispute" between the members of the body (H. 132, Bab. 134) to have an Egyptian origin, cf. p. 329. And the comparison of the Egyptian representation of the goat dancing while the wolf plays the flute with the well-known Greek fable, H. 99 "The Wolf Flute-player" also seems very credible.

Let us now move on to those fables of which there is only Greek and Indian documentation. We already know that there may be various hypotheses in this case. Of course, early Greek documentation supports the idea (though it does not prove it) that the Greek and Indian fables come from Mesopotamia independently. We may recall here that this is the case with the theme of the grateful eagle (in Stesichorus 103 *PMG*, Aphth. 28 and another closely related fable, H. 199), with the fable of the hawk and the nightingale (the pigeon in India) from Hesiod, that of "The Fox and the Lion" in Archilochus, *Epode* IV and that of "The Fox, the Stag and the Lion" in the same author, *Epode* III.

Supplement

I am not aware of a bibliography that increases our knowledge of the relationships between the Oriental fable and the Greek fable, except for isolated examples such as that of H. 132 (cf. Vol. III) and elements that are deduced from the increase in our materials (for H. I, for example). But this increase is sometimes considerable.

For the Indian fable, cf.:

L. A. VAN DAALEN, "De leer van het Panchatantra", in IDEMA and others 1993, pp. 169–177. He places the *Panchatantra* c. 200 BC. It is rather a summary, comparing with the *arthaśāstra*. Nothing new.

G. U. THITE, "Indian Fable", in Adrados 1984, pp. 33–60. The most interesting aspect is that he indicates antecedents of the fable in the Veda (conversations of Śaramā and Paṇis; of Indra, Indrāni and Vṛṣakapi; also in the *Satapatha Brahmāna* between gods and Asuras. He summarizes the chronology, discusses the moral teaching, the recommending of deceit and the gnomic verses, etc.; nothing new, in short.

C. I. PAWATE, *The Panchatantra Aesop's Fables. A Study in Genre.* Delhi, Univ., 1986. Gives the characteristics of the fables of the *Panchatantra* and the Aesopic fables but contributes nothing of interest on their relations. He gives an old bibliography that argues precipitously for the Indian origin (pp. 50 ff. and 109).

For the relations between Greece and India in general cf. F. R. ADRADOS, "Contactos culturales entre la India y Grecia", *Synthesis* 1, 1994, pp. 54–76.

There is more material on the Mesopotamian fable. Apart from that already indicated above and specific studies mentioned in Vol. III, cf.:

G. GRAGG, "The Fable of the Heron and the Turtle", *AOF* 24, 1963, pp. 51–72. He studies a series of Sumerian tablets, with a text A and a text B. In the first the turtle attacks the heron, who complains to Enki, who allows her to put her eggs with him. The turtle insults her, the heron asks Enki to make a judgement, which he fails to do. B is less clear, the turtle addresses Enki. I believe there is a close relationship with H. 1 and even H. 3, see Vol. III.

R. S. FALKOWITZ, "Discrimination and Condensation of Sacred Categories: the Fable in Early Mesopotamian Literature", in Adrados 1984, pp. 1–32. He gives a good bibliography of Sumerian fables, included his publication *The Sumerian Rhetoric Collections*: there are 23 collections from Nippur (24 and 25 are of unknown origin), half of animals; about 150 school tablets from Ur, with about 61 of animals. On p. 13 the topic is that of the fox that urinated, which he relates to texts of "Enki and the World Order" and "Enki and Ninhursang". On p. 21, he gives West's criticism of the mythological origin of the fable of the fox that urinated. On p. 31, he speaks on the role of the school in the transmission of the fable, compared with Greece.

N. OETTINGER (in N. HOLZBERG 1992, pp. 3–22), "Achikars Weisheitsprüche im Licht alterer Fabeldichtung". I will discuss the *Life of Aesop* later. Here it is important to indicate the tablet found in Bohazkoy in 1983, Hurrian with a Hittite translation from c. 1400 (but written in the language of two centuries earlier. It transcribes seven fables whose theme is always that of the loyalty, with dialogue; the punishment of the animal that betrays his homeland ("The Roe Deer"), the vessel of the blacksmith . . . On pp. 17 ff. he discusses the disputes in Mesopotamia, from Sumer (bull and horse, date palm and tamarisk, the nine wolves and the tenth (theme of "the lion's share", H. 154).

Th. J. H. KRISPIJN, "Dierenfabels in het oude Mesopotamië", in IDEMA and others, 1993, pp. 139–148 (he gives examples, but does not give a new bibliography).

See also the bibliography on Mesopotamian debates:

H. L. J. VANSTIPHOUT, "The Mesopotamian Debate Poems. A General Presentation (Part 1)", *Acta Sumerologica* 12, 1990, pp. 271–318.
Chr. J. BRUNNER, "The Fable of the Babylonian Tree, 1: Introduction", *JNES* 39, 1980, pp. 191–202; "II: Translation", ibid. 291–302.

For the Egyptian fable, in general terms, there is no new bibliography to add, except for some works on specific fables, cf. Vol. III (H. 1, H. 2, H. 132, the *Life of Aesop*). But see F. W. VON BISSING, "Eudoxos' von Knidos Aufenthalt in Ägypten und seine Übertragung ägyptischer Tierfabeln", *Forschung und Fortschritte* 25, 1949, pp. 225–230.

CHAPTER FIVE

PANORAMA OF THE FABLE IN THE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL AGES

I. *The Fable in the Archaic and Classical Ages*

1. *General Panorama of the Fable in the Archaic Age*

We are now in a position to map out a general panorama of the fable in the Archaic and Classical Ages, that is to say, throughout the period prior to the Hellenistic Age itself. Although most of our main points have already been made, it is appropriate to summarize them here, since they have been stated in different contexts and from very different standpoints.

In the Archaic Age, from the 8th to the 6th centuries BC, we find the fable as a literary work proper to the poetry that we might call iambic and symposiac, which was created and sung at the festival, including the banquet. Yet this festival was characterized precisely—although this is a vicious circle—by this type of poetry and by a multitude of concomitant phenomena, satire and mockery, agonal and mimetic representations generally (with or without animals) of a "comic" type, orgiastic, erotic, critical elements. This all took place at the festival of the land, in short, or in one aspect of it.

In the Archaic Age this was the type of poetry of poets such as Archilochus, Stesichorus, Semonides, which was then continued in the Classical and Hellenistic Ages by other iambographic poets, also through the elegy and other types of poetry used for festivals of this type. The fable by Simonides on the octopus, which comes from an epinicion, may even fit within this category; the epinicia of Simonides are clearly linked to the context of drinking and the banquet, and in this particular one (fr. 9 *PMG*), with the fable of the fisherman and the octopus—the former complains about the hunger that his family will suffer if he do not catch it and the cold he will suffer if he does catch it—the poet is addressing a winner in the Games at Pallene, in which the prize was a woollen tunic.

The key point is this: all this poetry presents the fable to us as

an exemplum that the poet directs at somebody to offer an illustration of reality or to suggest a form of behaviour to them, always from a critical perspective. This is not narrative poetry, but lyric poetry, in which an "I" addresses a "you"; and the poet speaks for himself, not making any reference to the life of Aesop or to another person. This is the characteristic aspect. This is already the case in Hesiod when he tells the fable of the nightingale and the hawk; his position in relation to Perses is the same as that of Archilochus in relation to Lycambes or of Stesichorus in relation to the Himeraeans; their work, as we have already said, has many "lyric" elements. But it is particularly the case when the fable is taken up by the prose writers of the 5th and 4th centuries. As we have seen, the fable always appears in their work as narrated by somebody to somebody in certain circumstances by way of an exemplum, a critique, etc.

This character of a narration in direct style by one interlocutor to another, which the fable always possessed until it reached the collections, that is, the existence in it of the interplay between two stages, which we have discussed, cannot but come from its most remote origins. We have already said where these origins lie, in the festivals mentioned above. Combined in them were a series of different animalistic motifs, sometimes coming from direct observation, sometimes from a very wide range of similes, portents, maxims, beliefs, etc., sometimes from mimetic representations. On the other hand, the fable was the parallel of the myth, from which it is hardly distinguishable in certain cases. And the model was undoubtedly Oriental. Starting from here and in the environment already referred to, there were developments that gave rise to the fable as a story directed by one of those attending the festival to another. Undoubtedly this could sometimes have been done in prose, sometimes in the rhythms proper to the festival. Archilochus and the other poets did no more than develop this latter possibility and give it a literary character, fixed forever.

There was uncertainty over to what to call this first fable, as it was a genre hardly separable—if separable at all—from the myth, the anecdote, the proverb. In Hesiod and in Archilochus they performed wholly comparable roles, whereas subsequently, in the collections of fables, the anecdote was rare and the myth was restricted to certain very specific and limited themes (which, moreover, find precedents in Hesiod), while the proverb was either included in the fable or else followed a different destiny. Even the simile was difficult

to separate from the fable at the beginning and this situation continued even as far as the 5th century.

This lack of distinction between genres resulted at the same time in both an absence of appropriate vocabulary to distinguish them and the presence of common structural elements; we drew attention to this in I 1, pp. 28 ff. There are also certain details in common. For example, certain initial and final formulas that were later common in the fable, not only in the 5th century, but also in the collections, already occurred in the Archaic Age in this whole fable-anecdote-myth-simile complex. In the initial series of myths by Hesiod, which includes a fable, there is, for example, no essential difference between the former and the latter, that of the hawk and the nightingale; we invariably find a similar structure, not to mention intention, reprimands and advice to Perses.

We can actually give the prologues in which the poet informs us of his intention to tell of an event or offer an exemplum: vs. 10 (ἐγὼ δέ κε Πέρσῃ ἐτήτυμα μυθήσαιμι, 106 (εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, ἕτερόν τι ἐγὼ λόγον ἐκκορυφώσω), 202 (νῦν δ' αἶνον βασιλεῦσιν ἐρέω). Here are the impressive epimythia, directed at the recipient: 27 (Ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα τεῷ ἐνικάτθεο θυμῷ), 213 (Ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δ' ἄκουε δίκης), 298 f. (ἀλλὰ σύ . . . γ' ἐργάζευ) and those drawing the conclusions with an οὕτως (105 οὕτως δ' οὔ τί πη ἔστι Διὸς νόον ἐξαλέασθαι).

It is noteworthy that in the fables of the collections the type exists, for example, in which there is an exhortation to the fable's audience to behave in the way it justifies; this type, among others, is with ἀτάρ,[1] compare, for example H. 13 ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ . . . cf. H. 30, 35, 131, etc. and H. 53 (closing statement) ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς . . . (also in the "closing statement" of "The Owl and the Birds" in the Rylands Papyrus). The type exists with οὕτως, for example H. 2, 7, 9, 14, 15 etc., *PRyl.* 493, 1.73, Plutarch, *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 157b, *Q. Conv.* 614 F and, Horace, *Ep.* I 10.39 (*sic qui pauperiem veritus . . .*).[2] This type, insofar as it is not impressive, is in fact equivalent to the very common ὁ λόγος (μῦθος) δηλοῖ . . ., which is sometimes combined with it (H. 4 ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ ὅτι οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλόγιστοί εἰσι . . .). If this is so, this is clearly because these formulas were retained by the fable starting from Archilochus; sometimes not only by the fable, but also by the anecdote and the simile; this group tended to free

[1] On their age, cf. my *Estudios* . . ., pp. 235 ff.
[2] Cf. B. E. Perry, "The Origin of the Epimythium", *TAPhA* 71, 1940, pp. 395 ff.

itself of the myth, and later the fable separated from it, developing its own characteristics.

Consider first what we stated in I 1, pp. 5 ff., 8 ff., on the continuity of the prologue formulas indicating the beginning of a narration; these formulas were only continued in the collections where the "second grade" narration was conserved, in the mouth of Aesop or another character. Outside of the collections and in earlier times we frequently find these formulas in Archilochus and in numerous exemplum-fables by Aristophanes, etc., also in similes, portents (one transposition is the κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν by Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 107 ff.), anecdotes, etc. The same may be said of the formulas that begin the narration, for example, those with ὡς (Aristophanes, *Aves* 652, 1473, *Vespae* 1448, Sophocles, *Ant.* 713, Plato, *Phaedo* 60b, *Phaedrus* 258e, Aristotle, *HA* 619 a 16 ff., *Rhet.* II 20; and earlier still in Archilochus, 27.2 A.); with ὅπως (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 105), infinitive in indirect style (very frequent); with γάρ (Aristophanes, *Aves* 1474, Plato, *Prot.* 320c, *Symp.* 203a, Xenophon, *Mem.* II 7.13; and earlier still in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 42, Archilochus 163.1, Semonides 9). On other occasions, there is an alternative device used, a ὧδε before the initial phrase opening the direct style of the "closing statement", cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 203 ὧδ' ἴρηξ προσέειπεν, Aeschylus 139 R. ὧδ' ἐστὶ μύθων τῶν Λιβυστικῶν κλέος, *Carm. Conv.* 9 *PMG* ὁ δὲ καρκίνος ὧδ' ἔφα . . . cf. Aeschylus, *Ag.* 125. The same may be said of the formulas of the "closing statement" or the epimythium, of the exhortative type and of the "thus . . ." type. Examples of this are to be found in Archilochus, the ὡς δ' ἄν σε θωϊὴ λάβοι of "The Eagle and the Fox" (fr. 33 A.), but also in epimythia of anecdotes, such as that of the cowardly captain in the *Aiax* by Sophocles (1147 οὕτω δὲ καί σε . . .) or that of Glaucus in Herodotus (VI 86) or the old wives' tales of Melanion and Timon in Aristophanes, *Lys.* 794, 816 or the myth of Protagoras (Pl., *Prot.* 322d οὕτω δέ, ὦ Σώκρατες . . .); and in the "closing statement" of the fable in Xen., *Mem.* II 7.13–14.

As regards exhortative epimythia, we also find these throughout this literature, such as in the anecdote of the Sybarite in Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1431 (ἔρδοι τις . . .), in the fable of the fisherman and the fish in Herodotus I 141, in that of the sheep and the dog in Xenophon, *Mem.* II 7.13–14, etc.); sometimes both types combine (οὕτω followed by an imperative or a voluntative subjunctive, as in the anecdote of the Sybarite, *Vespae* 1432, cf. Callimachus, *Epigr.* 1). Also belonging to this exhortative type are the epimythia in the two fables by Aristotle

in *Rhet.* II 20: ἀτὰρ οὖν, ἄνδρες Σάμιοι . . . in "The Fox and the Hedgehog" and οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς . . ., in "The Stag, the Horse and the Man", by Stesichorus. The type is also found in epilogues, such as that of the simile of the ship of state in Archilochus 163 A. (ἀλλὰ σὺ προμήθεσαι, corresponding to an epimythium or second stage in the parallel simile by Theognis, 68 f.).

Nevertheless, there are various other types of initial and final formulas that are found first in the various genres that we are considering from the Archaic and Classical Ages (although in the latter not in the myth), then in the fables of the collections. Types such as the epimythia with a conditional, of the type of εἰ . . . νοῦν ἂν εἶχες πλείονα in "The Sybarite" by Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1438, along with which, mention may be made of the closing statement of H. 9 εἰ τοσαύτας φρένας εἶχες . . . and of various epimythia. Yet now is not the time to pursue this study in detail. What is important is to show that the initial and final formulas of the Archaic myths and fables were maintained in the Classical Age in the fable and related genres and then in the fables of the collections.

Yet it is not only the related initial and final formulas—which derive from the common characteristics of all these genres, already highlighted by us—that reveal their ancient relationship or similarity. In the centre, in the story itself, there are elements that are very closely related. We have already seen this in I 1, pp. 28 ff., which we cited above. To be more specific, we can refer to the temporal location of the story, using the imperfect, in a remote or indefinite time (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 2: οὐκ ἄρα μοῦνον ἔην . . ., 90 πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ζώεσκον . . .); the passage to action, using the aorist (in Hesiod: 47 ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἔκρυψε . . ., 94 f. ἀλλὰ γυνὴ χείρεσσι . . . ἐσκέδασ' . . ., 203 ὧδ' ἴρηξ προσέειπεν, etc.); continuatives such as οὕτω in Aeschylus, *Ag.* 718, then in Aristophanes, *Lys.* 785 (οὕτως ἦν νεανίσκος Μελανίων τις) *Vespae* 1182 (οὕτω ποτ' ἦν μῦς καὶ γαλῆ); the final closing statement by the last character, whether animal or not. All this marks the point of departure for characteristics of the Classical fable, sometimes with variations, such as beginnings with ποτέ and with τις (and the imperfect, of course); continuations with κἄπειτα; etc. What interests us here is to show that, in short, this whole system derives from a broader basis than the fable as such, within which, in the beginning, hardly any distinctions were made. It must be said, however, that certain specific formulas, such as the beginnings of narrations with ποτέ, the continuative κἄπειτα, the closing statement or epimythium with ἀτάρ,

seem to date from after Archilochus and to have arisen at a time when the myth was already clearly separated from the fable, whereas the anecdote and, to a certain extent, the simile, etc., remained attached to the latter. In short, what we have attempted to demonstrate is that specializations took place starting from a broader basis.

On the other hand, it is very important to point out that the ternary structure of the fable, the myth, etc., which was later continued in the fable as such before being introduced into the collections (though partially in these, thanks to the presence of the promythium and/or epimythium), is no more than one particular case within the ternary structure of the closed genres of the Archaic Age.[3] It occurs in poems that are isolated or else placed secondarily in a collection, such as those of Theognis; and also in short elements introduced within longer structures, such as those we have studied here and other discursive, non-illustrative ones.

Of course, these ternary structures may have lacunae, as we have seen in the initial passage of *Works and Days*. It is often the case that the epilogue (equivalent to the epimythium) is absent and that it is replaced by the conclusion; that there are transitional passages, such as *Hym. Hom.* IX 7–9, the epilogue of a hymn and the announcement of the following one. On the other hand, the "centre" may have an appositive structure, with digressions, etc., like the one that we have attributed to the myth in general and to the oldest fable in particular. It is often the case that the epilogue is of the exhortative type, such as when Sappho is addressing Aphrodite in her well-known poem; and there is also a formula with οὕτως, as in Semonides 2, with a purely narrative "centre", on the misfortunes of men, and an epilogue οὕτω κακῶν ἄπ' οὐδέν.

In short, it is in these ternary structures that we need to place the origin of the broad-based genre that later gradually became more clearly defined and specified until it resulted, among other things, in the fable of the 5th and 4th centuries and its derivative in the collections.

Now, there is a further point that is just as significant as the points we have indicated that were common to all these genres in the Archaic Age and were sometimes continued later in the Classical fable, which is that the Archaic fable had not yet acquired the struc-

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[3] Cf. B. A. van Groningen, *La composition littéraire archaique 2*, Amsterdam 1960, pp. 27 ff.; and my *Orígenes de la lírica griega*, Madrid 1976, pp. 149 ff.

tural simplicity that increasingly came to characterize the Classical fable and that of the collections; that is to say, it continued to stick to the established structures. There is, certainly, agreement in the approaches to the fable along general lines, cf. I 1, pp. 28 ff., but, insofar as we are familiar with Archilochus' fables—which are the ones from the Archaic period that have reached us in the best condition—their narrative schemes are, we repeat, still closely related to those of the myth. These schemes are much longer and more diffuse, more complicated than those of the later fable, which is almost always focused on a simple *agon* or on the resolution of a situation. We already discussed this when presenting the features common to all fables, particularly the Archaic and Classical animalistic fable in I 2, pp. 48 ff., and II 1, pp. 141 ff.

Of course, the intention and structure of the Archaic and Classical fable are generally the same. Even so, it is significant that in Archilochus we do not yet find "second grade" narrations, as we do in Aristophanes, though there are prologues; and above all, it is significant that the simple agonal schemes that are common in the fable of the 5th century and the collections do sometimes appear, but at other times there are much more complex schemes in their place. These schemes that are closely related to or the same as those of the myth. This once again supports our idea that it was in the 5th century that the animalistic fable was definitively separated from the myth, only remaining linked to the anecdote and other minor subordinate genres. Indeed, we have already said that in the long initial passage of *Works and Days*, the various myths and the fable of the hawk and the nightingale are interchangeable, and that in Archilochus the myth of Heracles and Deianeira performs the same function as animalistic fables or anecdotes such as that of the fortune-teller Batusiades or Aethiops the Corinthian.

The cases of Hesiod and Archilochus are different, however. Let us look at them separately.

The myths of Hesiod constitute a quite confused body of work. They may begin either with a prologue of the type: "I am going to narrate . . .", "I am going to tell you . . .", or simply with the story (for example, 90 πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ζώεσκον . . .). Similarly, they may have an epimythium (105 οὕτως οὔ τί πη ἔστι) or simply give the end of the story as a conclusion (89 ὅτε δὲ κακὸν εἶχε, νόησε). They are not independent, but use each other as antecedents; for example, in 42 the myth of Prometheus ties in, through γάρ, with the previous one

of the two Erides, in 90 the myth of Pandora is linked with this by means of another γάρ, in 106 the poet offers a new illustration of same to Perses (εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, ἕτερόν τι ἐγὼ λόγον ἐκκορυφώσω). More importantly, although sometimes there is the obvious possibility of an agonal structure, this tends to blur into an appositive story, mixed up with explanations using γάρ and with returns to the past. There are countless interventions by Zeus and Prometheus, for example.

Compared with this panorama, the fable of the hawk and the nightingale offers greater clarity. At least, it offers a certain independence (though with an allusion to what came before, νῦν δ' αἶνον ... ἐρέω); it has a prologue and an epimythium, and it is short. However, the fable is told in a different way from how a Classical fabulist would have done. He would undoubtedly have first presented the situation (the hawk takes the nightingale in his claws), followed by a simple *agon* in which the nightingale begs and the hawk "closes" with his sarcastic refusal. That is to say:[4]

ABsit.-Bdir./Adir.

But not Hesiod; he announces the words of the hawk and includes in this announcement the description of the situation and the reference to the plea from the nightingale; there then follows the direct speech by the hawk. Everything has been reduced to a story, from which the agonal elements must be deduced, as they are not stated consecutively. This, as regards the form. As regards the content, the fable is anomalous, since in it there is no display either of cunning in the weak, nor—except in a broad context—is there criticism of the strong; and this criticism there is very *sui generis*, that the abuse of power by the strong is not acceptable among men, whereas it is among beasts (Hes., *Op.* 274 ff.). The reader need do no more than look at the version of the fable in the Augustana (H. 4) to see that this has been adapted to fit the structure that we term *classical* and the classical content. The scheme is exactly the one we have proposed above; and the nightingale attempts a deception to save its life, though unsuccessfully.

Archilochus already organizes fables with a clearly agonal structure, as we have seen; and there are independent fables which, as far as we know, all have a first stage with prologue and epimythium

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[4] See our symbols in I 1, p. 35.

and a second stage, with the fable. Yet, as we have said, neither in function nor in structure is there a great difference between the fables on one hand, and, on the other, a myth such as that of Heracles and Deianeira in *Epode* XII: there is a long series of actions and speeches, as in the epic. The intervention of Zeus and the role of the fox are anomalous in "The Eagle and the Fox", as we have already said (cf. p. 174), as is the theme of the simple punishment of the wicked. Clearly the fable in Archilochus sometimes has the critical and satirical meaning that we have discussed, but it may, like the myth, simply dissuade from a form of behaviour on account of the risks that this involves. This same function is performed by the simile in the fragment of the ship of state (163), by simple threats elsewhere (123). Certainly, the anecdote of the fabulistic type already appears in Archilochus' work. To sum up, the fable is only half-formed in Archilochus.

Let us now be a little more specific as regards the structure. Archilochus' fables correspond—undoubtedly for very different reasons—with certain late fables from the collections, in presenting extremely complicated *agones*, cf. already II 1, pp. 152 ff. Let us look first at "The Eagle and the Fox".

The fable is preceded by a first stage (attack against Lycambes), which is re-encountered at the end in the epimythium ("thus punishment may reach you"). After the first stage there follow no less than two prologues: "listen to my insults" and "there is a fable spread among men". As regards the fable as such, its scheme is the following: the friendship between the fox and the eagle is described, followed by the narration of the robbery of the former's young by the latter, the lament of the fox followed by the flight and sacrilegious speech of the eagle; only then does the fox plead to Zeus, after which comes the sacrilege of the fox and his death. The scheme may be outlined as follows:

First stage.-2 prols.-A/Bsit.-Bact./Adir.-Bact.-dir./Adir.-Bact.-Epim.

There is, in short, an accumulative story in which actions and direct speeches alternate; all the actions and words of the eagle may perhaps be considered as his part in a single *agon*, a part followed by that of the fox (his words); and the conclusion, the punishment by Zeus through an action of the eagle himself, proves confused. This is a narration of the mythical type, not yet of the fabulistic type.

Something similar occurs in Epodes III and VI, which we have described as having a double *agon* in the cited passage.

Consider, more specifically, the complexity of the fable "The Lion, the Fox and the Stag" in Epode III, if our reconstruction in *Líricos griegos arcaicos* I is correct. After a first stage and a prologue, which we must suppose is missing, come the following scenes:

1: The sick lion asks the fox to bring the stag by deceit.
2: The fox speaks to the stag, the latter approaches the cave and the lion wounds him in the ear, the stag flees.
3: The fox finds the stag again, reassures him.
4: The stag returns to the cave and is devoured.

The outline, restricting it to the story, would be:

A1/A2sit.-A2dir./Bact./A1 act.-A2dir./Bact./A1act.

In a way, there are two *agones*, but these are complex and in both the behaviour of the fox, a mixture of deception and force, complicates the situation; it removes the clear schematism of the later fable from it.

Similarly, a story such as that by Stesichorus on the eagle and the serpent is long and complicated, yet still without fabulistic organization. "The Eagle and the Beetle" by Semonides, a fable of four characters, is still complex, if the version in H. 4 reflects the ancient one. In this we have the following episodes:

1: The eagle pursues the hare.
2: The hare pleads to the beetle/the latter intervenes on the side of the eagle.
3: The eagle devours the hare/the beetle takes revenge on him.
4: The eagle pleads to Zeus/the latter allows him to put his eggs in his mantle.
5: The beetle flies up and throws his ball/Zeus throws out the eggs.

We may summarize this, with A as the beetle, B1 the eagle, B2 the hare, C Zeus.

B1/B2sit.-B2ind./Aind.-B1 act./Aact.-B1act./Aact.-B1ind./Cind.-B1act./Cact.

There may be some differences, such as the presence of direct speech in Semonides, judging by fr. 12; but in short, once again there is a complicated action, with four characters and various episodes that

cannot all be called *agones*. There is simply a succession of various actions and speeches, in much the same way as in the mythical narration.

This may be studied not only in the exemplum-myths of Hesiod (not to mention those of Homer) or, later, in those of Plato, to whom we will refer, but in Archilochus himself. Consider for example, that in "Heracles and Deianeira" (Epode XII), if we follow our reconstruction in *Líricos griegos arcaicos* I, we must postulate:

A/B/Csit.-Bdir./Cdir./Adir.-Adir.

Indeed, after the situation between Heracles, Nessus and Deianeira, the *agon* is very complex, with speeches by the three, before the death of the centaur at the hands of Heracles; this is clearly a construction tending towards an epic style, which distinguishes between preceding speeches (three in this case) and action.

2. *General Panorama of the Fable in the Classical Age*

The essential elements concerning what has been retained and what modified from the panorama of the fable in the Classical Age have already been stated. However, we must return to this and add some further points. We can indicate certain points that it is appropriate to investigate later: the sources and diffusion of the fable; the differentiation of the fable as regards terminology, formulas, content and structure.

In the 5th and 4th centuries, as far as we know, the fable had two uses. On one hand, it was customary at the banquet, according to the data we have already presented; and we do not doubt that it was also customary at the festival in general, which, moreover, always contained a meal. On the other hand, it continued to spread through the literature, always in the form of an exemplum and with modifications of content and structure, to which we have already referred.

All this lead us to suppose that in the Classical Age there was a diffusion of the fable of the oral and traditional type, no more no less than that of the myth, the proverb, the joke, the simile, etc. The "examination" to which Bdelycleon subjects his father Philocleon, in the final scene of *Vespae*, before going to the banquet, to see if he knows appropriate fables, anecdotes, etc., clearly shows this. Which does not make it inconceivable that, just as Philocleon knows certain

scholia from memory, the knowledge of some fables may have come to him from the literary tradition. This is clearly the case, judging from the quotations of very well-known fables by Archilochus and Semonides. On the other hand, in contrast to what has been affirmed, the οὐδ' Αἴσωπον πεπάτηκας in *Aves* 471, does not lead us to suppose that reading was involved. In any event, there is an oral knowledge. The fable, we suppose, would be narrated by the diner using improvised words, although he kept to the usual formulas, as we do when we tell a story. If Aristophanes presents the fables to which he refers in trimetres, this is because, as a comedy writer, he could not act otherwise. He does not transcribe Archilochus or Semonides, despite the fact that it would be convenient, as they are in the same metre, but rather, he versifies stories in prose. We have already discussed the relationships between fable and comedy; here, as we are dealing with a comedy, the characters are introduced telling fables.

We repeat, the basis of the diffusion of the fable was oral. When Socrates, in prison, devoted himself to placing the Aesopic fables, "which he knew and had at hand" in verse (Pl., *Phaedo* 60d–61b), it is clear that, in prison, he could not rely on any collection of fables, only on his memory. Everything Nøjgaard says[5] on the arrival in Athens of a collection of fables by Aesop is just as ineffectual as the theory of a supposed *Life of Aesop* already written in the 5th century BC. There is no data to support this (the use of the fable by Attic writers does not do so, nor do the Athenian themes in certain fables) and there are many considerations against.

The path of the fable is like that of many genres to which we have already referred, myth, tale, joke, simile, proverb, etc. Their diffusion was oral and crossed over into the literature when it was used in the context of literary genres, as an illustration within these. We have already said that, in the case of the fable, this implies that they were written in iambic trimetres, writing in prose came later historically. It took place within the dialogue or episodes of dialogue within other genres.

There were therefore no collections of fables in the Classical Age. They only existed in a potential state, in the sense that, if various diners tell fables at a banquet and somebody collects them, albeit only in their memory, we already have a collection; or if Socrates

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[5] *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 456 ff.

wishes to versify material that exists in his memory, another collection arises. Just as collections arise when *scolia* or elegies from the banquet are compiled in the small collection of *scolia* transmitted by Athenaeus or in the collection by Theognis. However, only in the Hellenistic Age did these collections acquire public diffusion and a literary character. In the case of the fable, due to the work of Demetrius Phalereus, as has been stated.

As we have said, this oral diffusion of the fable crystallized, on one hand, when it was narrated at the banquet; on the other, when it was made literary, according to a tradition already begun earlier. Now, in the age that now concerns us, the lyric practically disappeared, at least the sort that was suitable for the diffusion of the fable, although we could make reference to Simonides, Timocreon and Theognis at the beginning of the 5th century, as well as to allusions by Pindar. Certainly, the ancient lyric continued to be sung at the banquet and *scolia* and small elegies or epigrams were created for it. But the fundamental iambic literature was now the theatre. We have already seen that the fable was present there, particularly in the comedy, but also in the tragedy. Here it is not a poet such as Archilochus that uses it as a weapon against somebody; it is the characters of the drama that direct it against each other. Undoubtedly, this already occurred in the ancient mimetic representations of the festival. But clearly the fable of the theatre also received the influence of the fable from the iambographers. And as we have already said, it underwent a certain evolution linked to the name of Aesop.

Together with the theatre we have prose, insofar as it is not narrative, as somebody is addressing somebody in it by the use of a "second stage". As is the case in the *History* by Herodotus, where somebody wishes to address someone with an "exemplum"; the exemplum may be an anecdote, such as that of Glaucus, narrated by Leotychides to the Athenians so that they return the hostages (VI 86); or it may be a fable, that of the fisherman and the fishes, narrated by Cyrus to the Ionians to show them that they have been late with their proposals (I 141). But this occurs because the *History* by Herodotus has much in it that is conversational and popular; he includes dialogues, tales, etc. Nothing similar can be found in Thucydides, Xenophon or the later historians. Nor in the speeches of the orators, whose high tone clearly excluded the fable. They only tell us two anecdotes, in which Demosthenes ("The Shadow of the Ass", in Plutarch, *Vit. X Orat.* 848 a) and Demades (in H. 63) are addressing

their public to make them pay attention; it is therefore a very particular situation, purely conversational.

The route by which the fable entered prose, first as an exemplum, in the 5th century, then in the collections, was clearly through the Socratic school. There are some precedents in the use of the fable, in the same way as the myth, by the Sophists; a good example of this is the myth or fable of Zeus and Prometheus that Plato attributes to the Sophist Protagoras, in whose writing *On the Original State* it appeared. It comes from Hesiod and later crossed over, in more or less modified form, to the collections; as did another theme of Hesiod, that of the two roads, which reached the *Life of Aesop* through the narration of Prodicus (in Xenophon, *Mem.* II 1.21 ff.; before this, it is also found in Simonides 74 *PMG*).

I do not doubt that the entry into the fable of myths on the origins, through attributions to Aesop and inclusion in Sophistic and Platonic passages, come from their combination, in Hesiod, with an animalistic fable such as that of the hawk and the nightingale. Yet this is, in any case, a marginal zone, which can be noted, among other things, because the structure of the two stories from the *Protagoras* and the *Memorabilia* that we have just mentioned is of the Archaic mythical type, complex and juxtapositional, and not of the "modern" fabulistic type.

This type is already found, as we stated earlier, in the Socratics. This is not at all strange, given the colloquial and popular tone of the Socratic dialogue. As Aristotle notes well, *Rhet.* II 20, the fable appears as a further instrument of persuasion alongside historical events and fictitious anecdotes or parables. There is no doubt that Socrates acquired these resources from everyday conversation in Athens, at the banquet and elsewhere. Of course, on the other hand, these were the same resources that had achieved literary status, particularly in the lyric and the theatre, and it is practically certain that this literary fable was also influential, as we have seen was the case among the Sophists (see below on "The Fortune-teller", by Archilochus).

In short, in the Socratic dialogues of Plato and Xenophon, which are the ones we know best, but also in the rest of Socratic literature, the teacher argues using historical anecdotes (such as that of Archelaus of Macedonia in the *Gorgias*) or simple, more or less fictitious anecdotes (such as that of Thales falling into the well in the *Theaetetus*), also very often with similes, such as those referring to shoemakers,

doctors, cooks, etc., which were so criticized in Socrates' work by his rivals the Sophists. But also with animalistic fables.

In the inventory of the Classical fable shown below we find a fable attributed to Socrates by Diogenes Laertius II 33, "The Farmer's Sons", an anecdotal, non-animalistic fable. Then, leaving aside the two mythical fables from Protagoras and Prodicus respectively, to which we had just referred, we find:

In Plato: "Pleasure and Pain" (*Phaed.* 60b, invented fable), "The Origin of Love" (*Symp.* 189a, created on the theme of Zeus and Prometheus), "Wealth and Poverty" (*Symp.* 203b, invented aetiology), "The Cicadas" (*Phaedr.* 259e ff., aetiological myth), "Thales" (*Theaet.* 174a, anecdote).

In Xenophon: "The Sheep and the Dog" (*Mem.* II 7.13–14); "The Fortune-teller" (*Symp.* IV 70, by Archilochus).

In Antisthenes: "The Lions and the Hares" (in Aristotle, *Pol.* 1284a).

In Aristotle (apart from the two fables in *Rhet.* II 20, which he studies as models of the genre): "The Eagle and the Man" (in *HA* 619 a 17 ff.); "Aesop in the Shipyard" (in *Mete.* 356 b).

This is rather sparse and mixed material. Some of it has earlier precedents; some, it has any precedents, we do not know them; some of it is continued in the collections (such as "The Fortune-teller" and "Aesop in the Shipyard"); some of it is not, or if it is, then this is in modified form ("The Sheep and the Dog", cf. H. 158).

Nevertheless, the list is extremely interesting. It is in line with the fable of the 5th century, as we know it through Aristophanes in particular, which includes a central, agonal type, and another marginal one, which is aetiological; the fable is normally described as *logos* and, more specifically, as Αἰσώπειος λόγος, unifying the central and marginal type under the name of the fabulist and occasionally using the second grade story (as in "Pleasure and Pain" and "Aesop in the Shipyard"). Details can be found on all this in I 1 and elsewhere. But above all, within this material we need to distinguish structurally between two types. One of these, though it is aetiological, is constructed on the mythical model, and is verbose and appositive. From this standpoint Platonic fables such as "The Origin of Love" and "Poverty and Wealth" and Plato's version of Protagoras' "Zeus and Prometheus" are no different from myths such as that of Er the Armenian in the *Republic* or that of the fate of souls after death in the *Gorgias*.

More specifically, in these fables—or myth-fables, if we wish to call them this—the first stage (promythium and epimythium) and the prologue[6] are of the traditional types that we have studied and that are continued in fables proper; but the narration is of the complex and appositive type that the fable eventually discarded, although it may begin with fabulistic formulas (320c ἦν γάρ ποτε χρόνος in the myth of the *Protagoras*, 189d ἡ γὰρ πάλαι ἡμῶν φύσις οὐχ αὐτὴ ἦν in the myth of Eros, etc.). "Pleasure and Pain" and "Thales", in Plato himself, are very different, with a structure that is already properly fabulistic; this is also partly true of "The Cicadas".

That is to say, there is an area of transition, containing certain aetiological stories that we might describe as fables, but that structurally are myths. On the other hand, the animalistic fable, the anecdote and other aetiologies take the form of the short and clearly structured story, as was already the case in Aristophanes. It must be added that, in Herodotus, the fable of the fisherman and the fish has a purely fabulistic, modern structure, whereas the anecdote of Glaucus is an appositive story, of mythical type, as are various stories and romances by the same author; the mythical style has clearly had an influence on them. This confirms our assertion that it was in the 5th century that the fable took definitive shape, in terms of its content and structure. This structuring took place through accepting certain myths and anecdotes, eliminating others. And this was the model that the fables in the collections received. A model more clearly formed in Herodotus and the Socratics than in Aristophanes, as we will see.

Not only did the Socratics use the fable—with a content and structure that we might call Aristophanic, although more evolved—but they also made it the object of study. On one hand, Aristotle, in his *Rhetorica*, studies it within the *pisteis* or recourses of persuasion; and on doing so gives a model in prose of two fables clearly from the ancient tradition, one coming from Stesichorus, the other from the legend of Aesop on Samos. These two fables, written in prose, keep to the Socratic model and are already truly comparable to what were later to be the fables of the collections. This is the first point. The second is that it was precisely a pupil of Aristotle, Demetrius Phalereus, who was the author of the first collection of fables. This not only continued the interest of the Socratics in the fable, but also

[6] Cf. the ἄκουε δὲ μάλα καλοῦ λόγου in *Gorg.* 523a.

the purely Aristotelian interest in the collections of materials and documents; he was, then, within the line of the school. And his fables written in prose followed exactly the compositional schemes begun by Aristophanes, developed by the Socratics. The collections also kept to the definition of the content of the fable that had been imposed in practice, among the comic writers and the Socratics.

3. *Formulas and Structure of the Classical Fable*

We are going to do no more here than specify elements already hinted at regarding the fable of the 5th and 4th centuries: the fable ascribed to Aesop, liberated of mythical material, not distinguished from the anecdotal and aetiological material, with its formulas and structure formed in a manner that came partly from antiquity, was partly developed at the time and that was later perpetuated in the oldest material of our collections of the Roman Age, in short that coming from Demetrius Phalereus.

This is the type of fable that crossed over into the collections. It crossed over starting from second grade stories, in which the first stage is an event in which Aesop takes part and speaks, as is sometimes maintained in the collections. Starting from here, the general type was created in which the first stage was reduced to a promythium or epimythium of a general character, without anecdotic precision; in any case, the very titles of the collections, as "Aesopic Fables" (following the tradition of the 5th century) in a certain sense present the fables as being narrated by Aesop.

The whole Archaic and Classical fable, insofar as it was used as an exemplum, normally appears with a first stage framing it, which is the origin of the later promythium and epimythium; it often also contains a prologue ("I am going to tell . . .", "listen . . .", "look at . . .", "I know . . .") and occasionally a closing statement. It is narrated, as we have said, sometimes in the first grade, sometimes in the second grade; in the latter, with attribution to Aesop or with an imprecise attribution. We have already said that the formulas of the prologue and of the epimythium and even the closing statement (such as the imperative or the οὕτως), came partly from Archaic times; but sometimes they were new, or else there were certain types that were widespread, as we stated earlier. We will offer clarifications on these formulas and on their continuation later on.

We have already made reference to some of these above. Such

as the final exhortative formula beginning with ἀτάρ, which appears in the epimythium of the two fables by Aristotle in *Rhetorica*, as well as in "closing statements" and epimythia in the Augustana and the Rylands papyrus. In my *Estudios*..., pp. 235 ff., I have shown that ἀτάρ comes from the Ionic language or from colloquial Attic, that is to say, specifically from the 5th century BC.[7] But we have also mentioned the initial formula of the story or the prologue with ποτέ that we find in Aristophanes, the fables of the Sybarite (*Vespae* 1435 in ἐν Συβάρει γυνή ποτε), of the mouse and the weasel (id., 1182), of Lasus and Simonides (id., 1410), of Aesop in Delphi (id., 1446 ff.), of Melanion (*Lysistrata*, 783), of the eagle and the beetle (*Pax* 133); in Sophocles, the anecdote of the cowardly captain (*Aiax* 1142); in Plato, "The Cicadas" (*Phaedrus* 259b), "Zeus and Prometheus" (*Prot.* 320c); in Xenophon, "The Sheep and the Dog" (*Mem.* II 7.13–14); in the fable attributed to Socrates by Diogenes Laertius (II 5, 42). The fabulistic character of the formula is not in doubt; it must be added that it is also found in the *Batrachomyomachia*, at the beginning of the story (v. 9). And it is continued in the fables of the collections. See, for example, in the Augustana, 25, 33, 35, 60, 63, etc., in identical contexts to those studied, sometimes in the first stage in second grade stories (Αἴσωπός ποτε...; Δημάδης... δημηγορῶν ποτε), sometimes at the beginning of the story (ἀνὴρ πένταθλος... ἀποδημήσας ποτέ). It even crossed over to the Byzantine fable; compare, for example, "The Bull and the Lion" by Nicephorus Basilacas, 469 P. It is equivalent, in short, to "once upon a time" in our tales.

Of course, the ποτέ alone is insufficient. It can be combined with various schemes giving the initial situation: subject + verb, subject A + subject B + verb, subject + verb + complement are the main ones, with it often being the case that the subject or complement are accompanied by a participle; on other occasions these groups go in the indirect style, depending on the verb "to say" in the prologue (or in the acc. or gen. with predicative part., depending on a verb "to see" or "to hear" in the prologue).

It is often the case that names are accompanied by a τις.[8] Two different alternatives in the first mention of the main character or

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[7] Cf. the approval of Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 502.

[8] It is also found in the Anonymous Fables indicating the main character or characters: H. 61 γεωργός τις cf. 116, as well as τις used as a noun, cf. 23, 32, 94, 96, 97, etc.; also in determiners of place and others, cf. 17, 26, 29, 100, 124, 137, 138, etc.

characters are: a) mention of same without article, a standard already noted by Nøjgaard,[9] which is maintained by the fables of the collections; b) mention of the human character with ἀνήρ and the profession, such as ἄνδρα . . . αὐλητήν in "The Fisherman and the Fish" by Herodotus, cf. Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1427, Aeschylus, *Ag.* 700, etc.; this is also common in the collections (cf. H. 5, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, etc., also γυνή 47, 55, etc.).

These schemes are sometimes already found in the iambographers, although generally with irregular word order and without ποτέ or τις. By "irregular order" I am referring to alterations such as the one we have studied in "The Hawk and the Nightingale"; in the Classical fable it is customary to begin with the subject or subjects. It is not at all strange, then, that there are correspondences, since, as we saw when discussing the formulas of prologues, closing statements, epimythia and introductions to the narration, particularly, there is no break with the genres preceding the fable of the 5th century, although there is a tendency towards specialization. Here are some examples of these initial structures; in them, instead of ποτέ, there may be another determiner of time and also one of place:

First there is the type with subject, simple or double, and the verb "to be" in the present or imperfect: οὗτος ἦν νεανίσκος Μελανίων τις (Ar., *Lys.* 785), Τίμων ἦν ἀίδρυτός τις (id. 809), ἐστὶ γὰρ δένδρον (Ar., *Aves* 1473), ἐστὶ δ' αὖ χώρα (ib. 1482), ἦν γὰρ χρόνος ποτέ (Plato, *Prot.* 320c, traditional beginning to a story of mythical style), ποτ' ἦσαν οὗτοι ἄνθρωποι (Plato, *Phaedr.* 259 b), ἦν οὕτω δὴ παῖς (ibid. 237b), οὕτω ποτ' ἦν μῦς καὶ γαλῆ (Ar., *Vespae* 1182). These types have ancient roots, judging by Hesiod, *Works and Days* 11 οὐκ ἄρα μοῦνον ἔην Ἐρίδων γένος; on the other hand, they were used by Xenophon, *Mem.* II 7.13 in his ὅτε φωνήεντα ἦν τὰ ζῷα. The type survives, although in very reduced form, in the anonymous fables: H. 47 ἦν τις καὶ γυνὴ πενιχρά, 78 ἐν ᾧ λέων ἦν, 84 ἐν τινὶ ἐπαύλει ὄνος καὶ ἀλεκτρυὼν ἦσαν, 114 Ib ψῦχος ἦν καὶ χειμὼν κατ' Ὄλυμπον, 174 μυσὶ καὶ γαλαῖς πόλεμος ἦν, 175 μύρμηξ ὁ νῦν τὸ πάλαι ἄνθρωπος ἦν; cf. also 121 κάστωρ ἐστὶ ζῷον τετράπουν and one or two further examples of this type.

Within the type with a simple subject, the most frequently occurring cases are those with this subject followed by an intransitive verb, with the subject able to take an agreeing participle (possibly with government); in this type, the action begins from the very beginning.

[9] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 511.

This already appears in Archilochus 77 A. (πίθηκος ᾔει θηρίων ἀποκριθείς) and *Batr.* 9 μῦς ποτε... ἀλύξας and then is retained, such as in Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1427 ἀνὴρ Συβαρίτης ἐξέπεσεν ἐξ ἅρματος, *Carm. Conv.* 9 *PMG* ὁ δὲ καρκίνος ὧδ' ἔφα χαλᾷ τὸν ὄφιν λαβών. Yet a different type is more common, one in which the two main characters are connected through the verb, one is the subject and the other the complement, with both able to take participles which in turn possibly have compliments.

We find this already in Hesiod in the fable of the hawk and the nightingale, *Op.* 203 ὧδ' ἴρηξ προσέειπεν ἀηδόνα, which is comparable to Ar., *Vespae* 1435 ἐν Συβάρει γυνή ποτε κατέαξ' ἐχῖνον, ib. 1401 f. Αἴσωπον... τις ὑλάκτει κύων; it is also found in Aeschylus, *Agam.* 717 ff. ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος ἶνιν... ἀνήρ, in Plato, *Phaed.* 60b ὁ θεὸς βουλόμενος αὐτὰ διαλλάξαι... συνῆψε, etc. The maximum complication in the interplay of participles is in fr. 9 by Semonides. In any case, this seems to be a secondary type of the other one that presents the two main characters earlier as subjects.

In Semonides the two main characters, linked copulatively, form the subject of an intransitive or transitive verb, and there may be agreeing participles. This already appears in Archilochus 27 A. ἀλώπηξ καἰετὸς ξυνωνίην ἔμειξαν and is continued by Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1409 Λᾶσός ποτ' ἀντεδίδασκε καὶ Σιμωνίδης.

These types are, as we will see, the ones that spread most into the collections, frequently adding determiners of place or time; but with one essential characteristic, that is, the abundant interplay of the participles, sometimes agreeing, sometimes absolute, and of the subordinate orations. In fact, this interplay already appears in the Classical Age in some examples that we have given, but particularly in prosaic fables of the Socratic tradition that are clearly antecedents for those of the collections: that of "The Sheep and the Dog" in Xenophon, that of "Thales" in Plato, the two in the *Rhetorica* by Aristotle. The only difference in these fables with respect to those of the collections is that they often go in the indirect style; as Demetrius habitually eliminated the first stages, he had to change them to the direct style, that is to say, to restore the types we have just mentioned. But he evidently retained the abundant use of participial constructions.

What is more, we find the indirect style in the Classical fable: Aristophanes, *Aves* 471 (ἔφασκε) κορυδὸν γενέσθαι, Herodotus I 141 (φὰς) ἄνδρα αὐλητὴν ἰδόντα ἰχθῦς... αὐλέειν, Antisthenes in Aristotle

(ἔφη) τοὺς λέοντας, etc. In *Aves* 651 there is corruption between the direct and the indirect style. And there may also be a participial construction with verbs of perception, as in Sophocles, *Aiax* 1142 (εἶδον) ἄνδρ'... ἐφορμήσαντα.

The last of these constructions does not appear in the collections, whereas the first can only be found in second grade narrations, such as H. 8 Αἴσωπος ἔλεγε τὸ παλαιὸν χάος καὶ ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, 25 ταύτην λέγεται, 35 ἄνθρωπόν ποτε λέγεται πρὸς σάτυρον φιλίαν σπείσασθαι, etc.: formulas identical to others from the Classical Age, for example, in the fable of Thales. What the Socratics and the prosists did generally was, of course, to develop this type, complicating it with the interplay of participles and their governments, plus that of the determiners of place and time, as has been said; and what Demetrius did was, as we have said, to transform the indirect style into direct according to the models of simple subject and double subject that normally began the fable, but without dismantling—but rather expanding—the system of participles, infinitives dependent on personal verb or participles, etc.

As we can see, there is a line clearly running from the ancient story generally to the Classical fable and from this to the collections. The Classical fable nevertheless displays other formulaic features, which we should discuss.

For example, the system of continuative particles and pronouns that allow the progress of the fable to continue once a speech is finished. This is very characteristic of the fabulistic stories of Aristophanes, for example. Without repeating the subject or representing it with a pronoun, he can continue the story with a κᾆπειτα, as in *Vespae* 1430 κᾆπειτ' ἐπιστὰς εἶπ' ἀνὴρ αὐτῷ φίλος (introducing the "closing statement" of a "survenant" C), id. 1403 κᾆπειτ' ἐκεῖνος εἶπε (also a "closing statement", but by the main character); cf. also a simple ειτα in *Vespae* 1438 (in a similar situation).

Yet ἔπειτα and εἶτα may simply coordinate speeches that are unrelated to the "closing statement": cf. *Aves* 473, *Lysistrata* 789. This copulative style of Aristophanes' fables is reinforced by the presence of repeated subjects (*Vespae* 1437 οὑχῖνος οὖν, *Lysistrata* 812 οὗτος οὖν ὁ Τίμων). More frequently, it is represented by pronouns: *Lysistrata* 816 οὕτω 'κεῖνος... ἀντεμίσει, *Vespae* 1403 κᾆπειτ' ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, 1448 ὁ δ' ἔλεξεν αὐτοῖς, *Aves* 1473 ff., ἔστι γὰρ δένδρον ... τι ... τοῦτο ...

This system was subject to modification in the prose fable, in which the role of parataxis was reduced and καί or δέ were preferred,

when there was parataxis. Practically all Classical fables in prose are in the indirect style, as we have said, if exception is made for certain "closing statements"; it has also been said that it extensively developed the use of agreeing and absolute participles, dependent infinitives and—we may add here—various subordinates (of time, final, etc.). However, both repetitions of the subject and its replacement with pronouns continue to be useful. The same applies in the fables of the collections, whose fundamental difference is the return to direct style. Long sentences, on the other hand, find themselves forced to introduce full stops and start again (with καί or δέ), introducing the main characters again. An example of the narrative system of the Socratic fable can be found in "The Hedgehog and the Fox", by Aristotle, *Rh.* 1393 b 22 ff. It is a second grade narration attributed to Aesop that has a promythium, prologue and epimythium. Leaving these aside, its scheme is to present, one after the other, the two main characters, but always in indirect style and with the support of agreeing participles, genitive absolutes, subordinate speeches (even with an indirect interrogative replacing the direct style), always linked with δε and concluding with the "closing statement" in direct style:

ἔφη
ἀλώπεκα διαβαίνουσαν . . . ἀπωσθῆναι
        οὐ δυναμένην δὲ ἐκβῆναι . . . κακοπαθεῖν
                καὶ κυνορραιστὰς ἔχεσθαι
ἐχῖνον δὲ φαινόμενον (ὡς εἶδεν αὐτήν)
        κατοικτείραντα ἐρωτᾶν (εἰ ἀφέλοι . . .)
τὴν δὲ οὐκ ἐᾶν
(ἐρομένου δὲ διὰ τί)
        φάναι ὅτι

Here is the analysis of other fables following the same system; the determiners of place and of time and the subordinates are in brackets:

"The Fisherman and the Fish" (Herodotus I 141):

φὰς
ἄνδρα . . . ἰδόντα . . . αὐλέειν
        δοκέοντα . . . ἐξελεύσεσθαι
(ὡς δὲ ψευσθῆναι)
        λαβεῖν . . . καὶ περιβαλεῖν . . . καὶ ἐξειρύσαι
                ἰδόντα δὲ . . . εἰπεῖν

The fable of the stag, the horse and the man in Aristotle (*Rh.* 1393 b 10 ff.) is not very different, despite the direct style:

ἵππος κατεῖχε λειμῶνα (ἐλθόντος δὲ ... καὶ διαφθείροντος)
βουλόμενος τιμωρήσασθαι ... ἠρώτα (εἰ δύναιτο ... τιμωρήσασθαι)
ὁ δ' ἔφησε (ἐὰν λάβῃ ... καὶ ἀναβῇ ... ἔχων ...) (συνομολογήσαντος δὲ καὶ ἀναβάντος)
αὐτὸς ἐδούλευσεν (ἤδη)

Even one fable which, despite its indirect style, contains two speeches in direct speech, that of "The Sheep and the Dog" by Xenophon (*Mem.* II 7.13–14), introduces the interplay of participles and subordinates precisely in these speeches. Indeed, the general scheme is only this: φασὶ γὰρ (ὅτε φωνήεντα ἦν τὰ ζῷα) τὴν οἶν ... εἰπεῖν ... τὸν κύνα οὖν ἀκούσαντα. Consider now the interplay of relatives, plus one participle, in the words of the sheep:

θαυμαστὸν ποιεῖς
(ὃς ἡμῖν ... ταῖς ... παρεχούσαις οὐδὲν δίδως)
(ὅτι ἂν μὴ λάβωμεν)
(τῷ δὲ κυνί, ὃς ... παρέχει, μεταδίδως)
(οὗπερ ... ἔχεις)

In parallel, in the words of the shepherd, apart from two participles, there appear a consecutive double, a causal and a conditional. This is already the style of the fable in prose. The same may be said of the fable of Thales in Plato.

The "closing statement" in direct style is the element in the Classical fable that most resisted the tendency towards the indirect style; from this it crossed over to the fable of the collections and clearly provided models for epimythia, as in the cases already studied of ἀτάρ and οὕτως, which are found in both functions. As regards the maintaining of "closing statements" in direct style even in prose fables in indirect style, see the fable by Herodotus of the fisherman and the fish, that of the sheep and the dog in Xenophon, that of the lions and the hares by Antisthenes in Aristotle, that of the fox the hedgehog, also in the latter, etc.

These closing statements may be exhortative, sarcastic or draw a conclusion, of general value; occasionally, indeed, they introduce a general maxim that anticipates the subsequent epimythia, as in the fable by Hesiod of the hawk and the nightingale, in the *scolion* of

the crab and the snake, in the maxim of the Sybarite in *Vespae* by Aristophanes and in the anecdote of the cowardly captain in *Aiax* by Sophocles.[10]

This leads us to another problem, that of the structure of the Classical fable. We can now study this leaving aside questions as to whether it is a first or second grade narration, whether it is written in direct or indirect style. Its major articulations, as well as the formulas they use, are already well-known to us: first stage, prologue announcing the fable, fabulistic story concluding with an action or a "closing statement" of types and intention already discussed, possibly an epimythium taking us back to the first stage. But let us look at the story more closely, in terms of the parts that compose it.

The story of the Classical fable is short, as we have said, and with a simple structure. We need to distinguish, in any event, between that of the aetiological fable and that of the agonal fable.

Examples of the aetiological fable are "The Lark", in Aristophanes, *Aves* 471 ff., "Pleasure and Pain" in Plato, *Phaedo* 60b, "The Cicadas" in Plato, *Phaedrus* 259b and "The Eagle and the Man", by Aristotle, *HA* 619 a 17 ff.; we have said that fables such as those of Eros, Wealth and Poverty, Zeus and Prometheus, by Plato, maintain a structure of a mythical type, although they display elements in common with the fable in their beginnings and endings (continuity stemming from the unitary origin of both genres). Three Classical aetiological fables that we have mentioned anticipate the structure of the fables of the collections and are narrated in indirect style, as they are second grade stories; but it is not plausible that the indirect style is a feature proper to the genre, since it does not occur in the myth-fables by Plato to which we have just referred, and in the fables of the collections it sometimes occurs, sometimes does not.

The four short aetiological fables of the Classical Age that we have cited possess common characteristics, irrespective of whether they are narrated to us in direct or indirect style. These are basically the following: they are simple stories without oral interventions of any kind. And these stories are structured into two parts: a first part, which presents the original situation; a second, which presents an action that brings about the change. The lark does not know

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[10] Respectively: ἄφρων, ὅς κ' ἐθέλῃ πρὸς κρείσσονας ἀντιφερίζειν; εὐθὺν χρὴ τὸν ἑταῖρον ἔμμεν καὶ μὴ σκολιὰ φρονεῖν; ἔρδοι τις ἣν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην; ὤνθρωπε, μὴ δρᾶ τοὺς τεθνηκότας κακῶς.

where to bury its father, pleasure and pain fight constantly, the men forget to eat when they hear the Muses, the eagle kills a man; these are the first parts. In the second, the lark buries its father in its own head (hence its crest), god links pleasure and pain by the head (they therefore always go together), the Muses transform these men into cicadas, a god (so it would seem) punishes the eagle by giving him a hooked beak.

There is therefore a situation followed by an action or else two consecutive actions, with or without the intervention of an external agent: types Bsit.-Bact., Bsit.-Cact., etc. This, in more or less complicated form, is the scheme that is maintained in the collections. It clearly comes from the mythical story, but specifically from certain mythical stories assimilated to the fabulistic genre for reasons we have already mentioned; these stories were also assimilated in formal terms, as regards the setting, initial and final formulas, clarity of lines, brevity.

Together with this type of fables we have the type that, in a broad sense, we call agonal, whose main sub-types we have already looked at briefly in I 1. It is interesting to note that these are already practically all present in the Classical Age, although the frequency may have been modified later and secondary sub-types may have been developed.

Already in I 1, p. 35, we saw that an early type, within agonal fables, consisting of those fables in which the situation dominates the *agon*, is, so to speak, the most important; these fables have a single character who, at most, struggles in a situation in which the one who might be an antagonist has already finished his intervention. When there is a second character it is the "survenant", C, who makes a comment or performs an action that is used as the conclusion for the fable.

Leaving aside the setting, including the prologue and epimythium, and using the system of symbols that we explained in the place cited, we will now go on to develop the possibilities of the "situation" fable in the Classical Age; this fable does not appear until then and is later found in abundance throughout the collections. We have:

Bsit.-Bact.: the cowardly captain offers encouragement in the good times and is frightened in storms. The fables of Melanion and Timon in Aristophanes are identical (hatred, fleeing), followed by a conclusion by the narrator. The story of Orestes in *Aves* is similar, except that the situation (a description of the country of

heroes) cannot be attributed to B, who takes part in the second part by stealing.

Bsit.-Bdir.: the eagle wounded by the arrow made from its own feathers complains; the fisherman who sees the octopus also complains.

Bsit.-Cdir: Thales falls into the well and the Thracian girl mocks him; the Sybarite falls from the horse and a man passing by mocks him.

These, in any event, are fables with a two-part structure; there is an initial episode (sit. or act.) and an ending or conclusion (act. or dir.). This two-part structure is also characteristic of aetiological fables.

There are more or less implicit *agones* in these fables (captain and sailors, Melanion and the women, Timon and the men, the passers-by and Orestes, the eagle and the arrow, Thales and the Phrygian woman, the Sybarite and the walker), but the presentation is different, centred on one character, his situation and his action, with comment, at most, by the narrator or the "survenant".

Together with this sub-type is that of agonal fables as such, in which the action fundamentally revolves around two characters, plus, possibly, the "survenant", C. These two characters are the victor and the defeated, A and B. Normally, there are not the complications we have described in the fables by Archilochus, who makes a larger number of characters take part in complex *agones*.

The simplest type is that beginning with A/Bsit., the presentation of the confrontation (in the fragmentary fable of the mouse and the weasel in Aristophanes, this is all that remains) and there follows an intervention of action or a "closing statement" by the victor:

A/Bsit.-Adir.: words of Aesop to the dog that barks, of Lasus to Simonides who competes with him in a competition, of Aesop to the Delphians who accuse him.

Another variant on this sub-type is the one in which there is neither victor nor defeated and the joke consists in this very fact: B1/B2 sit.-B1dir. (the crab catches the snake with its pincer and incites it to walk straight). Another variant is that in which the situation refers explicitly to the party that will be defeated, type Bsit.-Adir.: the hares deliberate about asking for equality with the lions and the latter answer them.

In all these fables the ending is with a "closing statement". But it can also be with action:

A/Bsit.-Act.: Ephudion and Ascondas fight and the former, though older, knocks the latter out.

These are still clearly agonal situations, resolved by the intervention of one of the two characters. But another type of fable exists that is much more clearly differentiated from the "situation" fable, which is that in which, after the agonal situation of reference, there is a true *agon*, consisting of actions or words:

A/Bsit.-Bact./Adir.: the Sybarite woman breaks a container and when the latter seeks witnesses to take her to court, she replies that it would be better for it to buy a bandage.

There are variants in which, to reach the conclusion, we pass through a new movement in words or actions:

A/Bsit.-Aact./Bact.-Adir.: failing at fishing when playing the flute, the fisherman fishes with a net, whereupon the fish "dance on the sand"; witty phrase from the fisherman.

A similar fable, but with an ending with action and with a change of character between the situation and the true *agon*, is the one by Stesichorus of the stag, the horse and the man, as told by Aristotle:

B/A2 sit.-Bind./A1ind.-B2 act.: to defeat the stag, the horse asks for help from the man and the latter asks it to allow him to mount; it agrees, whereupon it becomes his slave.

The complication may also come from a double *agon*, however, as in the fox and the hedgehog, in Aristotle:

A/Bsit.-Bind./Adir.-Bind./Adir.: in a dialogue in two episodes, the fox is revealed to be more intelligent than the hedgehog: he prefers to carry on with his lice, as the other found him.

One can also leave aside the first episode and limit the fable to an *agon*. As in "The Sheep and the Dog" in Xenophon:

Bdir./Adir.-Bact.: in the dialogue between the sheep and the dog, who explains why the master feeds him better, the sheep allows herself to be convinced and accepts these privileges.

If we eliminate some exceptions, such as this last fable, this whole type is ternary or three-part: there is a prologue situation (sometimes agonal), an action (*agon* or not) and a conclusion (which may be a

"closing statement", an οὕτως, etc.: result, lesson, lament, punishment, etc.). The conclusion may or may not be part of the last *agon* or confrontation.

The three parts have their own initial formulas; for example, the second a gen. abs. or a nom. followed by a participle, or a καὶ δὴ. . . . And final formulas: part II (and sometimes III, when the conclusion is simply action), is usually an indicative imperfect or aorist. Within II, the action is always binary, but may be repeated: there are types act./act., ind./act., dir./dir., etc. Ternary situations are more proper to the romance or myth; they are found in anomalous fables, cf. pp. 37 ff. It is rare for there to be more than two binary movements in II, with, as we have said, the limit of III often being exceeded by the last. There is intention and success, or else action and reversal of same, or even replacement of one character by another. With regard to formulas, it is significant that there are fables with an identical beginning, with a related theme.

We have now analyzed the most noteworthy of the fables conserved from the Classical Age. Not that their schemes are rigorously new, as we have already said that "The Hawk and the Nightingale", by Hesiod, is markedly a type A/Bsit.-Bind./Adir., although constructed in an irregular manner. But the complexity of the fables of Archilochus' type disappears and there is a tendency towards shorter and much simpler schemes, either in direct or indirect style, conserving the final "closing statement".

The fable of the Classical Age is, then, a simplified derivation of the fable-myth complex from earlier times. It is reduced in size and classified, whereas the ancient appositive and complex structures are reserved for the myth. As regards content, there is hesitation as regards the aetiologies, which waver between the myth and the fable; but when they are included in the latter, they do so with simple structures. This inclusion of aetiological themes within the "fable" genre is, as we have said, due simply to their coexistence in Hesiod with the fable of the hawk and the nightingale. We can see that this was accepted in the 5th century, because they were attributed to Aesop, with the result that they crossed over into the collections. On the other hand, we have already underlined the points of contact between aetiology and agonal fable.

Of course, this separation of the myth, or most of it, with respect to the fable, contributed to the focusing of the latter more within

its own critical and satirical essence, making it, as we have said, a true counterpart of the myth in general. Similes, historical anecdotes, etc., also tended to be eliminated, although not the fictitious anecdotes, as long as they possessed the same characteristics as the fable in terms of content. Certainly, some were described as Sybaritic, and there were other denominations besides. That of Αἰσώπειοι λόγοι is the one that triumphed and embraced all this material from the 5th and 4th centuries onwards (but also from earlier times) making it enter the collections.

The path has been, as we have said, through Socratic literature, in which the fable, with popular roots, operated in parallel with similes and parables. The paradoxical and ironic world of the fable, its critical viewpoint, its attacks on the powerful and the unjust, made it very suitable for transformation into the instrument of this philosophy. This is the curious evolutionary line of the fable: from being an anti-courtly genre, a counterpart in opposition to the traditional values cultivated at certain festivals that allowed freedom of speech and derision and adopted by the literary genres derived from these, it went on to be used by the new philosophies that aimed to build a new society on the basis of truth and nature. By the Socratic philosophy initially; we will see that later, in the Hellenistic Age, it was adopted by the Cynics and the Stoics, who did no more than take further forward a process already begun.

For the moment, however, it was in the hands of a pupil of Aristotle, Demetrius Phalereus, that the fable acquired a new status, being grouped together in collections in which, except in special cases, it was stripped of its setting, formed by the "first stage" that we have discussed. As we have already indicated, the attribution of the fable as a whole to Aesop was what provided the basis for this new possibility, which opened up a new stage in the history of the fable.

Before touching this theme we must, however, present a catalogue of what we know of the fable in the Classical Age, a catalogue accompanied by data on its diffusion in later periods through the collection of Demetrius, with possible exceptions. This material has already been anticipated to a large extent, but it is appropriate to deal with it here systematically. There are not only fables, but also different materials that were fabulized either by Demetrius or by subsequent authors.

II. *Catalogue of the Archaic and Classical Greek Fable*

1. *Partial Character of the Inventory*

If we define the fable as what was already called λόγος Αἰσώπειος at the time of Aristophanes, we may attempt an inventory of what has reached us of it. This inventory is of course incomplete, since ancient Greek literature has only reached us in a ravaged state.

Not only for this reason. We saw in I 1 that neither the terminology nor the limits of the concept of fable in the collections are rigorous, with the latter reflecting the concept that Demetrius Phalereus had and even the earlier one of Aristophanes and others. And we also saw, in I 3, that—if we restrict ourselves to the animal fable and to the Classical Age—there are links between fable, simile and proverb and there are cases in which we do not know how to define exactly to which of these genres, which in fact were delimited later and in an incomplete manner, a passage belongs.

If this is the case for the animal fable, of which we offered a practically complete inventory for the Classical Age in I 3, what can be said about the other types of fable? We have said that the concept of fable is concentrated within the field of the comic, the satirical, etc., and that animal themes and the fictive, symbolic, evaluative character dominate; that it normally concerns a single event located in the past. But all this is only the central core. Human, fictive or historical anecdotes can fulfil the same function; there may be an explanation and no evaluation or paraenesis, and so on. Furthermore, the same story, which is a simple anecdote out of context, functions as an exemplum, a fable in an appropriate context; for example, that of Thales falling into a well in Plato, *Theaetetus* 174a. The same story in the Classical Age can function as a fable or not as a fable and if it appears out of context, such as the story of Aethiops the Corinthian in Archilochus 284 A., we cannot decide.

Thus, in the Classical Age, we may describe as a fable the story of Batusiades the fortune-teller in Archilochus, which has crossed over into the collections, as we know; but there are various stories of this type in Aristophanes that are borderline cases. And we do not dare to include myths in our inventory, in spite of the fact that certain myths (particularly ones that are aetiological or comic, or both at the same time) have been included in the collections of fables. And in spite of the fact that all this material, particularly in the

Archaic Age, displays comparable formal structures. Only starting from Aristophanes and, especially, the Socratics, was a formal structure created for the fable that was practically exclusive, sometimes including human anecdotes. But there continued to be elements in common with other closely related genres and it is useful to point these out, although we have already partially done this.

On the other hand, we have already said that there are not only links, but also transformations between closely related genres. We will proceed, then, with a rather broad definition, classifying as fables stories that are perhaps similes or echoes of fables, etc.; or else simple anecdotes. In any event, we will indicate these doubts. But it may also be the case, and this we have also stated earlier, that the authors of collections of fables, undoubtedly starting with Demetrius, "fabulized", converted Classical stories into fables, whether exempla or not, when they were not fables as such. In the collections, then, there are fables that are of Classical origin, but were not fables in the Classical Age. Of course, this conclusion is sometimes only conjecture. We will deal with this theme, then, separately.

We must recall, on the other hand, that one way to attempt to recover the treasure of the fables from the Classical Age is to have recourse to the collections and look for those fables that exhibit Archaic characteristics in them. We have done this, by way of an example, in I 3. We refer the reader to this chapter; here we have restricted ourselves to bringing together the material for which there is direct evidence.

In most cases, these are fables to which we have already made multiple references throughout this book. We do not repeat them, we simply restrict ourselves to giving a short inventory of them, giving the oldest Classical reference, other subsequent Classical references, and those of the collections. We dwell a little more on those not yet mentioned or only mentioned in passing.

They are almost always exemplum-fables; we have said that, apart from these, there is reference to fables narrated at the banquet or before the court, which is the precedent for the subsequent collections. As we know from *Vespae*, the Athenians were clearly familiar with fables that could be used on the appropriate occasion as exempla or else be linked up with other fables at the banquet or in conversation; Socrates was able to put these systematically into verse.

Yet, in short, leaving aside all this, amounting to considerations of a general character, in our catalogue we will proceed author by author.

We also give the tradition of each fable in the subsequent age, Hellenistic and Roman. This is extremely important, since, with one or two exceptions, we think that this demonstrates the presence of the fable in question in Demetrius' collection, which we will thus be able to reconstruct to a certain extent. We then lay down the bases for the study that follows.

Note.—The reader can find some additions to this list in the supplement that follows as well as in our Vol. III (and in Van Dijk, *Ainoi*, and id., "Suplemento al inventario de la fábula greco-latina. Epocas arcaica, clásica y helenística", *Emerita* 66, 1998, pp. 15–22).

2. *Inventory*

HESIOD

1. *Works and Days* 42 ff., *Th.* 535 ff.: "Prometheus" cf. Plato, *Prot.* 320c ff., H. 102, 228, 292, Phaedr. IV 15, 16, Luc., *Herm.* 20, *Nigr.* 32, *Hist. Cons.* 33, *VH* II 3, *DIud.* 2, *Icar.* 31, *Bacch.* 8. Bab. 59, Them., *Or.* 32, 359 d (and Suet., *Tib.* 57). Various of these texts introduce significant modifications.
2. *Works and Days* 90 ff., *Th.* 570 ff.: "Pandora". Cf. Bab. 58.
3. *Works and Days* 202 ff.: "The Hawk and the Nightingale". Cf. H. 4.
4. *Works and Days* 287 ff.: "The Two Roads": this crossed over, in modified form, to Prodicus in Xen. *Mem.* II 1.21 ff.; cf. before Simonides 74 *PMG.* According to Perry, "Demetrius of Phalerum . . .", p. 331, it was collected in the latter's collection. Cf. *Vita Aesopi* 94.

IAMBOGRAPHERS AND ELEGIACS

5. Arch., *Ep.* 1: "The Eagle and the Fox". Cf. Ar., *Aves* 651: in the collections: H. 1, Phaedr. I 28 (imitation in II 4), Bab. 186 Cr., Synt. 24; later indirect tradition in Hor., *Epist.* I 19, 23 ff., and *Ep.* 6.12 ff., Mar. Vict. VI 79 K., Philostr., *Im.* 3, Hermog., *Prog.* 1, Priscian. III 430 K. Imitation in H. 25, 100, 151, 255.
6. Arch., *Ep.* III: "The Stag, the Fox and the Lion". Cf. Bab. 95, Av. 30.
7. Arch., *Ep.* IV: "The Lion and the Fox". Cf. Plat., *Alc.* I 123a and perhaps references in Theogn. 293, Sol. 11. In the collections: H. 147, Bab. 103, T. Assend. 8, Ps.-Dos. 6, Aphth. 8, Synt. 37, *Tetr.* II 2, Ad. 59. Rom. IV 12. In late indirect trad.: Lucil. 980 ff., Hor., *Epist.* I 1, 73, Sen., *de otio* 1, Plu. 79 a, Them. 13.174 C

(from Demetrius Phalereus, according to Perry, *art. cit.*, p. 311). There are various modifications of the theme in Bab. 106, H. 210, H. 269 (going further in H. 220, on 210), Phaedr. I 21, IV 2, 10–19 IV 14, Ad. 40, Medieval Latin fable in Perry, *Aesopica*, 585.

8. Arch., *Ep.* V: "The Fortune-teller". Cf. generic reference in Xen., *Symp.* IV 5. In collections: H. 170 (derivation in H. 227). Cf. also Luc., *Asin.* II 13 and Arist. II 380 D.
9. Arch., *Ep.* VI: "The Fox and the Monkey". Cf. H. 83 and Luc., *Apol.* 5, *Pisc.* 36. From here there derive various themes on the ugliness of the monkey and the camel, etc.: Phaedr., *App.* 1, Bab. 56 and 130, H. 85, 142 and 246; that of the disguised ass, H. 199.
10. Arch., *Ep.* VII: "The Fox and the Monkey". Cf. H. 14, Bab. 81, Synt. 14. Cf. derivatives: H. 20, H. 75, H. 203.
11. Arch. 113–115 A.: "The Wasps, the Partridges and the Farmer". Cf. H. 235.
12. Arch. 165 A. (pure conjecture, as we have already said): "The Mice and the Weasels". Cf. Ar., *Vesp.* 165, 1182, as well as H. 174, Bab. 31, Ps. Dos. 3, Synt. 51.
13. Arch. 253 A. (and perhaps Sim. 10 *PMG*): "The Mule". Cf. H. 285, Bab. 62, as well as Plu., *Sap. Conv.* 150a, Hsch. s. u. πατρόθεν πορδακίδαι, Macar. VI 32.
14. Arch. 238 A.: "The Two Dogs". Cf. Ar., *Vespae* 894 ff. and H. 94, Par. Bodl. 153 Cr., imitated in H. 194, 209. From here there derives a second fable, "The Wolf and the Dog" in H. 294, Phaedr. III 7, Bab. 100, Rom. LXV, *Tetr.* I 3 (according to Perry, *art. cit.*, p. 327, already in Demetrius).
15. Sem. 9: "The Heron, the Hawk and the Eel". No evidence of this outside here.
16. Sem. 12: "The Eagle and the Beetle". Cf. Ar., *Pax* 127–130, *Vesp.* 1448. Also in H. 3 and in later indirect tradition: Luc., *Icar.* 10, *Deor. conc.* 532, *Pseudol.* 164, Zen. I 20.
17. Theogn. 347 (allusion? simile?): "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat". Cf. H. 136, Phaedr. I 4, Bab. 79, Ps. Dos. 11, Aphth. 35, Synt. 28, Rom. I 5, Rhet. Branc. 2, *Tetr.* I 9; in the late indirect tradition, Luc., *Herm.* 79, Iren., *Adu. Haer* II 11, Epiph., *Haer.* 41.1, Doxop. II 188.31 W., Theo, *Prog.* 3, p. 75 Sp. According to Perry, *art. cit.*, from Demetrius Phalereus.

18. Theogn. 601 (allusion? simile?): "The Farmer and the Serpent". Cf. H. 62 and 186, Phaedr. IV 19, Par. Bodl. 147 Cr., Synt. 25, *Tetr.* I 17; and Petron. 77, Ars. XLII 12, Plu. in Apostol. 18.79 ff. *Note.*—To the quotations of Semonides and the elegy we must add those that occur in numbers 5–14: 7 perhaps in Theogn. and Sol., specifically.

CHORAL AND MELIC LYRIC. OTHER POETS

19. Stes. 104 (a) *PMG*: "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter". Cf. H. 238, Par. Bodl. 166 Cr., Phaedr. IV 4, *Tetr.* I 53, *PRyl.* 3. Also collected by Arist., *Rhet.* II 20, Hor., *Epist.* I 10, 34–41, Theo, *Prog.* 2, Conon, *Narr.* 42.
20. Stes. 103: "The Eagle and the Serpent". Cf. Aphth. 28.
21. Ib. 61 (also Dinolochus and Sophocles, cf. Ael. *NA* VI 51): "The Ass and the Viper". This did not cross over into the collections, not even later.
22. Sim. 9 (and Timocr. 8): "The Fisherman and the Octopus". This did not cross over into the collections, not even later.
23. Timocr. 3: "The Tailless Fox". Cf. H. 17. For Timocr. 8, cf. above 22.
24. Demodocus of Laconia in Ps.-Plu., *Fluv.* 2.3 (and perhaps Corinna 1, 654 *PMG*, cf. Himerius, *Or.* 20): "Apollo, the Muses and the Dryades". In Demetrius Phalereus, according to Perry, *art. cit.*, pp. 302 ff.; the fr. mentioned by Eust., *Od.* 3.267 he attributes the fable to Demodocus.
25. *Carm. Conv.* 9 *PMG*: "The Snake and the Crab". Cf. H. 211.
26. Panyas. 13 D.: "Dionysus and the Grapes". Cf. also Eubulus in Ath. II 36 B, as well as *Vita Aesopi* 68. Sources and bibliography in Perry, *art. cit.*, pp. 294 ff., and, particularly, "An Aesopic Fable in Photius", *BZ* 46, 1953, pp. 308–313.
27. *Batr.*: "The Mice and the Frogs". Cf. H. 302 = *Vita Aesopi* 133.

TRAGEDY

28. Aesch. 139 R.: "The Eagle". Cf. H. 273, Par. Bodl. 185 Cr., Aphth. 32, *Tetr.* I 25.
29. Soph., *Ant.* 710 ff.: "The Trees". Cf. "The Oak and the Reed", H. 71 and 239, Bab. 36, Apthth. 36, Av. 16, *Tetr.* I 45. Also Lucill., *AP* 10.122.15, 5–6.
30. Soph., *Ai.* 1142 ff.: "The Cowardly Captain". Fable or anecdote invented starting from the simile of the ship of state in Arch. 163 A., Alc. 6 and 326, Theogn. 667–682, 855–856, Soph., *Ant.* 715 ff.

31. Soph. 885 R. (allusion): "The Dog and the Hare". Cf. H. 139, Bab. 87, Synt. 50; and Demetr., *Eloc.* 261, 8, Luc., *Bis Acc.* 13, Zen., *Prov.* IB 90.
32. Soph., Epigr. in Ath. 604 F: "Boreas and Helios". Cf. H. 46, Bab. 18, Synt. 55, Av. 4. Also in Plu., *Pr. Coni.* 12, 139 d and Them. 16, p. 208 A (= Them. I H.). According to Perry, *art. cit.*, the fable was collected by Demetrius.

   Note.—We must recall similes closely related to fables (cf. pp. 195 ff.) and also animal maxims. Also, above 21.

COMEDY

33. Ar., *Vesp.* 1399 ff.: "Aesop and the Dog". Without a later tradition.
34. Ar., *Vesp.* 1427 ff.: "The Sybarite". Without a later tradition.
35. Ar., *Vesp.* 1435 ff.: "The Sybarite Woman". Without a later tradition.
36. Ar., *Av.* 471 ff.: "The Lark Burying its Father". Without a later tradition.
37. Ar., *Lys.* 781 ff.: "Melanion". Id.
38. Ar., *Lys.* 805 ff.: "Timon". Id.
39. Ar., *Vesp.* 1409 ff.: "Lasus and Simonides". Id.
40. Ar., *Vesp.* 1381 ff.: "Ephudion". Id.
41. Ar., *Av.* 1470 ff.: "Cleonymus". Id.
42. Ar., *Av.* 1482 ff.: "Orestes". Id.
43. Ar., *Av.* 1553 ff.: "Socrates". Id.
44. Ar., *Av.* 1694 ff.: "Gorgias and Philippus". Id.
45. Pherecr. 117 K.-A. (doubtful, cf. Theocr. 21.52 ff.): "The Man who Found a Golden Fish". Without a later tradition.
46. Men., *Dysc.* 633 ff.: "The Gardener and the Dog". Cf. H. 122, Synt. 34.

   Note.—It can be seen that various fables of Aristophanes have been mentioned above, as they are already in Archilochus or Semonides.

CLASSICAL PROSE

47. Herod. I 141: "The Fisherman". Cf. H. 11, Bab. 9, Aphth. 33; and Ael., *NA* 1 39.
48. Herod. VI 86: "Glaucus". Without a tradition, but the oracle included gives H. 214, see below.

   Note.—In Herodotus there is an abundance of anecdotes, either purely novellesque or by way of exempla, which in a certain sense are the same as fables (such as those of Tellus and Cleobis and Biton in I 30 ff.).

49. Socrates (?) in D.L. II 33: "The Farmer's Sons". Cf. H. 53, Bab. 47 and Plu., *De garrul.* 17, 511 c.
50. Protagoras in Pl., *Prot.* 320 c ff.: "Zeus, Animals and Men". comes from Hes., *Works and Days* 42 ff. (above 1). Cf. H. 110 and other derivative fables such as H. 111, H. 228.
51. Prodicus: "Heracles and Virtue". Cf. above 4.
52. Pl., *Phaed.* 60b: "Pleasure and Pain". Invented fable; perhaps related to the theme of H. 13 "The Fishermen".
53. Pl., *Symp.* 189a ff.: "The Origin of Love". Without a later tradition, created on the theme of 39 and others. Cf., however, a variation in Phaedr. IV 16.
54. Pl., *Symp.* 203b ff.: "Wealth and Poverty". Invented fable, without a later tradition.
55. Pl., *Phaedr.* 259b ff.: "The Cicadas". Invented aetiological myth, without a later tradition. Cf., however, H. 195.
56. Pl., *Theaet.* 174a: "Thales". Cf. H. 40, *Tetr.* I 52 (and echo in Ps.-Callisth. I 14, D.L. I 34, Antip. Sid. in *AP* VII 172. 5 ff.).
57. Xen., *Mem.* II 7.13–14: "The Sheep and the Dog". Cf. Bab. 128 (and H. 158, *Vita Aesopi* 97).
    Note. Cf. numbers 4 and 8.
58. Antisthenes in Arist., *Pol.* 1284 a: "The Lions and the Hares". Without a later tradition.
59. Demades (in H. 63): "Demeter, the Swallow and the Eel". Without a later tradition. Undoubtedly invented in the 4th century, without ending.
60. Demosthenes in Plu., *Vit. X Orat.* 848a: "The Shadow of the Ass". Without a later tradition.
61. Arist., *HA* 619 a 17 ff.: "The Eagle and the Man". Without a later tradition.
62. Arist., *Rhet.* II 20: "The Fox and the Hedgehog". Without a later tradition.
63. Arist., *Mete.* II 3, 356 b ff.: "Aesop in the Shipyard". Cf. H. 8.
64. Arist., *PA* 662 a 35: "Momus". See above 1.
65. Arist., *HA* 631 a. Anecdote or fable on the sexual behaviour of the camel. Without a later tradition.
    Note.—See two other fables in Aristotle in numbers 19, 58.

Note.—On "The He-goat and the Vineyard", from *Ahikar*, cf. below p. 495. On the other hand, there are representations on vases from

the Classical Age corresponding to H. 15 "The Fox and the Grapes" (on a vase from the 5th century in Daly, *Aesop without Morals*, New York-London 1951) and H. 36 "The Wretch" (Cf. Crusius, *Fest. Overbeck*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 105 ff.). I nevertheless add the *scolion* 889 *PMG*, which expresses the wish that it were possible to open up men's chests and then close them after seeing the true character of each one; this perhaps derives from a fable transmitted by Eustathius, *Od.* 7.125 (as in Reitzenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion*, Giessen 1893, p. 19), following Photius. Momus supposedly criticized Prometheus for not putting a window in men's chests when he created them. In fact, it is possible that the fable derives precisely from the scolium and that it must be added to the lists of fables derived from passages of the ancient literature.

3. *Classical Themes in the Later Fable*

In this section we bring together themes of any type that have been fabulized and appear in our collections. We obviously do not know whether the fabulization is already from Demetrius or is from his continuers; on some occasions it could have already existed in the Classical Age. In any event, the process, of which we have already spoken, offers evidence that, in general terms, the fable of the collections was conceived as an anthological genre, which brought together more or less modified material from the Classical Age. As we have indicated, there is a great deal of conjecture on this relationship; for the most part information has already been offered above, but here we will deal with it systematically.

We follow here the order of the fables in the Augustana (ed. Hausrath), plus a few late fables that are not in this. When discussing each we give the ancient predecessors.

23. "The Cocks and the Partridge". The theme of cocks that fight each other perhaps comes from Aesch., *Suppl.* 226: "How can a bird that devours a bird be pure?". Cf. also Ar., *Vespae* 1345.

26. "The Fisherman". The fisherman that fishes muddying the water certainly comes from Ar., *Eq.* 864, where this procedure is described as proper to Cleon.

29. "The Coal Merchant and the Fuller". The incompatibility of the two may perhaps exemplify the Homeric theme that "there are no oaths of trust between lions and men" (*Il.* XXII 262). Cf. also H. 51 "The Farmer and the Serpent".

30. "The Shipwrecked Man". The closing statement of one of the shipwrecked men, directed at another, "At the same time as you pray to Athena; move your hand", seems to be inspired by Eur., fr. 432 N^2.: "While you yourself act, beseech the gods, since the god helps those who make an effort" (collected in Zen. V 93). There is an imitation in Bab. 20.

35. "The Man and the Satyr". The satyr criticizes the fact that the man sometimes uses breath for heat, sometimes to cool. There may be dependence, although remote, on Aesch. fr. 207 R. (the satirical drama *Prometheus the Fire Lighter*) in which Prometheus tells the he-goat not to approach the fire, as it may flare up and catch hold of him. Cf. Par. Bodl. 192 Cr., Av. 29, S.E. VIII 103.

60. "The Old Man and Death". The old man says to Death, whom he has called, that he only wants him to help carry the firewood. Cf. Eur., *Alc.* 669–672: "The old do not really ask to die, criticizing old age and their long life; when death comes close, they do not want to die, old age no longer weighs heavy on them". Cf. Synt. 2, *Tetr.* II 21.

91. "Hermes and Tiresias". Hermes steals oxen from Tiresias to try out his knapsack; the latter says that a crow that sometimes looks at to the sky and sometimes at the earth indicates that the oxen will appear when Hermes wants. Here there are themes that are reminiscent of Ar., *Av.*: 5 ff. (journey of Euelpides and Pisthetaerus with the rook and the crow, who look at the sky, 49 ff.); 582 ff. (theme of the oxen).

96. "The Father and the Daughters". This seems to develop the proverb of Theognis 25 f.: "Since Zeus does not please everyone, either when it rains or when it does not". Cf. also Sophocles, 524 R.

109. "Zeus and the Fox". Cf. Pindar, *O.* XI 19.

130. "The Crow and the Serpent". As has been said, this is reminiscent of the Homeric theme of the eagle the serpent. Cf. Par. Bodl. 150 Cr.

149. "The Lion". Perhaps related to the maxim by Aristophanes, *Ra.* 1431 f.: "Better not to raise a lion in the city, but if you do raise one, you need to adapt to its customs".

177. "The Fly". The point of departure for this is perhaps Ar. fr. 208 K.-A., where there is talk of a fly in soup. Cf. Bab. 60 (a mouse, not a fly).

178. "The Shipwrecked Man and the Sea". The theme of the

sea, peaceful by nature, but violent when the winds blow, is very closely reminiscent of Solon 9: "The sea is made rough by the winds; but if it is not altered, it is the calmest of all the elements". Cf. Bab. 71.

208. "The Bird-catcher and the Stork". The stork, hunted together with the cranes, is going to die and the bird-catcher justifies this because he joined the wicked. This is the theme of Amphiaraus in Aesch., *Sept.* 597–600: "Alas for the bird that has linked the just man with the ungodly ones! In any enterprise there is nothing worse than bad company, from which there is no profit". The "bird" is destiny, chance, but has certainly given cause for the fabulization referred to. Cf. Bab. 13, Aphth. 14.

214. "The Man that Received a Deposit and the Oath". Undoubtedly a fabulization of the oracle in Herodotus VI 86.

225. "The Shepherd and the Wolf Cubs". As has already been explained, a fabulization of the simile of Helen and the lion in *Agamemnon* by Aeschylus. There are derivations, perhaps, in H. 62, 215, 224.

247. "The Swan". Fabulization of the theme of the swan that sings its most beautiful song before dying (in Plato, *Phaed.* 84e ff., etc.).

259. "The Tortoise and the Eagle". The theme of the tortoise that wants to learn to fly and is killed is modelled on the myths of Phaethon and, particularly, of Daedalus.

264. "The Man and the Lion". The response of the lion that if lions knew how to sculpt, men would begin to be defeated by lions, is strongly reminiscent of Xenophanes 15 D.

279. "The Father, the Son and the Painted Lion". The theme of the son shut away to avoid the damage announced by a dream is reminiscent of mythical themes such as that of Danaë. The portent is of course impossible to avoid: the cases of Danaë, Oedipus, etc.

287. "The Worm and the Fox". The theme of the doctor that does not know how to cure himself perhaps comes from Solon 1.57.

Bab. 70. "War and Violence". The theme of War (masc.), married to Violence, is reminiscent of the scene in Ar., *Pax* 236 ff.

Vita Aesopi G 33. "True and False Dreams". The aetiology of why, in addition to true dreams, Zeus created other false ones, corresponds to the Delphic myth explained by Eur., *IT* 1259 ff. Cf. Perry, *art. cit.*, pp. 299 ff.

Note that the distinction between these fabulizations and the fables in the previous list is not an absolute one. In it there are some full-blown myths that were certainly later attributed to Aesop and considered as fables, as is the opinion expressed by Himerius and Photius, for example, on the subject of "Apollo, the Muses and the Dryades" and on "Dionysus and the Wine", respectively.

Supplement

The data on pp. 377 ff. must be complemented by the inventory on pp. 398 ff., to which we add documentation below taken from our Vol. III (with numerous supplements coming from works by VAN DIJK and myself, particularly). One important aspect of Van Dijk's work *Ainoi* is the collection of the Classical exemplum-fables, as well as general explanations on pp. 380 ff. (reception) and 442 ff. (the fables in Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic literature). This work will be put to considerable use in our Vol. III. Also: G.-J. VAN DIJK, "Intertextualiteit in de Griekse Literatuur. De functie van een fabel van Aeschylus tot Eustathius", *Kleio* 22, 1993, pp. 141–157; id., "*Addenda ad Aesopica.* Unnoticed and Neglected Themes and Variations of Greek and Latin Fables", *Bestia* 6, 1994, pp. 95–117.

The general bibliography must be added to that referred to above, cf. particularly F. LASSERRE in ADRADOS 1984, pp. 61–103, N. HOLZBERG 1993, pp. 40 ff. and JEDRKIEWICZ 1989. In this work, cf. particularly, pp. 368 ff. on Aesopic Socrates and Plato: allusions in Pl. *Phaedr.* 241d "like the wolves love the lambs", 272c "it is also right to state the wolf's point of view", *Gorg.* 483 and "like lions" (allusion to Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 717 ff.), *Resp.* 365c "the fox of the very skilful Archilochus, astute and versatile", *Leg.* 906d (allusion to the guard dogs that abandon the flock, corrupted by the wolves, cf. *Resp.* 416a), *Crat.* 411a "put on the lionskin", *Alc.* I 123a "as the fox said to the lion". The popularity of the fable at the end of the 5th century and in the 4th is today accepted by all scholars (which does not imply the existence of written texts, apart from those containing the "exempla" or allusions).

There is also a further bibliography (only on the fable in some Classical authors, the fable by fable bibliography that we add in Vol. III should be added): G. NAGY, "Mythe et prose en Grèce antique: the αἶνος" in C. CALAME, *Métamorphoses du mythe en Grèce antique.* Geneva, Labor et fides, 1988, pp. 229–242 (for Hesiod, we must add the bibliography in Vol. III, fab. H. 4); M. DAVIES, "Aeschylus and the Fable", *Hermes* 109, 1981, pp. 248–251; F. R. ADRADOS, "La lengua de Sócrates y su filosofía", *Methexis* 5, 1992, pp. 29–52 (= *Palabras y Ideas,* Madrid, Ediciones Clásicas, 1992, pp. 251–278: this discusses the place of the fable within the colloquial style of Socrates); M. SCHAUER–S. MERKLE, "Aesop und Sokrates", in N. HOLZBERG (ed.), *Der Aesop-Roman,* pp. 85–96 (I believe that the opposition they establish between Aesop and Socrates is mistaken); S. JEDRKIEWICZ, "Platone e le favole esopiche", *Prospettive Settanta* n.s. 5, 1983, pp. 250–264; P.-M. SCHUHL, *Etudes sur la fabulation platonicienne.* Paris, PUF, 1947; M. C. GINER SORIA, "El juicio del perro, *Vespae* 891–1008", in *Actas del V Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos,* Madrid 1978, pp. 270–275 (the possibility that the judgement of the two dogs in *Vesp.* has a fabulistic component, as occurs in *Pax,* which is a fabulization of the theme of the beetle, and *Aves,* fabulization of the expression εἰς κόρακας "to the crows").

As for the "Inventory" on pp. 398 ff., it must be supplemented by the new version of our "Documentation of the Graeco-Latin Fable" in Vol. III of this work. I highlight here the most significant points (together with those indicated above), indicating the numbering of the new fables in this "Documentation" (e.g. S. 4).

Lyric

Timocr. 4 *PMG* "The Cypriots and the Pigeons" (S. 22).
Scol. 6 = 889 *PMG,* more or less related to "Zeus, Prometheus, Athena and Momus", H. 102.

Tragedy and Satyr Play

Aesch., *Ag.* 717–736, "The Lion Cub" (already included in H. 276, now it is S. 4).
Soph., *Ai.* 1150–1156 "Two Men" (S. 3), to be added to 1142–1149 "The Cowardly Captain".
Achae., *TGF* I 28F34, perhaps a variant on "The Turtle and the Hare" (H. 254)
Aristias, *TGF* I 9F8 "The Ass and the Viper" (not-H. 231)

Comedy

To the citations given and to what is mentioned above on the subject of *Pax* (theme of the beetle in H. 3) and *Aves* (theme of the two dogs), we must add:

Ar., *Ach.* 120 (allusion to "The Fox and the Monkey", H. 83).
Ar., *Aves* 807–808 (allusion to "The Eagle and the Arrow", H. 273)
Ar., *Lys.* 629 (allusion to "The Wolf and the Old Woman", H. 163)
Ar., *Lys.* 695 (allusion to "The Eagle and the Beetle", H. 3)
Ar., *Th.* 497–500, first appearance of the theme of M. 240 "The Linen", cf. my "Documentación suplementaria de la fábula greco-latina", *Euphrosyne* 18,1990, p. 215.
Ar., *Ra.* 1431–1432 (allusion to the theme of the lion in Aeschylus, S. 4)
Apolloph., fr. 9 *CAF* "The Ass and the Viper" (not-H. 231)
Cratinus 247 K.-A., "The Ass and the Lyre", not-H. 49, the oldest allusion. Cf. my "Documentación suplementaria de la fábula greco-latina", *Euphrosyne* 18, 1990, p. 214.
Cratinus 135 K.-A., perhaps an allusion to "The Stag and the Lion", not-H. 95 (but it is perhaps a generic allusion to the theme of the fox, cf. *loc. cit.*, p. 215).

In Aristophanes there are plenty of erotic anecdotes of the fabulistic type; they can be seen in my *El cuento erótico griego, latino e indio*, Madrid, Ediciones del Orto 1993, pp. 85 ff.

Classical Prose

Hdt. II 173 anecdote that may be at the origin of "Fun and Severity", H. 205.
Democr., fr. 224 D.-K., allusion to "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat", H. 136.
Antipho Soph., fr. 54 D.-K., theme of "The Miser", H. 253.
Pl., *Leg.* 906d, cf. *R.* 416a, theme of "The Wolves and Dogs Reconciled", not H. 185.
Phaedo, *Zopyr.*, fr. 1 Rossetti, "The King's Son and the Lion Cub" (S. 10)
Philist. *FGH* 556F6, is the source of "The Horse and the Hunter", H. 138 (I mention this in my work on the theme, "Neue jambische Fragmente . . .", *Philologus* 126, 1982, pp. 157–159).
Antisth., fr. 100 Caizzi, "The Lions and the Hares" (not-H. 178).
D., fr. 13 B.-S., "The Wolves and the Sheep", H. 158.
Demad., fr. 22 De Falco, "The Orator Demades", H. 63.
Arist., fr. 573 Rose, variant on "The Fox and the Hedgehog", not-H. 19.
Arist., *HA* 563b14–15, "The Cuckoo and the Birds", not H. 138, older appearance than that in Plu.
Theopomp. Hist., *FGH* 115F27, "War and Violence", not-H. 250, also older appearance.
Furthermore, there is a representation of a variant of H. 254 "The Tortoise and the Hare" on a vase of the 5th century (in E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen*, Munich, Hirmer, 1981, pp. XVI–XVII).

The report on "Classical themes in the later fable" on pp. 403 ff. must receive some supplements, after the aforementioned; there are certain fables that were only known in the Hellenistic or later age and have now found (at least tentatively) their ancient prototype. This is the case, within the above list, of the following fables:

H. 63. "The Orator Demades" (Demades)
H. 136. "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat" (Democritus)
H. 102. "Zeus, Prometheus, Athena and Momus" (*Scol.* 6 *PMG*)
H. 163. perhaps "The Wolf and the Old Woman" (Aristophanes)
H. 205. perhaps "Fun and Severity" (Herodotus)
H. 253. theme of "The Miser" (Antiphon the Sophist)
H. 254. perhaps "The Turtle and the Hare" (Achaeus; variant: "The Tortoise and the Eagle")
not-H. 49. "The Ass and the Lyre" (Cratinus)
not-H. 95, perhaps "The Stag and the Lion" (Cratinus)
not-H. 138. "The Cuckoo and the Birds" (Aristotle)
not-H. 178. "The Lions and the Hares" (Antisthenes)
not-H. 185. "The Wolves and the Dogs Reconciled" (Plato)
not-H. 250. "War and Violence"
M. 240. "The Linen" (Aristophanes)
S. 4. "The Lion's Cub" (Aeschylus)
S. 10. "The King's son and the lion's cub", Phaedo, *Zopyr.* fr. 1
S. 22. "The Cypriots and the Pigeons" (Timocreon)

Furthermore, the proverb that gave rise to not-H. 235 "The Shadow of the Ass" occurs in Ar. *Vespae* 191; id., *Δαίδαλος* fr. 199 *PCG*; Pl., *Phdr.* 260C; S., fr. 331 R.; Arist., fr. 625 Rose; Archipp., frs. 35–36 *PCG*.

CHAPTER SIX

THE FABLE IN THE COLLECTION OF DEMETRIUS

I. *Demetrius Phalereus and his Collection*

1. *Character of Demetrius' Activity*

During the 4th century BC Aesopic themes existed within two traditions, the oral and the literary. The oral tradition included, on one hand, the legend of Aesop, which is the one we have already encountered in the 5th century, plus certain themes such as the Phrygian homeland of Aesop or his stay on Samos; on the other hand, it consisted of loose fables that could have been used as exempla at the banquet and on various occasions. In fact, any animalistic fable, fictitious anecdote, aetiological or satirical myth, possibly even any other material (proverb, joke, story from Natural History, etc.), was attributed to Aesop, described as a "*logos* of Aesop". Now, alongside this oral tradition there also existed an extensive literary tradition, sometimes consisting of allusions to the life of Aesop (including the telling of fables by him), sometimes of exemplum-fables of the types mentioned. Aristotle summarizes this stage in his Aesopic passage of *Rhetorica*; he only includes the fable as an exemplum.

Now, in the Hellenistic Age Aesopic literature entered a new phase. On one hand, a *Life of Aesop* was written, which included the elements of the previous legend plus other new ones and contained fables, proverbs, solutions to problems and oracles, etc., of the "Aesopic" type. On the other hand, there arose collections of fables which (with one or two exceptions) were without this setting. The problem is due to the fact that this Aesopic literature is only known to us through its subsequent derivations, namely a few papyrus fragments and two Byzantine versions of the *Life*, as well as collections of fables already from the 1st century AD (Phaedrus, Babrius, those of the Rylands Papyrus, which were perhaps drafted somewhat earlier). We therefore have before us a void of three centuries that we can only fill in some way by attempting to reconstruct the Aesopic literature of same starting both from what we know of it in earlier

times and from its subsequent derivation. Furthermore, it is clear that the exemplum-fable continued to exist at this time; at the oral level, undoubtedly, but also at the literary one (Callimachus, Cercidas, Pseudo-Callisthenes, Lucilius, Ennius, Horace, etc.).

Now, if it proves impossible to propose an author for the original composition of the *Life of Aesop*—which we will deal with in the next chapter—it is accepted that in the final analysis the collections of fables start off from the one which, in a book going by the title of λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαί, was written around the year 300 BC by the peripatetic philosopher, rhetorician, Athenian statesman and true founder of the Museum of Alexandria, Demetrius Phalereus, as we are informed by Diogenes Laertius (V 80). We saw in our Chapter I 2 that the later collections of fables are all related to each other and that this is only explained if they conclusively have a common point of origin: Demetrius. We have also seen that there are sufficient correspondences and differences between the versions of the same fable in the various collections to indicate that we need to postulate that there are various lost collections between Demetrius and these, throughout a tradition that was very splintered and contaminated. It would be overly precipitous to identify Demetrius' collection approximately with the whole Hellenistic fable, as Perry does when he thinks that it has been conserved for us partly in the fables of the Rylands Papyrus and that Phaedrus had it before him when writing his fables and when he summarily attributes to Demetrius any fable from Callimachus, Lucian, Dio Chrysostom, etc., that is not in the Augustana.[1] A comparison of the different versions of the same fables, as has been carried out by myself and by others in works referred to in I 2, shows that the collection displaying the most archaic features is sometimes the Rylands Papyrus, sometimes the Augustana. At other times these features are conserved in other fabulists or in this or that group of manuscripts within the Augustana. On the other hand, in some collections there are fables copied from different versions, others clearly derived from ancient fables, fables are missing that are in other collections, etc. All this implies the existence of a long history beginning with Demetrius. On this, cf. above I 2, pp. 84 ff., 60 ff.

We are offered no alternative but to attempt to reconstruct this

[1] All this in his "Demetrius of Phalerum and the Aesopic Fables", *TAPhA* 93, 1962, pp. 287–306.

history, which passes through the drafting in verse of the fables, the introduction into them of many elements from Hellenistic philosophies, the introduction of new themes and new formal elements. If to the fables of the collections that already appeared in the Classical Age we add elements in them that do not belong to these new layers, Demetrius' collection is to some degree reconstructed.

But first and foremost we must have an idea of Demetrius' intention in drafting his collection.[2] What Demetrius basically did was to gather together the fables used as exempla in the previous literature and present them loose, without their setting (although we must deal with the problem of the epimythia); not as exempla, then, but as the items in a collection. Given the correspondence of the formulas and compositional schemes, as well as of the themes, between the Classical fable—particularly that of the Socratics—and the older stratum of the fables of the collections of the Roman Age, as we have shown and we will specify, it can be deduced that Demetrius did not introduce too many innovations. He restricted himself to drafting the fables of Greek literature in prose form, in accordance with the schemes that had been imposed over time in the fable. We have postulated that the Socratics' interest in the fable—a practical interest insofar as they used it in their teachings and a theoretical one as regards the case of Aristotle—undoubtedly influenced both Demetrius' decision to compose this work and his way of doing so.

Yet it must be recognized that the leap he took was a very great one; he changed the fable from having the status of loose "exempla" among others of various types to becoming items in a collection. Why he did do this? What was his intention?

To begin with, we need to discard A. Hausrath's theory, which in fact came from German researchers—skilled classical scholars, moreover—such as P. Marc and O. Crusius, that what Demetrius did was to write a kind of manual of exercises for the pupils of the rhetoricians. I prefer not to criticize this whole strange theory on the rhetorical character of the fables of Demetrius and those of the Augustana in detail here, since I have already done so extensively elsewhere,[3] and, indeed, already it hardly has any defenders.[4] According to these authors, it was supposedly the rhetoricians that took the

[2] Cf. some early elements in "Prolegómenos al estudio de la fábula en época helenística", *Emerita* 46, 1978, pp. 9 ff.
[3] *Estudios... cit.*, pp. 4 ff.
[4] Cf. the criticisms by Nøjgaard, *op. cit.* I, pp. 470 ff.

fables from a written *Life of Aesop* in which they appeared. The truth is that neither did there ever exist any written *Life* containing a large number of fables, least of all in the Classical Age, nor do we know anything of the use of the fable in the schools of rhetoric or in teaching before Quintilian, nor does the basis of the last substratum of the Augustana or the fables of the Rylands Papyrus contain anything particularly rhetorical. It is a wholly different matter that later on these fables were used in teaching, both in the most elementary form and in what we would today call writing and literary composition, as well as in writing on morality and behaviour; and that this has led to some touching-up in the last phase of the drafting of the fables.

As later opinions, we may cite those of Perry, Nøjgaard and my own. The former[5] thinks that Demetrius considered it a scholarly activity to collect materials from a tradition that was on the point of disappearing, as indeed did other Alexandrian sages; yet at the same time he attempted to gather together a repertoire of rhetorical materials for use both by rhetoricians and by writers in general; it was not a written work to be read consecutively. All this is inherited from Hausrath. For his part, Nøjgaard[6] questions the second intention and holds to the antiquarian interest. Both reject the literary interest that in a given moment I myself attributed to the collection.[7]

Considering the matter again now, it is clear that the thesis that the fables of Demetrius were a "repertoire for the rhetorician" or for use at school continues to be untenable. There were not, to tell the truth, many rhetoricians at this time—if indeed there were any—who introduced fables; nor, in order to introduce them, did they need repertoires. Neither is there the slightest evidence that fables were used in elementary teaching, nor in the schools of rhetoric, which only began to flourish later. Only when the collections of fables subsequently acquired a moralistic character did they become widespread in teaching, and not before. And this moralistic purpose of the collections of fables is somewhat secondary, derived from their adoption by the Cynics and other philosophers. We already dealt with this in I 1, and will do so in greater detail in III 1.

On the other hand, we cannot give a clear-cut answer as to

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[5] Cf. among other places, "The Origins of the Epimythium", *cit.*, pp. 406 ff., "Demetrius of Phalerum . . .", *cit.*, pp. 339 ff., *Aesopica, cit.*, pp. 295 ff.

[6] *Op. cit.*, I., p. 478.

[7] "El P. Rylands", *cit.*, p. 347.

whether the primary purpose of the collection of Demetrius was literary or whether it was a purely scholarly work, or whether the idea was to find a repertoire for general use. These are aims which, in fact, cannot be ruled out. It proves more useful to leave aside this discussion and place the collection of fables of Demetrius within a series of new genres proper to the Hellenistic Age, namely the anthological genres. And to study the origin and characteristics of these genres.

The study of the works of Demetrius Phalereus himself gives us a first indication in this direction. In the catalogue that Diogenes Laertius (V 80) gives us of his works, alongside works of history, philosophy, rhetoric and literary history, there appears a collection of χρεῖαι or witty sayings. The same author (cf. I 1.22 and II 3.7) attributes a list of archons to him. That is to say, Demetrius had historical and literary interests, which is also clear from his intervention in the creation of the Museum library, but within these the works of anthological type are important in his production. It was no coincidence that he was a pupil of Theophrastus, author of the *Opinions of the Philosophers* (Φυσικῶν δόξαι) and of the *Characters*. The collection of fables is included, then, within a genre that was very characteristic of this age, in fact one already begun by Aristotle with his *Dionysiac* and *Olympionic Victories*, his collection of *Constitutions*: the anthological genre. On the other hand, we must point out that the great doctrinal works both of Aristotle and of Theophrastus are based on vast collections of materials. In the case we are discussing here, it is not a doctrinal work, but it is indeed a collection of literary material that had particularly interested the whole Socratic school.

It is appropriate at this point to approach the theme of the anthological genres in the literature of the Hellenistic Age in greater detail. The culmination of these genres is in the drafting of original works, written in verse, such as the *Iambs* and the *Aitia* by Callimachus, the *Catasterisms* by Eratosthenes, the *Crown* by Meleager, the *Amorous Passions* by Parthenius, the *Mimiambi* by Herodas, the *Metamorphoses* by Nicander and Ovid, the collections of elegies by Ovid, Propertius and Tibullus, etc. Bearing in mind that Archilochus or Pindar composed their short poems on given occasions, their collection in books is due to the philologists of Alexandria, who by doing this did no more than apply to them what was the usual procedure at the time, that is, to publish books of short poems. This is exactly what authors such as Phaedrus and Babrius did with the fable, and it was even

done before; we have already stated earlier that from the 3rd century BC the Cynics published at least one collection of fables in verse.

But this is a secondary phase in the process of the creation of the anthological genre. This process has two prior phases, between which, moreover, it is not possible to distinguish exactly; it follows the creative phase.

1. Collections of materials. They are in the tradition of the Aristotelian school, starting with the master himself, to whose *Dionysiac* and *Olympionic Victories* we have already referred. We have also mentioned the list of archons of Demetrius. Also included in this line are the collections of inscriptions and decrees, such as that of Polemon. And the catalogues of the library of the Museum of Alexandria, the *pinakes* of Callimachus. These are not the only collections of materials, however. We must add the lexicons of rare or dialect words, which proliferated in this period;[8] those of sayings and proverbs, such as those of Theophrastus, Clearchus of Soloi and Chrysippus. Also important are the collections of χρεῖαι (we have said that Demetrius wrote one) and apothegms, of which we know those of Plutarch. Judging by these, the genre was a mixed one, which brought together or attempted to bring together the literal witty phrases of various scholars or celebrated men, but framing them in the original context of the author of the collection.

This as regards the works in prose. But collections were also made of loose works by the ancient poets. A good example is the anthology of Attic *scolia* conserved by Athenaeus 694 C ff. And an even clearer one, the collection by Theognis, a collection of elegies and epigrams for use at the banquet, which certainly began to be put together in the Classical Age, but culminated in the Hellenistic one.[9] Very different materials were included in this collection, some by Theognis, others not, for use at the banquet; these were ordered partly according to themes and following the system of retorts, variations on the same themes, etc., that was customary at the banquet.

A collection such as this was considerably influenced by the gnomologies or collections of opinions on various themes which, favoured by the Cynics and Stoics, were very widespread. The *Florilegium* by

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[8] Cf. C. Serrano in *Introducción a la Lexicografía griega*, ed. by E. Gangutia, Madrid, 1977, pp. 73 ff.

[9] Cf. my "Introducción" to Theognis, in *Líricos Griegos Arcaicos*, II, 2nd ed., Madrid 1990, pp. 118 ff., 128 ff.

Stobaeus, a late work bringing together passages by various authors, in prose and verse, on themes such as friendship, virtue, etc., is a late derivative. On the other hand, this whole literature was used in a secondarily phase in works such as the *Banquet of the Seven Sages* by Plutarch or the *Banquet of the Sophists*, by Athenaeus, in which it is presented to us in a slightly disguised form.

2. Collections of materials with original drafting. On other occasions the Hellenistic authors gave their own form to the materials they collected, creating what was, in a certain sense, an intermediate genre between the collection of materials and literature. Such as when Aristotle and his pupils collected a series of *Constitutions* of various Greek cities; their interest as documents, as a premise for the master's *Politics*, is unquestionable, but they were already literary works in their own right. Demetrius himself wrote works on the laws and constitution of Athens. The same is true to a certain extent of the collections of χρεῖαι, on account of the framework in which they were offered, and of works such as the Φυσικῶν δόξαι or *Opinions of the Philosophers* by Theophrastus, already mentioned; and it is also true of the books of dreams, the books by the paradoxographers, those containing *periegeses* or journeys, those of antiquarian interest, chronographies such as the *Marmor Parium*, etc. Here the composition was by the author, but through echoes of the work in various subsequent authors, it is clear that part of the original writing and vocabulary remained. We therefore find partly, a collection of materials, partly a History of Philosophy. The *Lives of the Philosophers* by Diogenes Laërtius also possesses this double character.

We find ourselves closer to the terrain we are discussing if we move on to consider the collections of myths, in prose, such as the later ones by Antoninus Liberalis, Apollodorus and Hyginus. They have antecedents in lost Hellenistic collections and in mythological works such as those of Euhemerus and Palaiphatos (cf. Schmidt-Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* II 1, Munich 1920, pp. 231 ff.), which were clearly used by the poets; but they were not only collections of materials, they also attempted to provide a systematic idea of the myth, to write a kind of mythical history. Another closely related area is that of the collections of erotic stories, such those of Parthenius and Aristides, translated by Sisenna into Latin, and which clearly also possessed the same double character. But these were read in sequence, as we know, and generally considered as literary works.

3. Original Collections. There is only one step from the previous

stage to the point when somebody writes a new collection, contributing his own creative talent. For example, Epicurus' composition of his κυρίαι δόξαι, *Capital Doctrines*, a summary of the central opinions of his philosophy, is undoubtedly inspired by collections of the sayings and doctrines of the ancient philosophers. It is on the basis of the collections of χρεῖαι that the Cynics wrote other specialist collections concerning Diogenes (what is more, sometimes appropriating ancient material); leaving aside the echoes in various subsequent works (the *Life of Aesop*, the *Banquet* by Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, etc.), we may cite a fragment of an original work of this type coming from a Rainer papyrus.[10] This refers of course to collections in prose. It is clear that the collections in verse, on the other hand, such as those of Callimachus, Eratosthenes, etc., mentioned above, were already wholly literary works in their own right, but that their models were the collections in point 2, and even those in point 1 (Theognis' elegies). What they did was put into verse prose collections such as those of the mythographers, making these their own work; imitating the model of the verse anthologies.

After this slight digression, let us return to Demetrius. Our thesis may be summarized as follows:

a) The collection by Demetrius is an anthological collection that rewrites previous material putting it into prose. He made his selection according to a criterion that was widespread in the 5th and 4th centuries as to what the Aesopic fable was, following the model of the prosaic fable of the Socratics and as far as possible reducing the ancient iambic fable of Archilochus and others to fit this model. By doing this he makes a work that is partly original, at least as regards the detail of the composition and the style, but also as regards the selection of fables and the fabulization of different materials. His collection of fables was comparable, then, to those of myths or romances; the question of whether the central interest was documentary or literary is not very significant here, in fact it may have varied depending on the different readers.

b) The version in choliambs of the collection by Demetrius, to which we referred in I 2 and which we will consider in III 2, is dependent upon Demetrius' collection, which it expands. The author

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[10] Collected by W. Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemus*, pp. 49 ff. Cf., generally, A. Packmohr, *De Diogenis Sinopensis apophthegmatis Quaestiones Selectae*, Diss. Münster 1913.

of this collection in verse makes his own work, just as Phaedrus and Babrius did later. Specifically, within an ideology and a poetic and literary tradition of the Cynic school.

However, these last points remain for discussion later on. Here we must defend the initial position.

It seems clear that the collection of Demetrius was not of a strictly documentary or anthological type, that is to say, a summary of fables transcribed from the different sources just as they were written, in prose or verse. This may be deduced from the fact that in the later collections, derived from that of Demetrius, no trace survives anywhere of the original iambic metre of an Archilochus or an Aristophanes, for example. This is not all, major modifications are habitually made to the content and the form. We have referred to these, for example, on the subject of the fable of the hawk and the nightingale by Hesiod (above, p. 169). On the other hand, the very fact that the collection—with one or two exceptions—only presented the "cleaned-up" fables, without their setting, meant that they inevitably had to be rewritten; we have already said that, to begin with, writing in indirect style was eliminated, but the alterations did not stop there.

To be sure of our ground here, let us take one of the most important fables, that of "The Eagle and the Fox", of which we have ancient iambic models and which is number 1 in the Anonymous Fables. There is no trace—we repeat—of Archilochus' metre. It would not have been possible to retain it, among other things, because if the first stage and the prologue αἶνός τις ἀνθρώπων ὅδε were eliminated, it would be impossible to begin the narration with ὡς ἆρ' as Archilochus does; if this beginning were taken away, the verse would be defective. There was no choice but to rewrite the fable either in verse or in prose. This second hypothesis, supported, as we have said, by the correspondences between the Socratic fable and that of the collections, is also more economical, as otherwise it would be necessary to suppose a fable series in verse followed by a prosification and this in turn by a new versification (the traces of this that are found in the collections are hard to attribute to Demetrius). But let us return to "The Eagle and the Fox".

If we compare the version by Archilochus with that in the Augustana, we find the following in the latter:

a) There are no traces of the iambs of Archilochus and the limited traces of metre that are found are different. For example, under-

lying ἀετὸς καὶ ἀλώπηξ φιλίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους there may be a trimetre φιλίαν ἀλώπηξ κἀετὸς πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Cf. verse endings such as πλησίον διέγνωσαν (suppressing ἑαυτῶν οἰκεῖν in the middle), ἐχθρῷ κατηρᾶτο, and beginnings such as τροφῆς καταπτάς, δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.

b) The vocabulary is radically innovated; for example, there is no trace of ξυνωνίην ἔμειξαν (nor of ἐκοινώνησεν, adaptation of Aristophanes), κλύσας, κέλευθον, αἰθέρος, λαιψηρά, κυκλώσας, θυμός, ἔλπεται, ὑψηλὸς πάγος, ἐλαφρίζων μάχην, ἀπτῆνες, νεοσσιῇ, κράτος, λεωργά, θεμιστά, αἰηνές and other "poetic" words. There are substitutions: φιλία with ξυνωνίη, καλιά with νεοσσιή, ἦσαν ἔτι ἀτελεῖς οἱ πτηνοί with ἀπτῆνες, there is talk of σπλάγχνον ἔμπυρον with πυρὸς . . . φεψάλυξ, of δίκην ὑποσχεῖν. The model is clearly Archilochus, but the changes of vocabulary are incompatible with retention of the metre.

c) There are changes in content. Now Zeus does not intervene at all and the fox restricts himself to cursing the eagle. The three direct speeches are replaced with the allusion to the curse of the fox. There is no mention of the peak where the eagle lives nor of the complicated interplay whereby the eagle first steals the young, then the fox pleads, then the eagle boasts, and finally the latter flies to his peak.

d) Corresponding to all this is a change of structure. There is a much simpler structure compared with Archilochus' complex one (cf. above, p. 30): A/Bsit.-Bact./Aind.-Bact./Aact., which is almost normal within Classical types and those of the collections. If we now add the complicated interplay of agreeing participles (ἀ. καὶ ἀ. . . . σπεισάμενοι . . . πονούμενοι . . . ὁ ἀετὸς ἀπορῶν . . . ἀναπτὰς . . . ἀναρπάσας . . . ἡ δὲ ἀλώπηξ ἐπανελθοῦσα . . . χερσαία γὰρ οὖσα . . . πόρρωθεν στᾶσα, etc.), of the genitive absolutes (ἐξελθούσης δέ ποτε αὐτῆς . . . θυόντων γάρ τινων . . . οὗ κομισθέντος), the subordinates (ὡς ἔγνω τὸ πραχθέν, ὃ μόνον καταλείπεται, etc.). All this is within the new line of the fable in prose that we have already discussed, which conserves archaisms such as ποτέ, γάρ, τις in the circumstances we have mentioned.

Clearly, it may be argued that the Augustana is not Demetrius Phalereus, which is evident to us. Once a fabulistic style is introduced, it is by no means easy to determine the age of its specific application to each fable. With respect to our fable here, it is likely that the version in the Augustana contains certain compositional additions that do not affect the content and that are absent from Phaedrus I 28. The latter, on the other hand, maintains the lament of the fox and the scorn of the eagle, which are absent from the

Augustana and are found in Archilochus (*hanc persecuta mater orare incipit,/ne tantum miserae luctum importaret sibi./Contempsit illa, tuta quippe ipso loco*); and has eliminated the beginning (friendship of the two animals) and the final plea by the fox and created a completely new ending (it is the fox that sets fire to the tree, a version presupposing the prior elimination of the theme of the "high peak"; and the eagle returns his young to him, which he has not devoured). Thus, Phaedrus has created the scheme: Bact./Aind./Bind.-Aact./Bact., a double agonal scheme which is different from that of the Augustana.

Now, if we compare the Augustana with Phaedrus, we can see that in any case both texts presuppose the elimination of the role of Zeus, of the "peak" and the flight of the eagle (who stays in the tree till the end) and of the direct speeches; in this model there is no distinction made between the stealing of the fox's young and the moment when they are taken to the nest. The Augustana operates by elimination and by modification of the ending (the fox devours the eagle's young).

To sum up, we think that in Demetrius the fable has retained part of its ancient complexity, maintaining—between A/Bsit. (friendship of the two animals) and Bact. (sacrilege and punishment of the eagle)—a beginning and an ending that were eliminated or altered by Phaedrus, a middle with the crime of the eagle (Phaedrus and Augustana), the plea of the eagle and the rejection of the fox (Phaedrus) and the curse from the fox (Augustana). That is to say:

A/Bsit.-act./Adir.-Bdir./Adir.-Bact.

This is clearly a simpler scheme than that of Archilochus, which, if we recall, was:

A/Bsit.-Bact./Adir.-Bact. + dir./Adir.-Bact.

In any case, there remains a double *agon* preceded by A/Bsit. and followed by a final Bact.; each of the two versions contains various alterations.

We must imagine the version by Demetrius to be not very different from that of the Augustana, except that perhaps the plea of the fox and its rejection by the eagle are less long, but already possessing the essential syntax and vocabulary that we have described. It is significant that in the version from the Babrian tradition, conserved in very incomplete form in the Bodleian Paraphrase (186 Cr.), there is considerable correspondence with the vocabulary of the Augustana:

φιλίαν ἐσπείσατο, τὴν καλιάν, τοῖς δὲ νεοσσοῖς θοίνην ἔδωκε (Aug.: μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεοσσῶν κατεθοινήσατο), οἱ νεοσσοὶ κατέπεσον (Aug.: οἱ νεοττοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατέπεσον).

2. *Form and Content of the Fables in the Collection by Demetrius*

The hypothesis that the fables of Demetrius were written in verse in fact does not bear consideration. There is no information to indicate that Demetrius composed verses (except for some poems in honour of Sarapis that Diogenes Laertius discusses, V 5. 76, which were undoubtedly an official commission). All of his activity is as a prose writer. From another standpoint, the metrical traces, of iambic and choliambic trimetres, which are to be found in the Anonymous Fables, reveal metrical characteristics and other elements that, as we stated earlier, would link these compositions (I say "these" because the Rylands Papyrus supposes a different versification and the Babrian tradition undoubtedly also does) with the Cynics, not with Demetrius. It must be added that Demetrius' collection, from a single book, must not have been very long, with little more than 100 or so fables, whereas there are metrical traces in a much greater number.

Demetrius' activity must, then, have consisted of the following:

a) Selecting from among the fables of the literature of the Classical Age, of which clearly only a very small part has reached us, also selecting material that was not exactly fabulistic, but capable of being fabulized. The selection criterion consisted in following the lines of what was considered Aesopic in the 5th and 4th centuries; we discussed this in I 1 and will return to it later.

b) Eliminating the frame (promythium, prologue, epimythium), with certain exceptions, sometimes with regard to the promythium and prologue (of the type "Aesop, etc., said", "it is said that..."), sometimes to the epimythium (see below, 3).

c) Writing a new draft following the guiding principles of the fable in Classical prose, but in direct style and developing the system of participles, subordinates, determiners of place and time, etc. A series of initial formulas are conserved and developed to present the main characters (interplay of the subject or subjects and the verb, etc., use of τις and other resources for presentation, temporal location with ποτέ and other expressions), endings connected to the "closing statement" (formulas with οὕτως, ἀτάρ, etc.). There are many others besides, which undoubtedly gave rise to the metrical formulas that

we will study in III 1, whose prosifications in many cases possibly rediscover or imitate Demetrius' formulas. An important characteristic of this composition is the lexicon, which is that of the literary prose of the first κοινή; its introduction supposes a radical modification of the model, as we have seen in "The Eagle and the Fox". See below.

d) When necessary, giving the fable a new structure, eliminating archaic and irregular types and choosing to disseminate types such as the aetiological, "situation" and simple agonal fable (A/Bsit. followed by simple *agon* and, as in many, a second *agon* or else a new final intervention, either oral or an action).

e) As regards content, the use of anomalous types, such as the simple imposition of force or the simple punishment of the wicked one, tended to be restricted. The elimination of the punishment by Zeus in the fable of the eagle and the fox, the introduction of the failed deception of the nightingale in that of the hawk and the nightingale, are very characteristic of this. The situation fable focused on the lament of the victim hardly appears at all. Cf. further information below, Chapter IV. To sum up, following the line that was being developed in the 5th century around the name of Aesop, the fable became increasingly satirical and fictitious (but not exclusively animalistic), and at the same time critical. The anomalous genres that we can hardly class as fabulistic (cf. I 1, pp. 37 ff.) are barely present, or are not present at all. However, Demetrius included certain myths in his collection that later authors did not admit (cf. below, p. 479).

All this, of course, contains a certain degree of hypothesis. It will be confirmed when we attempt to offer a provisional index or catalogue of the fables of Demetrius. We are fully aware, however, that we are to a certain extent running the risk of proceeding in a vicious circle, insofar as this catalogue is partly formed on the basis of factual data (Classical fables that undoubtedly crossed over to the collections through Demetrius), but also partly based on certain of our own conceptions (supported by our knowledge of the pre-Classical and Classical fable, our possibility of isolating certain elements of the collections as being recent, etc.).

Leaving the subject of the catalogue in question and, therefore, the in-depth consideration of certain points, for later on in this same chapter, we will now offer supporting evidence, as far as possible,

for the ideas put forward regarding the form and content of the fables of Demetrius. Sometimes we will include elements already stated in previous chapters, at others will add some new ones. The method will always be the same, that is, those aspects in which the collections agree have a great likelihood of dating back to Demetrius and even more so if they present features of connection with the Classical fable of the 5th century and, in general, with the literature of that century. Yet without forgetting that these features, once widely used in the fable, may have been reproduced automatically in later fables. Let us indicate the following points:

1. *Vocabulary.* As we stated earlier, all evidence here indicates that the fables in the collection by Demetrius must have used the vocabulary of the ancient literary κοινή, the one that was usual, for example, in Aristotle and the whole peripatetic school. This vocabulary had eliminated a series of Attic words that had fallen into disuse and introduced Hellenistic terms, particularly intellectual creations (derivatives and compounds).

The serious problem that we face when studying the vocabulary of the fable is that our prose fables in the three anonymous collections and the Rylands Papyrus—those that are most likely to have retained their ancient form—are in fact prosifications of previous versifications of Demetrius. It is likely that the poetic vocabulary that these introduced was partly maintained later in the prosified versions; and this is the case, judging by our now old book *Estudios sobre el léxico de las fábulas esópicas*[11] in which we were not yet aware of this path of the fable through draftings in verse form. What we did do in this book, on the other hand, was to isolate elements within the vocabulary of the anonymous Byzantine fables (collections II and III) that must be attributed to the different currents of that age. Finally, in our article already cited on the fables of the Rylands Papyrus, we studied their lexicon. We will therefore restrict ourselves here to presenting our previous results and using them from our current perspective.

The vocabulary of the fables of the Rylands Papyrus[12] has the literary lexicon of the first κοινή, with few Atticisms and poeticisms and hardly any elements of the popular κοινή. These resources were

[11] Salamanca 1948.
[12] Cf. *art. cit.*, p. 387.

a continuation of those of Aristotle, Theophrastus and Demetrius himself. Something similar may be said of the ancient basis of the Anonymous Fables, specifically, of the Augustana. It is characteristic, for example, that the Attic particles that disappeared at the time of the κοινή are almost completely absent from the Augustana,[13] as are those introduced by the Atticists.

Clearly, since the Augustana is[14] a collection that has reached us in a draft from the 4th or 5th century AD, there is nothing strange in the fact that it introduced a late lexicon, either Atticist or poetic—as a result of the influence on prose of the Atticist and rhetorizing movement, particularly from approximately 100 AD onwards—or else popular. Now, our study[15] shows very clearly that this new vocabulary is minimal: 12 Atticisms, 37 poeticisms and 3 Atticisms or poeticisms not used in prose before that date; 57 vulgarisms with the same characteristics. Note that the poeticisms may in fact come from the Hellenistic metrical versions.

On the other hand, we have counted 92 Attic terms excluded from the popular κοινή, but not from the ancient literature; with 145 poetic terms that are in both; and with 196 terms from the κοινή (Ionic or newly created) with the same characteristics. The vast majority of the vocabulary items of the Augustana (apart from the terms common to all Greek) are from the κοινή, but when distinctions need to be made within this, the Augustana aligns itself with the literary against the popular.

Therefore, it is important to note that the vocabulary of the collection underwent few modifications in the Imperial Age, and the same was the case as regards the content, as we already know. This increases our confidence in considering it, to a certain point, faithful to Demetrius. The correspondence with the lexicon of the Rylands Papyrus (we cannot rely on Babrius and other authors for obvious reasons) increases this confidence. An important conclusion that must be added, however, is that even the poetic vocabulary of the Augustana is for the most part not incompatible with what was normal in the literary κοινή: only 37 words are not found in prose until 100 AD. Either the prosifications eliminated the more poeticizing vocabulary or else the metrical versions of the Cynics did not introduce exces-

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[13] Cf. *Estudios*. . ., pp. 63 ff.

[14] Cf. above, pp. 60 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, pp. 151 ff., summary of the data on p. 228.

sive doses of poetic vocabulary. If we review the metrical passages given as samples in I 1 and those that we will study in III 1, we will see that this last conclusion is unavoidable. We will see that this view is supported by the fact that the metrics of the versions in question is very lax. To sum up, the existence of intermediate metrical versions between Demetrius and the Augustana modified the panorama of the vocabulary of the fables to a lesser degree than might have been expected.

2. *Syntax.* We have already studied the standard syntax of the fables of the Augustana. It is characterized by the existence of a number of periods, usually varying between two and four, each one of which introducing a new episode in the action of one of the main characters, and separated by δέ. It is customary for the first of these periods to open with determiners of place or time; the others frequently have determiners of time (speech with ὡς or genitive absolute, generally). In all these the name of the protagonist or protagonists, in the nominative, often goes together with agreeing participles, sometimes various ones linked copulatively, on which there depend infinitives, direct complements, etc.; it is rarer for there to be clauses with relatives instead of these. The main verbs go in the indicative, generally in the past tense; but sometimes the nom. + personal verb group in the indicative is replaced by a genitive absolute. Those coordinated with γάρ and the final, consecutive, causal subordinates, etc. are not very common. The ending is usually the "closing statement" or direct speech of the victor, of the victim (in the situation fables) or of the "survenant", although there may also be an ending with action. Apart from the "closing statement", the speeches are usually in indirect style (indirect or completive interrogatives).

Of course, this description must be adapted to the main types of structure, as they were described in I 1 and in II 5. The most customary ones, as we know, are A/Bsit.-Bact./Adir. and A/Bsit.-Bact./Aact., although the action may be replaced by indirect speech, as may the final direct speech; in this case there may follow an ending with action or a direct comment by C, a "survenant". In all these types, the periods we have discussed alternate between the two main characters. A variant is when the situation is presented not with two periods devoted to A and B, but with only one in which both are present (double subject type, see II 5, p. 385); in others, when there is not a true *agon*, we therefore represent the protagonists as B1 and B2.

There are, of course, the simpler structures to which we have already referred, sometimes organized around various episodes of the action of a single character (Bsit.-Bact.-Bact.-Bact.; Bsit.-Bdir.), sometimes adding the "closing statement" or action of a "survenant" (Bsit.-Cdir.; Bact.-Cact.; etc.). These are the aetiological or "situation" fables. And there are the more complex structures, with double *agon*, with intervention by the characters on the same side, etc. Now, for the purposes for which we are studying here, syntactical organization, all these types of fables are equivalent.

The syntactical organization that we have described as customary in the Augustana is re-encountered in the fables of the Rylands Papyrus, which we know come from the same source, but not from the Augustana itself. This organization must therefore be attributed to Demetrius and even, as we have already indicated, to his precedents in the fable in prose of the 4th century.

A good example of the identical syntax of the Augustana and the Rylands Papyrus is "The Shepherd and the Sheep".[16] Certain abbreviations on the papyrus, certain doubts as to where the old elements are, do not destroy the general unity; there are four periods linked with δέ, the first three beginning by alternation between the shepherd and the sheep in the nominative followed by participles (or a temporal with ὡς) the fourth with the direct speech of the shepherd. It is a very simple fable, scheme B1/B2 sit.-B2 act. + dir.:

	Rylands Papyrus	Augustana
1.	Ποιμὴν . . . θείς . . . ἀναβάς . . . ἐρράβδιζεν	Ποιμὴν . . . ἐλάσας . . . ὡς ἐθεάσατο . . . ἀνέβη . . . καὶ κατέσειε
2.	τὰ δὲ πρόβατα . . . ἐμαχήσαντο . . . καὶ . . . διέφθειραν	τὰ δὲ πρόβατα ἐσθίοντα . . . ἔλαθε συγκαταφαγόντα
3.	καταβὰς δὲ καὶ ἰδών . . .	ὁ δὲ ποιμὴν καταβάς, ὡς ἐθεάσατο
4.	εἶπεν	εἶπεν

This technique of periods beginning with alternation of the two main characters in the nom. (followed, sometimes, by C) is conserved in other fables in the Rylands Papyrus, sometimes with modifications that prove to be secondary. For example, in "Heracles and Plutus" we have a fable, also in the Augustana, all of which makes us think

[16] Cf. *art. cit.*, pp. 355 ff.

it is of later, Cynic origin (cf. pp. 58 f.). The scheme of the Augustana is rather anomalous: A/Csit.-Bind./Adir. Nevertheless, the syntax is as to be expected, with one exception: Ἡρακλῆς ἰσοθεωθεὶς καὶ . . . ἑστιώμενος . . . ἠσπάζετο/καὶ δὴ τελευταίου εἰσελθόντος τοῦ Πλούτου . . . κύψας ἀπεστρέψατο is the beginning, which means that the nom. + nom. group that we would expect has been modified partly by means of the introduction of a gen. abs.; the continuation, on the other hand, is normal, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς θαυμάσας . . . ἐπυνθάνετο . . ./ὁ δὲ εἶπεν. Comparison with Phaedrus IV 12 reveals that all this is ancient. Now, the Rylands Papyrus introduces modifications by making Zeus the subject of the first period and placing the god in the gen. abs. when he enters later in his role as C.

As we see, here we are not reconstructing a fable of Demetrius—this comes after him—but seeing how his schemes underlie the altered ones from a later date. The Augustana already offers a partly anomalous reconstruction, with B initially in the gen. abs. and not in the nom., but except for this, the ancient tradition continues of the periods alternately devoted to the different characters, beginning in the nom. If we now look at the Rylands Papyrus, there is a tendency here to reorganize this system, but traces remain of it in spite of everything. Apart from in an abundant interplay of participles, in a new drafting which is completely focused on the Zeus/Heracles opposition, expressed in the traditional way: Ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν Ἡρακλῆ ὡς . . . εἱστία . . . /ἐπίοντα δὲ ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν . . . ἠσπάζετο ὁ Ἡρακλῆς. Subsequently the entrance of Plutus is in the gen. abs. (inherited from the ancient version) and is conceived as a circumstance that precedes a new Heracles/Zeus confrontation (with this now also in the gen. abs.).

These modifications have not fully abandoned an ancient tradition. The same may be said of "The Owl and the Birds", where we find a series of periods in the nom. separated by δε in which not only the two main characters intervene, but also the tree and a "survenant" C, all accompanied by participles; in any case, however, the gen. abs. is used instead of the nom.: τὴν βουλὴν δ' αὐτῶν ὀλιγορούντων ἡ δρῦς ηὐξήθη, λαβὼν δέ τις ἀνὴρ . . . τὰ δὲ ὄρνεα ὁρῶντα . . .

Its seems clear, then, that the Augustana conserves the compositional and syntactical resources of Demetrius more exactly, but that these are also at the basis of the fables of the Rylands Papyrus, which, moreover, tend to have undergone abbreviation, with some

additions (such as the second "closing statement" in "Heracles and Plutus", which alters the meaning of the fable) and syntactical modifications. Clearly, it is not certain that elsewhere the opposite has not occurred. Thus, in "The Boar and the Horse" (the fable by Stesichorus that is also found in Aristotle) the situation is presented, both in the Augustana and in the papyrus, by means of a double subject (Rylands Papyrus: ἵππος καὶ ὗς λειμῶνος ἐκοινώνουν/Aug.: Σῦς ἄγριος καὶ ἵππος ἐν ταὐτῷ ἐνέμοντο), but then the following period is introduced by the papyrus in the nom. (ὁ δὲ ὗς ἐλυμαίνετο . . .) and by the Aug. in the gen. (τοῦ δὲ συὸς . . . διαφθείροντος). Both may be ancient, in fact.

In turn, the study of the fables of Phaedrus, insofar as they are comparable to those of the Augustana,[17] reveals in the former the presence of certain reductions, certain conscious modifications affecting the basis of the fable, and syntactical modifications. These are very variable. They generally respect the original syntactical scheme of the type we are studying, although there is a certain amount of pruning of participles and circumstantial elements, as in "Heracles and Plutus". The differences with respect to the Augustana are usually:[18]

a) In each period, the names of the antagonists are usually not given at the start (IV 12 *caelo receptus propter virtutem Hercules*) or are replaced by synonyms (IV 9 *vulpes . . . vulpecula; hircus . . . barbatus*) or are preceded by a clause with *cum* (particularly at the beginning, sometimes the name of the animal does not go in the nom.: I 8: *os devoratum fauce cum haereret lupi*) or is simply not given, and must be deduced from the context (in this fable: *"ingrata es", inquit*, it is the wolf speaking).

b) There are also variations to avoid the initial type of double subject, cf. H. 156 λέων καὶ ὄνος κοινωνίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σπεισάμενοι, Phaedrus I 11 *venari asello comite cum vellet leo.*

c) Instead of being rendered by an abl. abs., the gen. abs. tends to disappear or be translated by means of a personal clause. Thus, in the fable recently cited there is no correspondence in Phaedrus to γενομένων δὲ αὐτῶν κατά τι σπήλαιον while τοῦ δὲ λέοντος τὰς πλείστας συλλαβόντος is translated by *leonis affliguntur horrendo impetu.* But the translation may also be made using the ablative absolute,

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[17] Cf. a first essay in our article "El P. Rylands . . .".

[18] We have been supported by the comparative study of a series of fables, including those analyzed by Giordana Pisi, *Fedro traduttore di Esopo*, Florence 1977.

as in *veniente Pluto* in IV 12. The use of participles is generally reduced.

d) It is frequently the case that the indirect speech of the penultimate period is replaced by a direct one; like the final "closing statement", it may disappear, as in Phaedrus I 13, equivalent to H. 126 "The Crow and the Fox".

In all these cases it seems clear that the modification of the ancient version is made in Phaedrus, who aims to vary the monotonous regularity of the subjects that are alternated, eliminating marginal details, introducing variations in the use of indirect and direct speech. The correspondence between the usages of the Augustana and those of the Classical fable supports this view.

Now, once all this has been taken into account, as well as the reduction in the use of the participles and circumstantial elements, Phaedrus' fables display syntactical schemes that prove to be ancient. There are many fables, such as that of Heracles and Plutus, that have identical schemes in the Augustana and Phaedrus, with the exceptions mentioned. Such as that of the wolf and the crane (Phaedrus I 8 = H. 161), with a scheme A/Bsit.-Bind./Adir., and that of the fox and the mask (Phaedrus I 7 = H. 27). At other times, such as in the fable of the crow and the fox mentioned above, there is a greater difference due to the Phaedrian features referred to above, but the fundamental scheme is the same. When the difference is very great, as in Phaedrus I 12, "The Stag at the Spring", a simple story whose subject is always the stag, while in H. 76 there is alternation between the stag and the lion, Phaedrus is in fact working with a very different model from that of the Augustana.

In comparison with this procedure used by Phaedrus, that of Babrius is of two very different types. One of these is that represented by the long and extended fable, of mythical/romance-like structure, such as 95, a version with more than 100 verses of the fable by Archilochus of the lion, the stag and the fox which, apart from here, is only found in Avianus 30. It is an extended and rhetorizing type. Together with this we have the other, more traditional type of the short fable, which conserves much of the ancient version. Its fundamental features are:

a) Conservation of the initial subject—simple or double—often with a participle; this is not as common as in the Augustana, but much more so than in Phaedrus and at most it is replaced by the initial mention of the animal in a different case from the nominative. Babrius has initial verses that are very characteristic of the

Augustana and the ancient fabulistic tradition, which therefore come from Demetrius: types such as 89 Λύκος ποτ' ἄρν'... ἰδών; 88 κορυδαλλὸς ἦν τις ἐν χλόῃ νεοσσεύων; 47 ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἦν ἀνήρ...; 38 δρυτόμοι τινες σχίσαντες...; 95 λέων νοσήσας... ἔκειτο; 64 ἤριζον ἐλάτη καὶ βάτος πρὸς ἀλλήλας, etc. As well as at the beginning, the nom. with δέ is very frequently used in the other periods.

b) A tendency to reduce the number of gen. abs. and temporals with ὡς, preferring the use of circumstantial participles; but cf., for example, 70 θεῶν γαμούντων, 82 κοιμωμένου λέοντος, 95.55 τὴν δ' ὥς τις εἶδε, 97.6 ὡς εἶδε, 45.9 ὡς δ' ἠθρίησε, etc.

c) The final "closing statement" is customary, almost the norm, but the elimination of indirect speeches and their replacement with direct ones is also customary, reaching the point, sometimes, of a true dialogue.

With the differences that may be easily deduced from here, the fables of Babrius conserve some wholly ancient syntactical schemes, irrespective of the degree of correspondence with the Augustana in specific fables.

See, for example, 58, an adaptation to the fabulistic style of the fable of Pandora by Hesiod: Ζεὺς... συλλέξας... πωμάσας...; ὁ δ' ἀκρατὴς ἄνθρωπος... σπεύδων κινήσας...; μόνη δ' ἔμεινεν ἐλπίς, ἥν... Or a fable with a closing statement of the type B1/B2sit.-Cact./Adir., "The Lion and the Mouse", 82: διέδραμεν μῦς, ὁ δὲ λέων ἐθυμώθη... κερδῶ δ' ἐπεχλεύαζε, ὡς... ὅ δ'... εἶπε.... This fable, with its initial gen. abs., its temporal sentence with ὡς, its periodization with nominatives and δέ, its final closing statement, possesses all the features of the tradition of Demetrius. Yet its structure, identical to that of "Heracles and Plutus", is divergent and late. Furthermore, the parallel fable in the Augustana, H. 155, despite its very similar beginning, is totally different; there is thematic innovation by Babrius and structural innovation, but with syntactical resources that are traditional in the fable. Another fable in Babrius corresponds to this fable of the Augustana, the 107.

It would be easy to continue to give examples, but we think it unnecessary here. Since, as is generally recognized, Babrius belongs to a branch of the fabulistic tradition that is separate from that represented by the Augustana (and other anonymous fables) and Phaedrus, the correspondence of his syntactical procedures is especially important if we are to make them date back to Demetrius; irrespective, we repeat, of whether this or that fable to which they are applied comes or not from the collection of Demetrius.

3. *Formulas.* Above, in II 5, pp. 369 ff., and 383 ff., we have concerned ourselves with ancient formulas already present in Hesiod and Archilochus that were continued in what in the 5th and 4th centuries was understood as the "Aesopic fable", as well as with others which appeared or were diffused then within said genre and which were, partly, continued in the fable in prose of the 4th century. We have offered examples that show their presence in the Augustana, clearly through Demetrius' collection.

Clearly, the reconstruction of the formulaic style of the fables of Demetrius must be achieved in the same way as the reconstruction of their vocabulary and syntax. The correspondences between the Augustana and Babrius, in particular, are likely to date back to Demetrius' collection, from which they derive along different branches. Material may of course be added from the rest of the tradition of the anonymous fables—which we know had direct access to semi-prosified versions from which this collection also descends—and from the Babrian tradition.

However, a very serious problem presents itself, meaning that we must leave the essential aspects of said investigation for a special chapter, III 1. The problem is that, as we stated earlier, the collection of Demetrius was versified in iambic trimetres and choliambs in the 3rd century BC, as were various other fables. Remnants of this metrical version survive in the anonymous fables. Now, these metrical remnants are to a large extent formulaic, that is to say, in the Augustana and other sources we discover metrical formulas that date back not to Demetrius, but to a later version. They are confirmed, to a certain extent, by Babrius. The problem, if we want to arrive at Demetrius' version, is to see what might lie behind these metrical formulas, to reconstruct their prosaic prototypes. And here a difficulty arises: very often this can only be the subject of conjecture, and on other occasions, when we find prosaic formulas in the anonymous fables, we must suppose that they simply come from the prosifiers. At most, it may be thought that the prosifiers rediscovered the original formulas of Demetrius or that they may have even had his text before them when prosifying the metrical versions. But this question is highly open to conjecture.[19]

In any case, we can make some general points here, on the basis of what has been stated earlier and adding some further data on the Anonymous Fables and those of Babrius. Some conclusions are

[19] Cf. however, below, pp. 453 ff. on the formulas of epimythia.

negative. We know that the paratactic style, based on coordinated clauses with the same subject and various personal verbs, linked by εἶτα and ἔπειτα, as we see in Aristophanes, had disappeared in the fable in prose of the 4th century, which preferred longer periods with a change of subject, linked together by δέ; periods in which the participles, particularly the circumstantial participles, played a major role. We have seen that this is the customary syntax of the Augustana, which may be reconstructed for Demetrius. There is an absence, then, of formulas with εἶτα and ἔπειτα. Just as certain other formulas are absent that simply used vocabulary that had fallen into disuse in the language in general or in the fable, such as the formula of "saying" with ὧδε. An interesting theme is that of the formulas that preceded and followed the fabulistic story, which logically had to disappear in principle as soon as the fable of the collections was restricted to being purely a story. But there are exceptions.

We have already stated that there are a few anonymous fables in existence that conserve the second grade narration. One first type is that in which somebody tells the fable, such as H. 8 Aesop, 63 Demades. In both cases there is ἔλεγε followed by indirect speech in the first, direct in the second; the ancient formula with ὡς is absent. The type is absent from Babrius and is rare in Phaedrus, cf. I 2, I 6; numerous fables in which Aesop plays a part use him as just one more character, not as a narrator. Yet together with this type there is another, which has its origin, as we have already seen, in the fables in prose of the 4th century, beginning with λέγεται followed by indirect speech. Cf. examples of this in the Augustana, above, p. 387. There is an echo in the epimythia of the type οὗτος ὁ λόγος λεχθείη ἄν . . ., cf. 49, 79, etc. There are also certain traces in Babrius: λέγουσι with the infinitive in 18.1 f. (λέγουσιν . . . ἔριν γενέσθαι, cf. H. 8. ἔλεγε . . . ὕδωρ γενέσθαι); 57.7; ὡς λέγουσιν 70.4. Cf. further details below.

Clearly, these remnants of prologues had to be adapted to fit the metrical version, as did the rest of the fables. But ancient formulas such as ἔλεγε, λέγουσι, λέγεται, followed by an infinitive, could have been conserved in same. A different, very complex case is that of the epimythia, which we will consider in special detail. This case is different because no trace exists of the versification of these; this may be explained by the theory that they were added at a later date, perhaps in the 1st century BC. But if this is the case, it nevertheless needs to be explained why formulas are maintained in them that

others inherit either from the "closing statement" or from the epimythium of the Classical fable, epimythia with οὕτως and ἀτάρ and exhortative epimythia with or without these particles. We have just indicated another ancient trace, the ὁ λόγος λεχθείη ἄν, and very common types, such as the ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ of the Augustana, must be added, as well as other equivalent ones with μῦθος in Babrius and *fabula* in Phaedrus, etc. It is also very interesting that the epimythium is sometimes addressed to a "you" (even to a "boy", ὦ παῖ, in Babrius 18.15; 72.23, clearly the same "boy Branchus" to whom he dedicates book I and who is mentioned in the vocative in the epimythium of 74.15); this is inherited from the specific epimythium, directed at the person or persons to whom the fable was narrated, which was proper to the Classical fable, such as οὕτως δὲ καὶ σύ Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1431, ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑμᾶς in Aristotle, *Rhetorica* II 20, etc. But we will consider this theme later.

Let us move now on to the fabulistic story as such. We indicated in II 5, p. 385 that the beginnings of fables with a simple or double initial subject, sometimes followed by the fabulistic ἦν or ἦσαν, sometimes by an intransitive or a transitive verb, are Classical. Specifically, the subject-complement-verb type was frequent; and we have indicated the presence of determiners of time with ποτέ as well as the fact that the characters of the fable, in that first presentation, were accompanied by τις or else ἀνήρ if it was a man and, in any event, they did not take an article.

We have offered examples of various of these recourses coming from the fables of the Augustana. We have not, however, sufficiently emphasized the frequency of types such as:

H. 45 βόες ἅμαξαν εἷλκον (subj.-compl.-verb).
H. 92 ἔχις φοιτῶν . . . ἔπινε (subj.-part.-verb).
H. 114 θέρους ὥρᾳ μύρμηξ περιπατῶν . . . συνέλεγε (idem after determiner of place or time).
H. 46 Βορέας καὶ Ἥλιος . . . ἤριζον (double subject-verb pl.).
H. 1 ἀετὸς καὶ ἀλώπηξ . . . σπεισάμενοι . . . διέγνωσαν (idem with participle).
H. 143 λαγωοὶ καταγνόντες . . . ἔγνωσαν (subj. plural-part.-plural verb).

These are extendible types with genitive absolutes and other determiners (for example, ὡς ἐθεάσατο), of which those of place and time can go at the start; they frequently take a verb of understanding or

language followed by a speech in the infinitive. At other times the extension does not exist or is shorter and follows a parallel speech with δέ and the antagonist as subject; or else, in the initial type of double subject, δέ and a simple subject:

H. 137 κύων πρὸ ἐπαύλεως τινὸς ἐκοιμᾶτο· λύκος δὲ τοῦτον θεασάμενος . . .
H. 71 δρῦς καὶ κάλαμος ἤριζον . . . ἀνέμου δὲ σφοδροῦ γενομένου, ὁ μὲν κάλαμος . . .

In the following periods, the initial subjects, when they have already been mentioned, may be replaced by the pronouns ὁ μὲν, ἐκεῖνος, etc., as in the Classical fable. Now, what we wish to indicate here is the following. Firstly, that this system is independent of the verse, that is to say, that the successive versification and prosification may have modified the vocabulary, the word order, etc., but not the substance. Secondly, that the system is inherited (in the data gathered together here and with regard to the ποτέ, τις, ἦν, ἦσαν, etc.) and that this can be deduced from the correspondences not only with the Classical fable, but also with that of Babrius. And this, I repeat once again, irrespective of whether this or that specific fable comes from Demetrius or from a later date. As regards Babrius, we must recall that he strictly maintains the system of beginning the fable with one of the protagonists in the nom., although the metre sometimes forces the system subj.-compl.-verb to be changed to compl.-subj.-verb. Here are some examples:

4 ἁλιεὺς σαγήνην . . . ἀνείλετο (subj.-compl.-verb).
26 ἀπος . . . ναρκήσας ἔκειτο (idem with part.).
15 ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος . . . ὡμίλει (subj.-intr. verb).
17 αἴλουρος ὄρνεις ἐνεδρεύων . . . ἀπηρτήθη (idem with part.).
48 ἐν ὁδῷ τις Ἑρμῆς . . . εἱστήκει . . . (as 15, with determ. of place).
47 ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἦν ἀνὴρ ὑπεργήρως (determ. of time and subj.).
24 γάμοι μὲν ἦσαν Ἡλίου θέρους ὥρῃ (idem with ὥρῃ).
38 δρυτόμοι τινὲς σχίσαντες . . . ἐνεῖραν (subj. pl.-part.-plural verb).

The types that reverse the expected order are undoubtedly derivatives:

51 ἐν τῷ ποτ' οἴκῳ πρόβατον εἶχέ τις χήρη (determ.-compl.-verb-subj.).
67 θήρης ὄναγρος καὶ λέων ἐκοινώνουν (government at the start).

And, of course, it is frequently the case that following after a first period of this type is a second with a change of subject, which also goes at the start, and δέ, with similar constructions, moreover:

82 κοιμωμένου λέοντος ἀγρίης χαίτης / διέδραμεν μῦς· ὁ δὲ λέων ἐθυμώθη.

However, we must observe that Babrius, like Phaedrus, tends towards the *variatio*: thanks to the change of word order, sometimes, at the beginning of the fable, or else to other recourses, he mostly avoids exact parallelism as it is found in the Augustana, undoubtedly coming from earlier times.

We must not fail to observe, however, that when the second period corresponds to the beginning of the *agon* or, in any event, to the second part of the fable, after the situation, special recourses are sometimes used, such as the genitive absolute or the linking formula καὶ δή, present in the Augustana (H. 1, 2, etc.) and in Babrius (9, 2; 171.3 Cr., etc.: formula καὶ δή ποτ').

All this shows that, even without reaching the point of studying the repeated metrical formulas and, starting from there, their prosaic models, it can be seen that the fable of Demetrius was a genre that was strictly characterized and defined in terms of its syntax and style. There are other features which, even without going into the problem of the metrical formulas, we could nevertheless touch upon, such as the use of subject pronouns, that of vocatives beginning a direct speech, opening "dicendi" verbs (which Babrius tends, by an innovative technique, to insert within the speech and sometimes to use without a subject); the οὕτως after the *verbum dicendi* (Babrius 52.3; 56.6; 95, 60; 122.3), the continuative (H. 10, 50, etc.; Babrius 6, 5), and the conclusive (formula οὕτως συνέβη and οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔνιοι, among others, in the Augustana; cf. Babrius 47, 10); the beginnings of the "closing statement" with imperative or voluntative, with ἀλλά (very common in the Augustana, cf. Bab. 65.2; 89.11; 92.6, etc.), with ἀτάρ (in the Augustana, not in Babrius), with εἴθε and opt., with εἰ or ἐάν and opt. or subj. All this—and much more—is, I must emphasize, independent of the metre; inasmuch as it is easily adaptable to it, it is older.

Many other formulas are also older than the metre, however, yet they have had to be adapted to fit it. Thus, so as not to repeat the example of the *verba dicendi*, the group of double or plural subj. and ἤριζον, very frequently used in the Augustana, is also present in

Babrius with various modifications; or the pl. subj. + verb + πρὸς ἀλλήλους or μετ' ἀλλήλων, which the metrical versions placed at the end of the choliamb, is also common in both sources. Or the initial δίκαια πάσχω of the "closing statement" in the Augustana and Babrius, which may simply continue the old version by adapting it to fit the iamb or may replace an ancient δίκαια πέπονθα, which sometimes appears in the prosified versions so that the original formula may thus be rediscovered. Cf. our study in III 2. But here we are already going into problems of metrics, so we will postpone the theme for now.

Although the formulas may be imitated, it is clear that their abundant and regular presence in a fable is an indication of antiquity; and their absence (such as in H. 183, 292, 293) of a late character.

4. *Compositional Structure.* In our Chapters I 1, II 1 and II 5, and indeed in this chapter, we have reviewed the different types of compositional structures that are found both in the fables from the Classical Age and, frequently, in the collections. Within these, we have indicated the existence of a significant number of fables that more or less follow the schemes of those of the 5th century and, particularly, of those in prose of the 4th century, though with elimination of the frame of the fables and the replacement of the indirect with the direct style.

In contrast with the Archaic fable, this type of fable is much simpler and more controllable. There are, on one hand, fables with a two-part structure, with a single character or, at most, a "survenant" C; these are aetiological or situation fables in which a first episode Bsit. or Bact. is followed by a second episode Bact. and even Cact.-Cdir. This type is relatively rare in the Classical fable, but it does exist.

On the other hand, we have fables with a ternary structure, characterized by the presentation of a situation (A/Bsit.-or B1/B2sit.) and an *agon* or, in any event, a binary action, whose solution constitutes the third element of the fable. Considering parts 2 and 3 of the fable en bloc, the most common types are:

Bact./Act.
Bact./Adir.
Bact./Act.-Cdir.
Bind./Aind. Aact.

together with other closely related ones.

Of course, the fact that a fable belongs to one of these types does not demonstrate that it is from the Classical tradition; like the syntax and the formulas, the compositional structures are imitable. On the other hand, an anomalous structure, like other anomalous features, implies either the recent character of the fable or recent alteration of same.

The problem with researching into anomalous features is that these are present both in the pre-Classical fable and in the Classical and late fables incorporated into the collections. This creates problems when we set about separating those that belonged to Demetrius' collection.

In this collection, the more or less irregular Archaic fables definitely tended to be adapted to fit the more general schemes. We have seen this on the subject of "The Eagle and the Fox", for example; and despite the fable being simplified, in the Augustana it nevertheless contains two *agones*. More complex still, in the Augustana, is the fable of "The Eagle and the Beetle", from Semonides (cf. II 5, p. 376), in which there are no less than four *agones*, with the intervention of three animals. How can we deny, then, that the fable H. 9. "The Fox and the He-goat" is Classical, when it also has three *agones* and nothing in its content to reveal it as late? Here are the summary and the scheme:

1. The fox falls into the well and the he-goat arrives at its edge.
2. The he-goat asks if the water is good, the fox praises it.
3. The he-goat jumps into the well and the fox asks him to stand by the wall so that he can climb out; he will then pull him out.
4. The fox saves himself and the he-goat reproaches him.
5. Sarcasm of the fox.

Scheme: A/Bsit.-Bind. Aind.-Bact./Adir.-Bact./Aact./Bind.-Adir.

It is clear that in a case such as this, Demetrius has had to respect the action in various acts, as well as an internal direct speech; but always strictly following a binary principle.

Fables of this length and complexity are, in any case, rare. If they are found together with anomalous features of syntax or content, they arouse suspicion. Even more so if there are repeated changes of characters, extensive debate not accompanied by action, ternary scenes, etc. A very clear case of this is H. 293 (III δ), "The Plants and the Olive", a fable from the Holy Scripture. After a normal prologue in which the plants are presented to us looking for a king,

the central part offers three binary scenes: plants/olive, plants/fig, plants/thorn, all three in the indirect style; this is anomalous. There are only two parties in the Classical fable, although one is represented by two animals; at most, the victor in an *agon* may be defeated by another new character, as in the fable of the monkey and the fox in Archilochus, *Ep.* III (= H. 83, but the prior *agon* is rather the "situation") or in "The Eagle and the Two Cocks" (H. 266 Ib, but it may be a late fable). And we know of hardly any examples of pure debate that are ancient (one is "The Fox and the Hedgehog" in Aristotle).

Similarly, we can indicate that very complicated compositional schemes, such as those of H. 183 "The Woodcutter and Hermes", H. 198 "The Ass and the Wolf", H. 292 (III δ) "The Lion", have very much the appearance of being recent. There are multiple binary actions, there are ternary actions, an *agon* may consist of very complex elements, there are interventions by a large number of characters and abundant use of the indirect style, among other things.

To sum up, fables such as these re-encounter the mythical or romance-like style that the Classical fable had made an effort to reduce to generally triple (rarely double) structures with a fundamentally binary scheme and limitation of the direct style to the final intervention. The problem exists of whether these schemes are archaisms or late innovations; in-depth study and attention to concomitant elements of content, etc., usually give the answer to this.

Furthermore, not all late fables have complicated schemes. Leaving aside the fact that, as we have said, Classical schemes are very often imitated, there are simple schemes that betray their late creation or reworking.

For instance, we have already said that a situation fable finishing with a comment of self-pity by the character or sarcasm by a "survenant" is Classical, such as the fables of the eagle and the arrow in Aeschylus, the fisherman and the octopus in Simonides, the Sybarite in Aristophanes. Now, fables of this type are very frequently associated in the collections with material of a Cynic character; they are practically χρεῖαι of the type of H. 82 "The Flies", in which the flies that have fallen into the honey say: "unfortunate are we, who perish for a brief pleasure". They are very often human fables.

Here is another case. A fable of the type of "The Sheep and the Dog", by Xenophon, lacks a situation and is made up of two direct speeches, that of the sheep and that of the dog. In the collections,

fables of this type have a situational prologue and, as we know, replace the first direct speech with an indirect one. Yet in later times the type based on two direct speeches, or even that multiplying the number of direct speeches, became very widespread. Babrius is full of this class of fables, as we have already seen. To give just one example, in "The Mosquito and the Bull", which is from an ancient tradition (cf. p. 363), H. 140 presents A/Bsit.-Bind./Adir., corresponding in Babrius 84 (from the same source, the metre at the beginning agrees) to A/Bsit.-Bdir./Adir. Of course, these fables were created abundantly to develop new themes; the popularity of the system of the double final speech can be seen from its introduction into the version of "Heracles and Plutus" in the Rylands Papyrus, while in the model (and in the Augustana and Phaedrus) there is only one final speech, the closing statement by Heracles.

Fables with multiple direct speeches may be of ancient origin and have been reworked later. This is the case of "The Wolf and the Dog", a fable that undoubtedly comes from Archilochus (compare 238, the "closing statement") that in both H. 294 and Babrius 100 has the multiple direct speeches we have discussed; they clearly come from the common Hellenistic model.

On this basis, we can consider as late, for example, the well-known fable of the wolf and the lamb, a dialogue in various phases that does not have a known Classical tradition and develops a theme that is very rare in the Classical fable, that of the wickedness of the powerful, pure and simple. Whereas in H. 160 the scheme is A/Bsit.-Aind./Bind.-Adir./Bind.-Adir.—a structure that is already suspicious—in Phaedrus I 1 and Babrius 89 there is a long debate between the two animals in the direct style: in Phaedrus, two interventions by each one plus another by the wolf, in Babrius three more, and again another by the wolf. Debates of this type are clearly secondary developments. But we must say that, in general terms, the fable whose interest is focused on dialogue more than on action, followed by an intervention in direct speech, was developed in the post-Classical period, and was rare prior to this.

Certain contaminations also occurred. For instance, types that were either situational or else agonal with a "closing statement" by a "survenant" were contaminated with the type in which it is the victor or the loser who "closes", reaching the point of creating fables in which C engages in dialogue with one of these. Thus, compared with a scheme Bsit.-Bdir. in H. 15a (as the fox is unable to reach

the grapes, he says "they are green"), a modification has been introduced in 15b (paraphrases, Babrian tradition): Bsit.-Cdir./Bdir. A mouse intervenes, who polemizes with the fox. In short, it is the agonal model generally that tends to prevail.

This sometimes leads to more complicated fables, in which there is not only dialogue between C and the main character, but, in short, a ternary action, such as in H. 22 "The Fox and the Woodcutter". At other times the agonal scheme is introduced into aetiological fables that, in principle, were only organized around the action of a single character. These are fables such as H. 111 "Zeus and Shame", 119 "Zeus and the Camel", 50 "The Weasel and Aphrodite". The occurrence together of an aetiological theme and an agonal structure, even a standard one, together in a fable, makes us suspect it of being late.

Apart from in the aetiological fables and some situation fables—which moreover, as we have said, were rare in ancient times—the scheme in which a single main character intervenes, carrying out an action (sometimes after an initial situation), is a late one. This is the case of H. 120 "The Beaver", a fable of Natural History. Moreover, these Natural History stories are generally shaped around situation fables: cf. H. 25 "The Halcyon".

However, it is not our intention here to enter into a detailed description of the compositional structures of the fable, which, when they are studied in combination with the theme, may be described as post-Classical. Our intention has simply been to add new data of the negative type to advise against attributing some fables to the collection of Demetrius.

As we have seen, even the normal types may occur in late fables; we must combine this criterion with others if we are to attribute fables involving them to Demetrius. Now, certain types—ancient ones, moreover—are more common in later times; this is an item of information to be added to others when investigating the origin of those fables (sometimes, simply, of the drafts that we have conserved). And other types, the result of innovation, mean that, unless there are powerful reasons against this, certain fables must be discarded from being attributable to Demetrius' collection.

5. *Content.* Finally, let us discuss the content, recalling elements already stated and anticipating others.

We have seen what Demetrius probably understood by the word

fable, namely the themes of the "Aesopic fables" of the 5th century, that is to say, agonal, situation and aetiological fables. Therefore, certain contaminations of these types to which we have just referred, certain developments purely "of debate", are either recent or represent recent draftings. Specifically, in I 1 we reviewed a series of anomalous fables: certain jokes, anecdotes, enigmas, themes of Natural History and myths that are hard to fit within the definition of the fable and that occasionally have fully formed epimythia. These anomalous fables may, generally speaking, be considered to be from after Demetrius. We must consider that after the attempt—in the 5th and 4th centuries and, undoubtedly, in Demetrius—to define the bounds of the fable relatively strictly, these were subsequently broadened again, undoubtedly under the influence of Cynic literature, linked to all these themes, and also of the later moralist literature. An author such as Phaedrus took the limits still further.

Themes in which animals, vegetables, men and gods intervene are the ones that are capable of fabulization. Now, there are certain limits to all this, of a negative type. We will see in III 2 that the Cynic fable increased the cast of ancient animals in the fable, already discussed in II 1, introducing animals such as the mosquito, the flea, the fly, the tortoise and others besides. Certain human types to which the Cynics devoted their satire, such as doctors and athletes, or who symbolized themselves, such as walkers, they now made popular in the fable. This leads us to the theme of the fable's content. We have already established what the content of the fable of the Archaic and Classical Age was in our Chapters I 1 and II 1 in particular; since the collection of Demetrius was simply a summary of previous fables, we must suppose that it was adapted to exactly fit this range of themes. Therefore if, within the fables of the collections, we wish to separate what may come from Demetrius and what is from later, an approach to be added to those so far used must clearly be to discard material in the content that is found to be incompatible with the fable from the Classical Age; or, at least, elements of content that were not very common in the fable of the Classical Age. And vice versa, the fables in the collections whose content is of the type of the Classical fable may well come from Demetrius' collection if the other criteria also support this view.

In our Chapter II 1, pp. 169 ff. we already discussed a series of ways to isolate the Classical fable in the collections, which comes

to the same thing as isolating the fables of Demetrius. We specifically proposed the possibility that certain fables come from here and considered this unlikely in the case of others.

We indicated firstly that the fables with Cynic and Stoic content must be eliminated, although we also indicated that ancient fables were sometimes tinted, to a certain extent, with Cynic or moralizing features. We added, secondly, that certain fables of the collections clearly derive from known Classical fables and are therefore secondary.

On the other hand, we attempted to locate fables in the collections which, without being proven to be from the Classical Age, display features of content similar to those of the Classical fable, so that they may be attributed to the collection of Demetrius. Let us remind ourselves of the types indicated:

1 "The Old Lion and the Fox" (deception of the powerful frustrated by the cunning of the weak); 2 "The Eagle and the Fox" (the powerful defeated on account of their injustice); 3 "The Fox and the Monkey" (the powerful ridiculed); 4 "The Crow and the Fox" (the boastful ridiculed); 5 "The Hawk and the Nightingale" (the weak victor); 6 "The Fox and the Hedgehog" (debate); 7 "The Eagle and the Arrow" (situation fable).

It can be seen that the fables of the collections that we have placed under each of these headings have different probabilities of coming from Demetrius. This probability is greater for types 1, 3, 4 and 6, three types in which the strong or boastful are deceived by the clever weak and another in which cunning triumphs, outside of relationships of power. On the other hand, we have seen that type 2 is atypical; in the collections it is usually expanded using the theme of the cunning of the weak; 5 is rather rare; and 8, on the other hand, produces a great flourish of fables, generally serving Cynic motifs.

Therefore, the presence in the collections of a fable that can be classified within one of these types of content does not automatically guarantee that it belongs to the Classical tradition. There is a whole series of degrees, based on the elements that are combined with the basic types. For more details, see IV below.

The essential point, as regards content, is the absence of Cynic motifs. These motifs, which we will study in greater detail later, may focus on disdain for beauty, power, wealth and pride in general; on emphasis on the values of the soul and the intelligence (νοῦς, φρένες);

on the theme of τύχη or fortune; on praise for poverty and simplicity; on the themes of pleasure, the search for subsistence, simplicity; on erotic, scatological themes, criticism of women, doctors, athletes, fortune-tellers.

Now, if the fable was adapted by the Cynics, this is due to the fact that some of their motifs are linked to those of the fable itself, with its critical and protesting mood, its acceptance of nature, etc. For this reason the distinction between the Classical fable and the Cynic fable is not always totally clear-cut. In a Cynic setting fables may be created that are not dissimilar to other ancient ones in which it is shown that the lion is always a lion and the monkey a monkey. On the other hand, those that are openly scornful of wealth, beauty or power in the abstract, for example, are recent.

The same may be said of the other stratum of fables that is found in the collections, a moralizing stratum that refers to the punishment of the bad, the triumph of religion, etc., and exercises a kind of censuring power over the ancient fable. Nøjgaard, for example,[20] discusses the moralization of the Augustana. These fables must normally be attributed to a more recent date. Yet we need to proceed with caution here too, since in an anomalous fable, such as that of "The Eagle and the Fox" by Archilochus, these themes are already anticipated.

II. *The Problem of the Age of Epimythia*

1. *The Data on the Problem and Proposed Hypotheses*

We have seen that in the Classical Age the fable is sometimes narrated without an epimythium, sometimes with one. When the epimythium is absent, the final "closing statement" clearly performs its role; for example, if a diner tells another the fable of the snake and the crab, the final words of the crab "friend, you must walk straight and not think bent" are more than sufficient to enable the listener and all the fellow diners to grasp the intention; and if Philocleon tells the person who wants to take him to court the words of the

[20] *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 519 ff.

Sybarite, "if you bought a bandage instead of taking witnesses, you would be much more sensible", it is clear that the latter understands perfectly. The same applies when the fable does not end with a "closing statement". If the chorus of women in *Lysistrata* finishes the fable of Timon by saying "that man hated the evil men among you to such a point, but he was a great lover of women", the intention is very clear.

Now, in both cases the narrator of the fable often explicitly draws the conclusions the person or persons to whom this has been directed must gather from it. These are specific epimythia, not used to teach a general lesson, but addressed to a "you", singular or plural. Thus, in the fable of the Sybarite, after his "closing statement", Philocleon says to the plaintiff: "in the same way, run to Pittalus' house" (a doctor); and in that of the cowardly captain, in Sophocles, after a narration without a "closing statement", Menelaus says to Teucer: "in the same way a small tempest might also silence you and your violent mouth". Let us now refer to the epimythia of the two fables in the *Rhetorica* by Aristotle, one directed by Stesichorus at the Himeraeans, the other by Aesop at the Samians: "you too . . .". We must recall that the formulas of these epimythia are practically identical to those of the "closing statements" and conclusions of the fables. We must add, however, that when an author tells a fable as being narrated by somebody, that is to say, in the second grade, he may emphasize this at the beginning of the epimythium; for example, in Herodotus I 141, after telling the story of the fable of the fisherman and the fish narrated by Cyrus to the Ionians, the historian concludes: he said this on account of the following, so that . . .".

If we move on now to the fables of the collections of ancient times, the situation is as follows:

a) The Augustana always presents an epimythium, with the exception of fab. H. 244, in which it has undoubtedly been accidentally lost.[21]

b) There are no epimythia in the Rylands Papyrus, but there are promythia indicating the theme (of the type: "this fable is directed against those who do good to others and bad to their friends"; the ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐφαρμόζει is a fixed formula). Now, in at least two fables there is a second "closing statement" by a character who in fact

[21] Cf. Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, I, p. 471.

offers a generalizing epimythium: "Plutus said: evil man, when Plutus presents himself, you let him pass and then get angry"; this has a general character, it is not directed at Heracles; "it is said that (the birds) manifested the moral by saying: in this way, there is no profit later" (τὴν γνώμην λέγονται . . . εἰρηκέναι).

c) There are fables in Phaedrus with a promythium, some have an epimythium, others a promythium and an epimythium, others still neither the former nor the latter. We must observe that the promythia are similar to the epimythia, that is to say, they contain exhortations, general statements, sarcasm, not instructions by way of a title as in the Rylands Papyrus.

d) In Babrius there are fables with an epimythium and others without one. It is often the case that fables with a "closing statement" lack an epimythium and vice versa, but this is not a general rule, as there are fables without either a "closing statement" or an epimythium, or with a "closing statement" and an epimythium. Furthermore, the problem with Babrius is more complicated, as the epimythia in verse are sometimes absent from certain manuscripts; all the fables have them in prose in the Athous, etc. We will return to this point.

Before continuing, we must offer some further considerations on the characteristics of the epimythia. They are general, not specific like those of the exemplum-fable of the Classical Age; this is inevitable since the fable is no longer addressing anybody in particular. There may be an exception, represented by certain epimythia by Babrius mentioned above; the exception depends on the fact that Babrius' two books are directed at two specific recipients. Certain books by Phaedrus are also dedicated to various people, specifically, a *tibi* in *Prol.* III 15. In the book dedicated to Eutychus, 13 supposedly refers to him. But the truth is that the specific singular and plural "you" in the Classical fable was understood in a general sense when they were maintained in the fable of the collections.[22] They were not always maintained; in the Augustana there is a ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ἡμᾶς clearly deriving from the ancient ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ὑμᾶς, present in the Aristotelian fable of the fox and the hedgehog. Furthermore, there is frequent use of general epimythia that are not addressing a "you", not even formally.

[22] Cf. Perry, "Origin . . .", *cit.*, p. 397.

Having said this, we will now deal with the basic problem that is raised regarding promythia and epimythia in the post-Classical fable. This consists of the fact that serious doubts have arisen as to whether epimythia were part of fables from the earliest times (Chambry, Nøjgaard) or were subsequently added by the rhetoricians (Marc, Hausrath, Sbordone), or whether, within this latter theory of their secondary character, the fables of Demetrius had promythia that were later replaced by epimythia obtained by imitation of the "closing statement" (Perry).

Let us briefly attempt to explain the state of the question and present the evidence to support the various theories. Chambry's thesis that the epimythia date back to Aesop himself is, in a certain sense, ingenuous, although supported by the existence of epimythia in the exemplum-fables of the Classical Age. I used this line of argument in my *Estudios*..., pp. 233 ff., after setting down a detailed history of the question.[23] In particular, I emphasized the formula ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ἡμᾶς ... δεῖ, which is frequently found in the Augustana and is clearly remodelled on the ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ὑμᾶς of the fable of the fox and the hedgehog in Aristotle. I argued that ἀτάρ does not belong to the language of either Aristotle or the Augustana and that it therefore comes from the older fabulistic tradition; it would have reached the Augustana, therefore, through Demetrius. This word is from colloquial Attic and Ionian; we must observe that the formula ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ὑμᾶς is found in a "closing statement" in the Rylands Papyrus (the fable of the owl and the birds) and in another in the Augustana H. 53 (ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑμᾶς),[24] cf. the "second closing statement" in the fable of Heracles and Plutus, also on the same papyrus (1.91) ἀτὰρ ὁ Πλοῦτος εἶπε. On this formula cf. Thiele, article cited, I, p. 397 and E. Fraenkel "Zur Form der Ainoi", *RhM* 73, 1920, pp. 366 ff.

This line of argument—which, as I said, has been accepted by Nøjgaard—undoubtedly proves that there is a connection between the epimythia of the Augustana and Demetrius, though we will see that it is by no means proven that all the fables of Demetrius had epimythia, as I proposed in my *Estudios*. And as Nøjgaard continues to propose, basing his argument not only on the material that I con-

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[23] Another can be seen in Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 487 ff.

[24] And from Phaedrus, I believe: I 2 "vos quoque, o cives" (in a closing statement) = ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς.

tributed, but also on the formulaic correspondences, which we have already cited, between certain epimythia of the Augustana and various elements of the Classical fable: specific epimythia (he does not introduce this distinction) and "closing statements". There certainly is a continuity; but, we repeat, the details remain to be seen. There are strong arguments against the deduction, on this basis, that the fables of Demetrius all had epimythia.

If the features in common between the epimythia of the Augustana (and, it should be added, those of the other collections) and the Classical fable have been used, by myself and by others, to prove that the fables of Demetrius had epimythia and if they give the impression, at first sight at least, that this is likely, then there are other arguments that have been used in the opposite way. As we have seen, the German school postulated from the beginning, followed by Sbordone, that the epimythia came from the rhetoricians. There is to a degree a position of principle in this, whereby the fable would originally have been somewhat romance-like and popular, very different from its adoption by the rhetoricians as an instrument for teaching and moralizing. Although the first part of the argument is not acceptable today, taken as a whole the argument is inevitably a forceful one, once the term "rhetoricians" is eliminated and a broader view of the evolution of the fable is adopted. There is no doubt that the intention of generalizing epimythia—not specific ones, as in the exemplum-fable—was to educate and teach morals, and that this was rather different from the primitive intention of the ancient fable, partly exhortative, partly satirical, very often not excessively moralizing, since deception or force triumphed in it. There is also no doubt that from the start of the Empire the fable was used extensively in teaching and that the epimythium was very appropriate in this type of fable.

On the other hand—and this is our own addition—if Demetrius' task consisted of gathering together fables, taking them from the literary texts that cited them and removing them from their setting, this implied, in general terms, removing the epimythium from them. Since the fable begins with the presentation of the main characters, for example, with "The eagle and the fox made friends", leaving out the prior context and the prologue (Archilochus and his disagreement with Lycambes, the announcement of the relating of the fable, in our example), it is clear that all epimythia were surplus to

requirements; there was no space for the specific ones, there was no reason for the generalizing ones, at the time of the compilation, to be invented and introduced. There are many elements, among others the didactic and moralizing texts of many epimythia, to lend force to the argument that these were only introduced in a later phase. We would need, however, to reconcile this fact with the correspondences between the generalizing epimythia of the fables of the collections and the specific epimythia of the exemplum-fable of the Classical Age.

This conclusion, drawn by Hausrath and others, is, in principle, a satisfactory one, although they did not establish it with excessive rigour, rather, it was *a priori*, nor did they dismiss the possible criticisms. On the other hand, they greatly exaggerated matters, attributing the epimythia to the rhetoricians of the Imperial Age. Certainly, during the course of this age, a series of elements may have been introduced into the epimythia of the collections, such as when Babrius teaches the "boy" whom he is addressing or when the Augustana presents very direct references to teaching (cf., for example, the epimythium of H. 123: "Just as some of the rhetoricians seem somebody in their schools, when they arrive in politics they are worthless). However, the innovations introduced by the various authors of collections are one thing, epimythia used as models for all these are another; I mean the generalizing epimythia with numerous common formulas and content partly in common.

Hence the immediate discrepancy between Perry[25] and the German authors, despite the fact that he too thinks that Demetrius' collection did not have epimythia. Perry has shown—very rightly—that Phaedrus already used epimythia (and also promythia). His idea is that they were already added in the 1st century BC. And, as I stated earlier, once the Rylands Papyrus was discovered with its promythia—a papyrus that he tentatively identifies (and without any justification) with the collection of Demetrius—he postulated, as we have said, that Demetrius' collection had promythia and that the epimythia of the fables of the collections generally were created later on, in the date indicated, starting from these promythia and "closing statements".[26]

It is appropriate for us to clarify this point before going on. Not

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[25] Cf. *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*, Haverford 1936, p. 172.

[26] Cf. his two works, "The Origin of the Epimythium", *TAPhA* 71, 1940, pp.

only do we find promythia and epimythia in Phaedrus, but there are also generalizing epimythia outside of him, and these are either contemporary to him or else, in any case, derived from the same sources. Perry has cited a generalizing epimythium in Horace, *Epist.* I 10.39 ff. (*si qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis/libertate caret, dominum vehet improbus atque/serviet aeternum, quia parvo nesciet uti*) and another even older one in Ennius, *Saturae* 57 ff., (*hoc erit tibi argumentum semper in promptu situm/ne quid expectes amicos quod tute agere possies*), though I have my doubts as to the generalizing character of this latter.[27]

The question of the Rylands Papyrus and Babrius is more interesting. Let us look at it separately.

The Rylands Papyrus, as we have already said, starts its fables with promythia "of reference" already indicated, of the type πρὸς τὸν πλούσιον ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐφαρμόζει. Perry may well believe them to be similar to Phaedrian promythia such as I 3 *Aesopus nobis hoc exemplum prodidit*, I 5 *testatur haec fabella propositum meum*, etc., which in truth are not exactly identical; to epimythia of the Augustana of the type πρός . . . ὁ λόγος ἐφαρμόζει, πρὸς . . . ὁ λόγος εὔκαιρος (I add 141: ὁ λόγος ἁρμόδιος παντὶ ἀνδρί), οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἁρμόσειε ἂν πρός . . ., τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ χρήσαιτο ἄν τις πρός . . . and even ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ ὡς; to Phaedrian epimythia such as III 6 *hac derideri fabula merito potest/qui* . . ., I 7 *hoc illis dictum est qui-bus* . . ., etc.[28] And he concludes that a model existing between the 3rd and 1st centuries BC had promythia, which were later increasingly transformed into epimythia. This conclusion was rejected by Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 495 ff., I think with good reason. Phaedrus, indeed, does not know promythia of reference such as those in the Rylands Papyrus, only others of approximately the type I 27 *haec res avaris esse conveniens potest* . . . and like those cited above. On the other hand, many epimythia in the Augustana are

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391–419, and "Demetrius of Phalerum and the Aesopic Fables", *TAPhA* 93, 1962, pp. 287–346, and cited as "Origin" and "Demetrius" respectively.

[27] These doubts are due to the fact that we do not know in what exact context the fable, paraphrased by Aulus Gellius, who only offers the epimythium textually, appeared. We note, in any case, the opinion of C. W. Müller, "Ennius und Aesop", *MH* 33, 1976, pp. 193 ff. and, particularly, p. 217, that either Ennius or his Hellenistic model replaced an ancient specific paraenesis with a generalizing epimythium. It is unlikely, if the epimythium has this character, for it really to have been created by Ennius; we would need to trace these epimythia back to a collection somewhat prior to the date of the 1st century BC that we are postulating. But we will not risk taking a decisive position in this regard, based on a single example, and one that is not entirely decisive.

[28] Cf. "Origin", pp. 411 ff.

identical to the promythia of reference of the papyrus and there is no proof that they come from promythia and that the process was not the exact opposite. The promythia of Phaedrus are, rather, explanatory and consist of the same types as the epimythia generally. On the other hand, a promythium of reference such as that of the Rylands Papyrus for "Heracles and Plutus", πρὸς τὸν πλούσιον ἴσα καὶ πονηρόν . . ., agrees so exactly with the epimythium of the same fable in the Augustana (ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς πλουσίου μὲν τὴν τύχην, πονηροῦ δὲ τὸν τρόπον) that, as Nøjgaard says, it must date back to the same source. That is to say, there are only promythia of reference in the Rylands Papyrus, whereas there are epimythia of reference in Phaedrus and the Augustana, as well as there being epimythia (and in Phaedrus promythia) of various types in these collections. The Rylands Papyrus introduces innovation, then. And Demetrius Phalereus, who—with exceptions, to which we will refer later—did not use epimythia in his fables, used promythia even less, and promythia of reference less still. There were clearly epimythia in a source subsequent to Demetrius; we do not know whether there were also promythia. Perhaps there were, although we think they come from later, but the Rylands Papyrus and Phaedrus selected them in a different way and undoubtedly there was later an exchange in both directions.

That the promythia of reference in the Rylands Papyrus are ancient, come from Demetrius, and many epimythia derive from them is, then, contrary to what can be conjectured. In this respect and various others (particularly, the metrical remnants it contains), the papyrus is very separate from the whole fabulistic tradition; it is a divergent branch. This I have already shown in connection with the content in my study in *Emerita*. And it is again the case with regard to the "second closing statement" of various fables, in which a character in the fable expresses a general morality that becomes a kind of epimythium.

We have already said that this "second closing statement" is a general maxim pronounced by a character in the fable, Plutus or the owl in the two places specifically cited; in the fable of the boar we find the same formula as in that of the owl, "it seems he said the maxim saying this . . .", but we cannot tell who is speaking or whether it is the first or second closing statement. In any event, Perry's theory is that all the fables ended like this, with the character's closing maxim; and that this maxim is the origin of the

epimythium (insofar as this is not derived from the promythium of reference).

This theory by Perry has rightly been objected to by Nøjgaard. Firstly, there is no certainty that all the fables of the papyrus end like this; secondly, it is sheer fancy to postulate that this ending is older than the epimythium with a maxim. As only the example of the papyrus has been found compared with the rest of the tradition, as it is known (by comparison with Phaedrus and the Augustana) that this introduced innovations to the ending to "Heracles and Plutus" and as an ancient tradition of gnomic "closing statements" exists, dating back to the Classical fable,[29] the conclusion is clear. The papyrus proceeded in a twofold manner:

a) It generalized the system of the promythium, and of a promythium of a very specific type.

b) It eliminated the epimythium or, rather, it introduced it within the fable as a "second closing statement", twice specifically with a formula relative to the *gnome* of the fable, which clearly comes from an epimythium.

It is not only Phaedrus who uses a collection with epimythia as his basis (we are not saying this is the case in all the fables), so does the Rylands Papyrus and, clearly, the Augustana. This collection has a *terminus ante quem* that is the 1st century BC. And it does not seem likely that it is that of Demetrius. But numerous problems remain; that of demonstrating what is likely, namely that the epimythia come from after Demetrius, dating them and justifying their creation; establishing whether this source is in verse or in prose and whether it had epimythia in all the fables (as did the Augustana) or not (as in Phaedrus and Babrius); and indicating its relationship with the Augustana, Phaedrus and Babrius, since the idea cannot be discarded a priori that we are not dealing with one source, but various sources. Nevertheless, if the epimythia really did come from a late source (although not Imperial, as Hausrath and others believed) that added them to Demetrius' fables, then how do we explain the correspondences with Classical epimythia?

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[29] Such as ἔρδοι τις ἥντιν' ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην in the fable of the Sybarite, cf. examples from Phaedrus, Babrius and the Augustana in Perry, "Demetrius", p. 401. We must add Classical epimythia such as that of the story of Glaucus in Herodotus, VI 86 and that of the epode of the fortune-teller (*Ep.* V, fr. 66 A.) in Archilochus.

Before attempting to answer these questions, we have left a problem so far unresolved, that of the epimythia of Babrius. Here it is simply a matter of establishing whether those epimythia, which appeared in some fables and not in others, actually existed. The ancient philological tradition, until Crusius, simply eliminated the epimythia from Babrius, considering them spurious or late; this way of proceeding came, basically, from their ideas on the late origin of the epimythium. Though rather illogically, since in any case the dating of Babrius allowed these "epimythia of the rhetoricians" to exist in him. It was added that a) epimythia are occasionally absent from some mss., for example, in G; b) fables without a choliambic epimythium in the Athous have an epimythium in prose that is usually considered late; c) the fables of the paraphrase have an epimythium in prose; it is not easy to distinguish whether this comes from a prosification of the choliambic epimythium or is late.

It is clear that Babrius uses the epimythium irregularly, particularly in fables without a "closing statement" (though not always, cf. above); that his manuscript, or those of the choliambic fables generally, proceed with a certain degree of licence, since they know that a fable of this type may or may not have an epimythium; and that, within this licence, the tendency may arise to generalize the epimythium, on the model of the anonymous fables. Having said this, and without entering into the question in detail, it is clear that Babrius agrees with Phaedrus in the non-generality of the epimythium. But that, when it is present, there is no reason for eliminating it, as Perry sometimes does, and at other times does not, in his new edition, without being able to justify this procedure in the prologue.[30]

The genuine character of Babrius' epimythia is easy to demonstrate. Nøjgaard has assembled the data;[31] there are epimythia in fables by Babrius transmitted by the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1249, by the Amherst Papyrus II 26 (Latin translation), by the Assendelft Tablets, all this material from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Avianus, an imitator of Babrius, frequently has epimythia (as does, mostly, the Pseudo-Dositheus). On the other hand, we would add a test which proves decisive in our view, namely that some of the epimythia in Babrius are impossible to separate from his fables, as they begin in mid-verse: cf. 36.13; 58.8.

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[30] He says, on p. LXIII, that "some of them, those which seem to the editor to be genuine, or at least very old and appropriate, are retained unbracketed".

[31] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 490.

It is, then, evident that both Phaedrus and Babrius sometimes gave their fables epimythia in verse; the former also used promythia. We simply have to investigate their source, which, of course, does not consist of promythia of reference and "closing" maxims from Demetrius, identified by Perry with the Rylands Papyrus. It must be added that the fabulists of the Empire generally, and not only those we have mentioned, use promythia and epimythia. Without entering in depth into the problems of the Babrian tradition, on which we have offered certain considerations earlier, in I 2, pp. 106 ff., 109 ff., it is appropriate to say here that some of the fables of the Mb ms. and of the Assendelft Tablets that do not appear in the Athous ms. of Babrius have choliambic epimythia (or, in prosified fables, epimythia in prose). We have an epimythium in trimetres in the semiprosified fable in the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus II 84.[32] The fables of Syntipas use epimythia systematically, and these conclusively made reference to ancient originals. And those of Aphthonius, from the 5th century, have a promythium of reference, which we could describe as a title ("Fable of the cicadas and of the ants exhorting the young to work", for example) and an epimythium. It is clear that with this Aphthonius adopts an original solution to the problem of irregularity in the use of promythia and epimythia, a different solution from that of the Rylands Papyrus (only promythia of reference) and the Augustana (only epimythia of various types).

2. *Some Conclusions on the Late Origin of Epimythia and Promythia*

So, in short, it is likely that the collection of Demetrius, which was simply a parallel compilation to those of myths, stories, etc., only contained fables as such, without their setting; that is to say, without the presentation and prologue, and also without an epimythium. With certain exceptions, which we will discuss later. As in almost all the collections, the fables had no titles; only the Rylands Papyrus and Aphthonius proceeded, to a certain extent, towards their creation. In fact, in practice the beginning of each fable served as a title. Since it must not be forgotten that it was customary for the fables of Demetrius to begin either with the name of the two animals or main characters or with that of one of them and, after a short period, that of the other.

[32] In Hausrath, *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum* II, p. 119.

This hypothesis—which is credible in its own right—is confirmed as being right following the study of the epimythia of the later collections, some elements of which we have already discussed earlier. The key point, however, has not yet been made.

Despite the fact that the study of many of the Anonymous Fables, those of the Rylands Papyrus and other materials demonstrates—as we showed in I 2—that these were prosifications of ancient collections of fables in verse (choliambs or iambic trimetres), the study of their epimythia does not bring to light any metrical remnants. The epimythia and promythia of the fables in prose have no prior metrical model as their basis, they therefore date from after the versification of Demetrius' collection (3rd century BC); from the same time, undoubtedly, as its prosification, which we place in the 2nd century BC. We have seen that a comparison of the collections demonstrated, by another route, that epimythia and promythia already existed on that date, although discontinuously, not in all the fables of a collection.

Not only does it prove impossible to find traces of iambic verses in the epimythia of the fables in prose; the fact is, they also contain numerous formulas that exclude the presence of verse, as they are essentially prosaic formulas. This is clear for the single formula of the fables of the Rylands Papyrus. Let us exemplify it for the Augustana, recalling some of its formulas:

a) ὁ λόγος (μῦθος) δηλοῖ ὅτι (also with formulaic continuations such as πολλάκις, πολλοί or ἔνιοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, etc.).

b) οὕτω καὶ (also simply οὕτω, οὕτως, with continuations such as πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἔνιοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἵ . . ., etc.).

c) ἀτὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς . . .

d) οὗτος ὁ λόγος λεχθείη ἂν ἐπ' . . .

e) τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ χρήσαιτο ἄν τις πρός . . .

And others besides, cf. pp. 461 ff. Note that these formulas clearly underlie the text of Babrius and Phaedrus. Here are some correspondences with the types we have just mentioned:

a) in Babrius, Αἴσωπος οὖν τὸν μῦθον εἶπε δηλώσας (22), λέγει δ' ὁ μῦθος (31), ὁ δέ γε μῦθος ἐμφαίνει (36), ὁ μῦθος . . . μηνύει (38), (96), πόλις ἄν τις εἴποι τὸν λόγον τὸν Αἰσώπου (40), ὁ λόγος δοκεῖ μοι σημαίνειν (56), ὁ μῦθός φησι (59), etc.; in Phaedrus: I 12 *saepe inveniri testis haec narratio est* (= ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ ὅτι πολλάκις), II 9 *haec significat fabula*, III 16 *fabella admonet*, etc.

b) in Babrius this formula has been joined together with the previous one, making Βορέας μὲν οὕτω . . . λέγει δ' ὁ μῦθος (18), κάλαμος

μὲν οὕτως, ὁ δέ γε μῦθος (36), τουτὶ μὲν οὕτως· ἔμφασις δὲ τοῦ μύθου (116), but an initial οὕτως of an epimythium has probably been transcribed in τοιγὰρ ἐλπὶς ἀνθρώποις μόνη σύνεστι of 58. Cf. in Phaedrus *ergo etiam* (= οὕτω καί, *App.* 22), *ita nunc* (= οὕτω νῦν), also *sic*. . .*debent* (= οὕτως . . . δεῖ), cf. *sic* (*App.* 15), *ergo* (*App.* 3).

c) Very probably the formula finds correspondence in ἐντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς . . . ἔοικε (Bab. 23).

d), e) and other formulas of reference; these are rare in Babrius, compare, in any event, in combination with a), σαφὴς ὁ μῦθος εὖ νοοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις; they are common in Phaedrus, cf., for example, *hoc illis dictum est quibus* (= οὗτος ὁ λόγος λεχθείη ἂν πρός . . . I 7, cf. I 11), *hoc pertinere vere ad illos dixerim* (πρὸς . . . ὁ λόγος εὔκαιρος I 14), *haec res avaris esse conveniens potest* (πρὸς . . . ὁ λόγος ἁρμόδιος or ἂν ἁρμόζοι I 27, cf. III 1).

It must be added that Babrius and Phaedrus use formulas without a beginning that are absent from the Augustana; all the signs indicate that this was a secondary process. By virtue of this there may be a χρή or a δεῖ, προσήκει or their Latin equivalents without the need to begin by ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ ὅτι χρή . . . or ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ . . . or their equivalents. Cf., for example, Babrius 11, 83, 127. Or else the partitive gen., which usually follows ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ or οὕτω καί in the Augustana, may be used directly: cf. Babrius 24 χαίρουσι πολλοὶ τῶν . . . κούφων, 35 τοιοῦτο πολλῶν ἐστιν ἔθος ἀνθρώπων. Or else πολλάκις (or its equivalents), which in the Augustana goes after οὕτω, can also go at the start, as in Bab. 111, cf. Phaedrus I 29, III 16, cf. also I 17 *solent mendaces luere* . . .

The questions of the metre and the formulas seem, then, to be decisive. But they are not the only ones. I will point out the following:

a) Vocabulary. In my *Estudios* . . ., pp. 239 ff. I already indicated that the vocabulary of the epimythia possessed special characteristics: as regards the vocabulary of the fables, there is use of a very large proportion of Attic words proper to the ancient literary κοινή (not the popular one) and new words from the popular or literary κοινή, and very small proportion of poeticisms and Ionicisms from the ancient literary κοινή. At that time I was convinced by the correspondences between the epimythia of the anonymous fables and those of the Classical exemplum-fable (as in the cases of οὕτως and ἀτάρ), that the collection of Demetrius had epimythia; I believed I had resolved this difficulty by pointing out the inordinately large lexicon of the moral and intellectual type in the epimythia, a lexicon that is to a large extent of Attic tradition.

This is not sufficient. It seems clear that if the "dose" of Atticisms and terms from the κοινή is higher than usual and that of poeticisms and Ionicisms (the latter also interpretable as poeticisms) is lower, this is undoubtedly due to the fact that the epimythia are of later composition, from a date in which Atticisms and terms of κοινή were accepted that Demetrius did not accept yet; we are aware of the gradual increase in the use of Atticisms in the prose of κοινή and it is logical at the same time that terms of κοινή that became widespread later were not yet used by Demetrius, in about 300 BC. As regards the limited number of poeticisms, the explanation is obvious: the epimythia did not pass through a poetic, versified stage. To finish this point, it is also interesting to note the small number of terms, from whatever class, dating from after the year 100 AD; like the text of the fables, that of the epimythia was hardly altered after that date.

b) Content. We have already mentioned the content of the epimythia, frequently alluding to Cynic or Cynic-Stoic themes, or themes associated with teaching, obviously from after Demetrius' time. Clearly, a very serious problem remains, that of to what extent the main collections continue a model, as regards the epimythia, or improvise in their own right. This is a theme that we will discuss below, one that is by no means easy, among other things, because only very rarely do we find versions of the same fable in the three main collections, with all three containing an epimythium. What is more, it is a theme that partly already goes beyond the intentions of this volume and belongs more properly to the second.

The layer of Cynicism, Stoicism and moralism that frames the epimythia of the Augustana has been highlighted by Nøjgaard.[33] Thiele has made the same observation regarding those of Phaedrus, adding that a series of epimythia (or promythia) from Phaedrus agree with those of corresponding fables in Babrius on themes of the Cynic type.[34] It would not be difficult to indicate Cynic or moralizing epimythia in Babrius; the most blatant cases are, for example, 136 "Whatever your destiny is, suffer it courageously and do not act smart: you must not flee from fate" or 65 "I would prefer to be admired wearing a coarse woollen cloth (the Cynic τρίβων) to living without fame with wealthy garments". Likewise we could note the Rylands Papyrus with its "everybody who makes a mistake blames

[33] *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 519 ff.

[34] Cf. Thiele, "Phaedrus-Studien I", *cit.*, pp. 568 ff.

God" (1.74) or the fable of the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus with its "No evil man escapes God. The divinity leads the wicked to justice". None of this sounds like the Classical fable, nor would it be expected in Demetrius, even if he did have epimythia. And what can be said about epimythia poorly suited to fables of recent origin, which we discussed in I 1?

It is clear to us, furthermore, that the various collections have greatly modified the epimythia in both their form (promythium or epimythium, in all or some of the fables, with predominantly this or that formula) and their content, as the intention of the Augustana is not the same as that of Phaedrus or Babrius. If there is a place in the fable in which the fabulist attempts to be original, it is precisely this.

Nevertheless, it is appropriate to consider what the common elements are in the epimythia of the various collections, as we may progress thereby in our research into the origin of the epimythium. In our view that origin lies, as has been said, in the prosified collection or collections deriving from the ancient versified collections, of which there were at least two: the one that is at the basis of the Augustana and the one that is at the basis of the Rylands Papyrus. Since the epimythia do not have metrical features and do have prosaic formulas—since their content partly corresponds to the cultural and moral phase of primitive Cynicism, like that of certain fables, as we will study later—the conclusion is clear: the epimythia cannot be assigned to a date prior to said phase.

There was, then, in the 1st century BC (as *terminus ante quem*) a movement that extended the Cynic basis of the fable, sometimes adding others, sometimes modifying the ancient ones and, at the same time as the prosification, introduced epimythia, which were much more moralizing, in general terms, than the fables themselves. This was the moment when the fable was capable of being converted into an instrument for teaching, as it was to be in the Imperial Age. And as it was not, as we know, in the Hellenistic Age. In this it was part of a Cynic literature that included parodies of the ancient genres, realistic *Lives*, χρεῖαι, diatribes, etc.; that is to say, the genres described as σπουδαιογέλοιον, a mixture of seriousness and laughter. It was a literature of protest and propaganda at the same time, not a scholastic literature. We will return to this in Part III.

These fables in prose that arose in the 2nd century BC contained a series of common elements that are at the basis of the subsequent

collections, which were later specialized in different directions. It is not the subject of this volume, we repeat, to carry out a detailed study of the tendencies of the fabulists of the Imperial Age. But it is appropriate that we state briefly here what the common elements are in their epimythia, common elements that we will date back to the time we are discussing.

There are, first and foremost, correspondences in the very composition of certain epimythia. Much smaller correspondences than in the texts of the fables, certainly, since, as we have said, epimythia are much more exposed to innovations. And since it is also rare for us to possess three versions of the same epimythium.

This leads us to a first conclusion on our collection or collections of the 2nd or 1st century BC, namely that in it or them not all the fables had epimythia. Phaedrus, Babrius and even the Rylands Papyrus (including subsequent fables) guarantee this. Judging by Phaedrus and even by the papyrus itself, a fable could at a given moment have had an epimythium or a promythium, both or neither. The generalization of a type of promythium in the Rylands Papyrus, its elimination of the epimythium, the generalization of the epimythium in the Augustana too are, therefore, secondary innovations of these collections. Among other things, they could transpose a moral from the promythium to the epimythium, or vice versa. And they could change it radically; there are many examples in which the morals do not correspond at all in fables which, moreover, are closely related.

However, these are the innovations of the collections. Their point of departure is undoubtedly the initiative taken by somebody to add epimythia to certain fables that particularly needed them, either because they did not have a "closing statement" or because, whether there was a "closing statement" or not, the conclusion of a generic character was not totally clear. Or because the author of the new collection wanted to obtain this conclusion with a meaning that was sometimes original, even if it deviated from the true and ancient intention of the fable. To sum up, a generalizing epimythium was created, different from the specific ancient epimythium; and also a generalizing promythium. Promythia and epimythia of reference were also created. We will see where the origin of all this may lie, within the traditional fabulistic material. The general intention is transparent, then; it was based on a new idea, didactic and moralizing, of what the fable was, something that cannot be attributed to Demetrius Phalereus, a simple collector.

Let us add some information to support the idea of these common models of the promythia and epimythia of the fables of our collections.

We said above that Nøjgaard indicated the correspondence between the promythium of the Rylands Papyrus and the epimythium of the Augustana to "Heracles and Plutus" and correctly deduced that there was an inheritance from antiquity in this. According to this version, the fable is to be directed against the wicked rich man, something very different from the position of Phaedrus, rigidly Cynic: *opes invisae merito sunt forti viro/quia dives arca veram laudem intercipit.* We have also picked up the correspondences of a Cynic type, indicated by Thiele, between the morals of Phaedrus and Babrius.

For our part, we have conducted an examination of the epimythia (and promythia) that agree in the three collections. The results are that there is no fixed rule in the correspondences and discrepancies. The epimythia of the three versions of the same fable sometimes differ (when, rarely, there are three), sometimes there are correspondences between the Augustana and Phaedrus, whereas Babrius differs, or else the other two possible combinations occur.

There is, for example, more or less nothing in common, as regards either the initial formula or the content, between the morals (we use this term subsuming those of promythium and epimythium) of the fable of the eagle and the fox (H. 1, Ph. I 28, Bab. 186 Cr.; we include the Paraphrases, as can be seen). Yet the Augustana may correspond very approximately to Babrius, as in H. 136 and Bab. 79, the ancient fable of the dog that crossed the torrent carrying a piece of meat that he dropped is commented on with the theme of the man who abuses or is insatiable and is punished; very different in literal terms, but the idea is the same. Phaedrus, on the other hand, in I 4, restricts himself to indicating that *amittit merito proprium qui alienum adpetit.* Something very similar occurs with "The Wolf and the Crane", H. 161, Ph. I 8, Bab. 94. However, in "The Mosquito and the Bull" (in Phaedrus it is "The Fly and the Mule") the three fabulists even agree on the vocabulary (Aug. ἀδύνατον = Ph. *sine virtute* = Bab. οὐδὲν ὄν; Ph. *derideri* = Bab. γελοῖος); the formulas of the Aug. and Phaedrus also agree:

H. 140:

> τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ χρήσαιτο ἄν τις πρὸς ἄνδρα ἀδύνατον,
> ὃς οὔτε παρὼν οὔτε ἀπὼν ἐπιβλαβὴς ἢ ὠφέλιμός ἐστι.

Ph. III 6: *hac derideri fabula merito potest/qui sine virtute vanas exercet minas.* Bab. 84:

> γελοῖος ὅστις οὐδὲν ὢν κατ' ἀνθρώπων/τῶν κρειττόνων
> θρασύνεται ὥς τις ὢν κρείττων.

Phaedrus and Babrius may be the ones that agree, whereas Aug. does not; cf., for example, Ph. II 2, Bab. 22 compared with H. 31 or Ph. I 12, Bab. 43 compared with H. 76. On the other hand, there may be correspondence between the Augustana and Phaedrus that is absent from Babrius, such as in H. 156 and Ph I 11; H. 238 and Ph. IV 4. Just as at other times the Augustana and Babrius agree but Phaedrus differs: H. 100 and Bab. 96, H. 107 and Bab. 74, H. 161 and Bab. 64 (but H. 42 and Bab. 47, H. 103 and Bab. 74 are very different); and it may be the case that the fable is only found in Phaedrus and Babrius and there is no correspondence (Ph. I 6 and Bab. 24).

The discrepancy of Phaedrus, who was more individualistic and creative, is more common; but it is clear that all the collections take great liberties. This is why the types of relationships that are usual for fables do not apply to the epimythia, in which it is the Augustana and Phaedrus that come from the same branch of the tradition. And it is no less clear that the collections start from an original or group of originals with a common theme, with the greater frequency, in the examples we have given (and there are not many more we can give, for reasons already stated) of a moralist type.

We can also see evidence of this model or models in common if we study the formulas. We are not going to dwell too long on this, partly as some points have already been made, partly as the theme must be left for Volume II. To sum up, we can establish seven types of formulas: from 1 to 3 without an introduction; from 4 to 6 with an introduction that is accompanied by one of the types from 1 to 3; 7 is the epimythia (or promythia) of reference, already described:

1: Maxims, generally with ἐστί (elidible); the subject frequently with relative, with article and participle, with neutral adj. used as a noun.
2: Exhortations, frequently with χρή, δεῖ etc., with voluntative subj. in 1st pl. ("let us do . . ."), etc.
3: Personal sentences directed at a "you", in the imperative, optative, future, μή and subj. and with subordinates: temporal types ("when you do . . ."), conditional types ("if you do . . ."), etc.

4: Type ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ capable of being followed by 1, 2 or 3; sometimes there is 4 + 5 + 1, 2 or 3.
5: Type οὕτως (καί), followed by 1, 2 or 3.
6: Type ἀτάρ always with 2 (δεῖ).
7: Different types of reference, already described.

If we now review the collections to study which types are present in them, the following picture emerges:

Rylands Papyrus: (promythium); in the "second closing statement" there are 3 and 5.
Phaedrus: 1, 2 (rare, cf. I 3), 3 (rare, cf. *App.* 15), 4, 5, 7.
Augustana: 4, 5, 6, 7.
Babrius: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 (cf. above, p. 454), 7 (rare, cf. page 449).

The conclusion is that the Augustana has eliminated types 1–3 without an introduction (there are at most a few epimythia ὅτι . . .), inasmuch as they were ancient; the absence of 3, the personal type, even in subordinates combined with 4–6, is very significant. On the other hand, Phaedrus and Babrius maintain and even develop the types without an introduction and modify them into a series of variants; in actual fact, they tend to be reduced to type 4 and, in Phaedrus, to 7, or that of reference, the others are very much in the minority.

Nevertheless, their presence shows that they date back to the common model, just as the type of reference, although it is practically absent from Babrius, and the personal, although it is absent from the Augustana, undoubtedly also date back to this. The major differences between the collections do not prevent their common origin being established, even as regards the morality, in prosified collections from the date already mentioned.

3. *The Epimythium, from the Classical Age to the Collections through Demetrius. The Promythium*

We must now answer a question that we left unanswered above. Namely, if Demetrius' collection did not contain epimythia and these were only added after the versification of the collection in the 3rd century, why are some of the archaic formulas of the epimythia very closely reminiscent of others from the Classical Age? Formulas with οὕτως, with ἀτάρ and even with ὁ λόγος (μῦθος) δηλοῖ, which do no more than develop the μῦθον (αἶνον, λόγον) λέγειν, ἀκούειν, etc., of

the prologues and even epilogues of myths, similes and fables;[35] we may recall, for example, Herodotus I 141, ἔλεξεν αὐτοῖς λόγον . . . τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξεν ὅτι. . . .

Certainly, most of the prosaic formulas of the epimythia are recent and offer no problems. Yet it is difficult to understand how formulas such as those indicated ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ, a simple variation of the ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ, reached the collections without passing through Demetrius. But if they passed through Demetrius, they later passed through the versifications; and we cannot see how, once the formulas in these versifications had been altered, they managed to be reconstructed later. At first sight, the formulas with οὕτως are a less serious problem, since in Classical fables there are the iambic formulas οὕτως δὲ καὶ σύ (Aristophanes), οὕτως δὲ καί σε (Sophocles), and even the οὕτως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς in Aristotle (fable of the stag) must come from iambs by Stesichorus.[36] The crossing over from verse to prose was easy, by eliminating the δέ, with a return to verse again later.

I think the solution to this problem must be reached through various considerations. The first is that, if it is true that the fables of Demetrius were generally without epimythia, there must have been exceptions to the benefit of certain fables that were collected as second grade narrations, from Aesop, for example. We have already seen that there are traces of second grade narrations in the various collections, cf. above, p. 387. There must therefore have been these in Demetrius. Now, a second grade narration admits a personal epimythium from ancient times. And, specifically, the two epimythia with ἀτάρ and οὕτως in fables by Aristotle that we have mentioned refer precisely to narrated second grade fables. In this way a few formulas with ἀτάρ, οὕτως and ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ must have entered Demetrius.

Certainly, these formulas must have been changed in the versifications; alteration was easy in the case of οὕτως, less easy in the others. And there is also another possibility, that these few epimythia in fables narrated in the second grade—which it was logical for Demetrius to admit—were eliminated in the versifications. In both cases the solution to our problem is the same: the creators of epimythia in

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[35] Cf. above, pp. 6 ff.
[36] Cf. above, p. 242.

the prosified compositions of the 2nd century BC must have looked back again and been inspired precisely by Demetrius, perhaps also by the exemplum-fable; in this we occasionally find formulas such as those in the collections. Very specifically, Plutarch introduces generalizing epimythia with οὕτως.[37]

That is to say, the creators of the generalizing epimythium were undoubtedly inspired by specific epimythia in Demetrius (by exceptional ones, moreover) and by the tradition of the exemplum-fable in general. It was easy to interpret in this way, for example, the "you" of the specific epimythium. But there is something more. We have seen again and again that the "closing statements" of the fable, already from the Classical Age, have the same formulas as the later epimythia, very specifically the formulas with ἀτάρ and οὕτως, such as in the Rylands Papyrus and the Augustana, not to mention those from older times. These "closing statements" were, we know, sometimes specific, sometimes generalizing. It is very clear that they must inevitably have played a part in the creation of the generalizing epimythium and of its initial formulas. Clearly, the same problem is again raised of the relationship between formulas in prose and in verse; there must have been distortions between Demetrius and the collections in prose due to the versifiers. And there must have been, later, prosifications influenced by the ancient versions in prose, of Demetrius and of the fable of the 4th century. We cannot simplify by making an excessive separation between the tradition of the exemplum-fable and the fable of the collections. Both influenced each other reciprocally.

The generalizing epimythium came about from the "closing statement" and from certain, rare, epimythia in the second grade fables by Demetrius, on a date when the fable was already considered as didactic material. As regards the epimythium of reference, it is clear that this is abstracted, so to speak, from the setting of the exemplum-fable, which always refers to somebody; but with a character, also, of generalization, with reference to men with such and such a moral quality. The epimythium without an introduction, for its part, insofar as it was not a secondary product of late collections, was easily deducible, in turn, from the "closing statement". Here metrical problems certainly do not exist.

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[37] Cf. Perry, "Origin", p. 346.

Perhaps two fables on papyri, to which we referred in Part I, Chap. 2, conserve an archaic type, as regards the epimythia. Firstly the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus II 84, "The Murderer", a variant on H. 32, but in iambic trimetres (more or less prosified). This possibly represents, judging by the metre, a remnant of the ancient iambic fable of the 3rd century BC. And therefore it is more noteworthy that it finishes with an epimythium without an introduction, with, on the other hand, a proverbial appearance:

Κακοῦργος οὐδεὶς λανθάνει θεόν.
Ἄγει τὸ θεῖον τοὺς κακοὺς πρὸς τὴν δίκην.

It is not strange that the epimythium is in verse, since the fable is. It seems that in some special cases it was feasible to add an epimythium of this type, a maxim not introduced by "the fable teaches" or equivalent formulas. We have, then, a fable to which, undoubtedly, the epimythium was only added as a second consideration: it was a possibility that remained open although, it seems, it was not used systematically.

The case of *PColon.* 64 is somewhat different; this derives from the tradition close to the Augustana, since it is in Phaedrus I 19 (the only known example to date, except for Justinus 43.4.4). In the fragment conserved, the dog reproaches for their ingratitude the puppies of a bitch that he had allowed, through pity, to be born and raised in his den; now that they are strong, they do not want to leave. The fable finishes with the "closing statement" by the dog, which is followed by these words:

Ἀληθὲς ἄρα λέγει
δειλοὺς εὖ ἔρδοντι ματαιοτάτη χάρις ἐστίν.

It cannot be seen at all clearly whether these words are the ending of the "closing statement" or are simply an epimythium without an introduction, as in the case of the previous fable. The curious thing is, in any event, that this ending is a verse from Theognis. The animal or the narrator therefore introduces a well-known maxim. In cases such as this we see an epimythium in embryo, nascent, developed starting from the final "closing statement" and from a traditional maxim.

In any case, we must repeat that the epimythium was initially a supplementary element, added to certain fables in which it was felt

most necessary to explain their intention or to modify them to agree with the ideas of the new writer. It was created with the support of a tradition that was partly alive in the Hellenistic collections in verse, and partly had to be recovered in Demetrius or in the ancient or modern exemplum-fables in general.

It seems logical to suppose that the promythium is secondary, whatever type it may be. There is no type that inevitably came about at the beginning of the fable, as all can be explained by transplants from the ending (the opposite is not true). On the other hand, we have already said that a title or heading was not necessary in the fable, the first line of which habitually gave the theme. Neither was it a habitual procedure to use these, as far as we know, in other anthological genres. It must be thought that a collection with a certain number of epimythia was followed by others in which these alternated with the promythia. Later came the generalizations of one or the other device, with types of morals that varied according to the collections.

III. *Inventory and Reconstruction of the Fables of Demetrius*

1. *How to Study the Collection of Demetrius*

It is clear that it is not possible to arrive at a total reconstruction of Demetrius' Collection, neither as regards the exact fables it included, nor as regards the literal content of same. But after everything said so far, some approximations can be reached on the theme. A theme to which, till now, no other work has been devoted apart from the one by Perry, cited by us on various occasions, "The Origin of the Epimythium", a work which, moreover, goes no further than to attempt to give credibility to the idea that a certain small number of fables belonged to the collection. The problem as a whole has never been approached.

This difficult enterprise of the reconstruction of the collection of Demetrius, to which we wish to contribute some elements, must obviously consist of two parts:

a) Establishing the inventory of the fables brought together by Demetrius in his Collection. Taking into account that, according to what Diogenes Laertius tells us, this consisted of only one book, we

think it is difficult hypothetically to attribute much more than one hundred fables to it from among the more than five hundred that we know from Antiquity starting from various sources. Stated another way, of the 231 fables, more or less, of the Augustana[38] (from among the 307 fables included in Hausrath's edition of the Anonymous Fables), it is not believable that more than half came from Demetrius. It must be taken into account that other fables that are not in the Augustana may have come from Demetrius; but in total the number must range, we think, between 100 and 150. And this not only from what we could reasonably expect from a book containing fables of the approximate size of those of the Augustana—let us say 12 lines per fable—but also because there are numerous fables in this collection that any test starting from the criteria we have indicated will declare to be late.

In its turn, a collection such as that of Babrius of the Athous must not have originally exceeded 200 fables, since the manuscript is interrupted at number 135, the first fable beginning with N; and this collection also has a great deal of recent material; on the other hand, the fables that are absent from the Augustana are rare. The case of Phaedrus is different, although the results conclusively correspond. As is known, the transmission of his fables is fragmentary—now leaving aside the problem of the origin of the fables of the "Phaedrian tradition", cf. Phaedrus, I 2, pp. 126 ff.—but even so it reaches a total of 189 fables. Now, of these there are 65 that do not find parallels outside of Phaedrus, and we must consider these as his originals. There remain, therefore, 124 traditional fables, almost all in the Augustana, only a few in Babrius or any other source.[39] It so happens that, although a third of Phaedrus has been lost, the basic collection on which it is based and which clearly contained material from very much later than Demetrius, consisted of about 200 fables. The other collections of fables are very much shorter.

b) Once the inventory of the fables of Demetrius' collection has been established, the second part of our task would consist in attempting to reconstruct these, as far as possible, one by one, in terms of both the content and the form, starting from both the study of the

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[38] Cf. Perry, *Aesopica*, pp. 305 ff.

[39] Cf. my work "Fedro y sus fuentes", *Homenaje a Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz*, Madrid 1983, pp. 251–274.

derivative fables and general considerations established above about the characteristics of the fables of said collection.

In this chapter we are going to offer indications as to the way of establishing the inventory or index of the fables of Demetrius with a greater or lesser degree of probability and to contribute some elements to same by way of examples; the task of reconstructing the fables one by one would be a task for later. In any case, we have already made some attempts in previous works ("El papiro Rylands . . .", in particular) and in this same book, cf. above, page 403 ff., on "The Eagle and the Fox". To go further we need, in any event, to reach sounder conclusions than the current ones—which are discussed in our Chapter I—regarding the relationships between the collections of fables of the Imperial Age, a theme we will consider in the second volume of this work. It is really starting from the comparison of the versions derived from a fable that one can succeed, to some degree, in reconstructing the original model. The reconstruction of models and the study of the relationships between the collections are, in fact, two themes that involve each other and cannot be dealt with separately. For this reason, we will return to the reconstruction of fables in the second volume.

Now, what we are going to do below is establish approaches to attempting this reconstruction and the degree to which it can be achieved with any certainty. Our study of the metrical form of the Hellenistic fable subsequent to Demetrius, of its prosifications, its content, in Part III of this volume, is a necessary basis for this task, together with the study of the relationships between the collections. And, of course, we must begin with the inventory of the fables of Demetrius.

What the criteria are for moving closer to Demetrius to some degree will be our first theme below. Then will follow the problem of the reconstruction.

Cases of direct attribution, based on evidence attributing a fable to Demetrius, are practically non-existent, since any reference of this type refers rather to his collection of χρεῖαι. Even so, Perry has explored this path in his cited article and we will return to these cases and also to others in which Perry himself supposes that the attribution to Aesop of a fable in the learned tradition of Plutarch, Lucian, Dio Chrysostom, etc., makes the Aesopic character credible.

This latter case, as we have said, must be explored in its own right, although in principle we think that no attribution of a fable

to Aesop, not even that made by the authors of collections entitled "Aesopic Fables", offers guarantees that it comes from the collection of Demetrius. It is clear that in the Hellenistic and Roman Ages fables could be remodelled or created that were called Aesopic as long as they fulfilled certain conditions, which became increasingly lax. This is what Phaedrus did starting with his first book, although he later attempted to make a distinction between *Fabulae Aesopi* and *Aesopiae* (Prol. to book IV 11); the truth is that in Phaedrus' first book there is about the same proportion of fables with ancient models (I do not mean in Demetrius) and original fables.[40] Outside of Phaedrus, the fables that for various reasons must be described as late are very numerous. In short, the attribution to Aesop does not demonstrate anything.

Neither does the diffusion of a fable, even in the case of maximum diffusion, that is to say, presence in the three main collections, plus possibly in other minor works or in the indirect tradition. This data, by itself, testifies to the presence of the fable in question in the collection or group of related collections of the 2nd or 1st century BC, from which the fable of the collections of the Imperial Age comes; but it does not prove the presence of same in Demetrius. Sometimes this clearly seems to be the case, as in the case of H. 1 "The Eagle and the Fox" or H. 15a "The Fox and the Grapes", documented in the Classical Age,[41] but this must be demonstrated independently.

I do not doubt, however, that there is a certain relationship between the popularity and diffusion of a fable and the fact that it comes from Demetrius and, in short, from the Classical Age; of those represented in the three collections (together with Babrius I consider the Bodleian Paraphrase and the whole choliambic tradition), in addition to the two we have just mentioned, there is evidence of the following in the Classical Age: H. 62 "The Farmer and the Serpent", H. 174 "The Mice and the Weasels", H. 238 "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter", H. 294 "The Wolf and the Dog" (sometimes with substantial variations). An ancient origin may be postulated, though without the support of direct evidence, for H. 9 "The Fox and the He-goat", H. 22 "The Fox and the Woodcutter", H. 76 "The Stag

[40] Cf. *art. cit.* on p. 125, n. 114.

[41] Respectively in Archilochus and on a gem from the 4th century, cf. P. Bádenas, *Fábulas de Esopo*, Madrid 1978, p. 49.

and the Lion", H. 81 "The Cat and the Mouse", H. 140 "The Crow and the Fox". And H. 31 "The Grey-haired Man" (a misogynous, Cynic fable), H. 173 "The Priests of Cybele", H. 229 "The Two Knapsacks" are undoubtedly recent (the theme of the walker and the satire it implies are Cynic, certainly with a very extensive tradition, including Catullus, Horace, Plutarch, Themistius). One thing is clear, however; when a fable is in at least two sources not derived from each other, it obviously dates back to a previous model, and is not original to the fabulist or the exemplar.

Furthermore, the reader can see how rare cases are in which a fable appears in the three collections; of course the absence, in the case of Babrius and Phaedrus, may sometimes be accidental, and occasionally the indirect tradition must be added. But, in short, the criterion is not decisive. The absence of fables such as "The Frogs in the Sun" (Ph. I 6, Bab. 24) or "The Frog that Burst and the Cow" (Ph. I 24, Bab. 28) from the Augustana contributes nothing to the case against the possibility that they are ancient; the above are rare cases of fables that are in Phaedrus and Babrius, but not in the Augustana (they number exactly five in all).[42] Neither is it significant that a fable may be in just one fabulist or appear just once in the indirect tradition and may be Classical, as is, very notably, the fable of "The Stag, the Fox and the Lion" which, after Archilochus, *Ep.* III, is found in Babrius (as well as in Avianus 30). Or consider "The Mouse and the Frog", which, although Hausrath publishes it as number 302, actually comes from the *Life of Aesop* 133 and comes, as we know, from the *Batrachomyomachia.* The absence of a fable from such and such a collection—or even from all of them—may be due either to a conscious choice or to accidents of the tradition. It is noteworthy that the fable of "The Shepherd and the Sheep", previously only in H. 224, is now also in the Rylands Papyrus.

The path towards establishing the inventory must be a different one, I believe. The point of departure is undoubtedly the fables from the Classical Age, of whose existence we have evidence; we have given a report on these in II 5, pp. 398 ff. Demetrius had access to these fables; therefore, when they appear in a later age in the collections or even in the indirect tradition, it is likely that they passed through Demetrius' collection. This is not, of course, absolutely

[42] Ph. *App.* 24 = Bab. 3, Ph. 22 = Bab. 27, Ph. I 6 = Bab. 24, Ph. *App.* 21 = Bab. 29, Ph. *App.* 24 = Bab. 28.

certain, as the authors who enlarged Demetrius' collection starting from the 2nd century BC were undoubtedly capable of "fishing out" Classical fables that interested them. The strongest guarantee in support of this hypothesis is to be found when:

a) The fables in question retain the syntactical schemes, formulas and structure that we have considered characteristic of the fables of Demetrius.

b) When they conserve metrical remnants, since the ametrical fables were added to the collections at a later date, at the same time, undoubtedly, as the prosification of the previously versified fables.

c) When they are not obviously used to serve themes or ideas that are clearly from the Hellenistic Age.

Obviously there are intermediate cases where it is difficult to decide. A Classical fable that entered Demetrius' collection may have undergone certain modifications to its structure later on, although we can sometimes eliminate them either by comparison or else simply because we know the customs or tendencies of Babrius and Phaedrus in this respect (cf. above, I 2) and even general customs. It may also have received certain lexical elements proper to Cynicism or Stoicism, for example (cf. above, p. 170 on "The Fox and the He-goat"). Of course, the epimythium may deduce new consequences from the fable, which were unforeseeable for the narrators of the fable in the Classical Age; we have already discussed this. In short, it is a matter of studying our report on Classical fables on the basis of their presence in a later period and of the other data referred to and proposing which of them are likely to have been in the collection of Demetrius.

A second group presents greater difficulties. We have reported on various motifs (not fables) from the Classical Age that have been used in "fabulized" form, transformed into fables. The items on this list have varying degrees of probability; for example, it is certain that H. 214 "The Man who Received a Deposit and the Oath" derives from the story of Glaucus in Herodotus VI 86, but another part of the material we give is hypothetical. On the other hand, it is debatable whether the fabulization is due to Demetrius or to later authors; it seems it must only be attributed to the former, who was principally a compiler of fables, when it is obvious and direct. I do not think, in any case, that there is much material from Demetrius here. We must, of course, have recourse to the criteria to which we

referred on the subject of the fables that appeared in the Classical Age. For example, I do not doubt that H. 178 "The Shipwrecked Man and the Sea" (also in Babrius 71) comes from Solon 9; but I doubt very much that the fabulizer is Demetrius; he is, undoubtedly, a Cynic fabulist. Let us look at this.

The passage from Solon comes from the elegy directed by the Athenian statesman at his fellow citizens, inviting them to avoid the tyranny of Pisistratus.[43] By means of a simile, he makes them see that the same town will end up not suffering it: "The sea is made rough by the winds, but if it is not altered, it is the calmest of all things". Now, the fable of the Augustana leaves aside any political context; the shipwrecked man reprimands the sea and the latter appears to him in the form of a woman and says that he should blame not her, but the winds; her φύσις is gentle. This is the theme of φύσις, treated with very characteristic formulas in a group of Cynic fables.[44] On the other hand, the presence of hypostasis is very characteristic of these fables. And the epimythium, which removes the blame from the weak and blames the powerful who dominate them. To sum up, this metrical fable was undoubtedly added to the fables of Demetrius when these were versified. The author of the new collection fabulized a simile by Solon.

At this point let us move on to the more general case, that in which there is no evidence that a fable from the collections or from the indirect tradition of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages was already known in the Classical Age. Is it a fable invented by an individual author? Or does it come from a tradition that, depending on the case, may date back to Demetrius (coming from a previous age) or just to a more recent date? How do we decide?

Clearly, the approaches for tracing a fable back to Demetrius, particularly a fable with a tradition in more than a single author, are the very ones we have explained so far. There is evidence to support the presence of metrical remnants and the similarity with what we know about the fables of Demetrius in terms of syntax, formulas, structure and content. We already know, however, that an ancient

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[43] I think it imitates the poem by Stesichorus against Phalaris, cf. "Propuestas para una edición e interpretación de Estesícoro", *Emerita* 46, 1978, p. 294. Cf. also *Líricos griegos arcaicos cit.*, I, p. 194.

[44] Cf. III 2, p. 548.

fable might have undergone certain modifications in these aspects during its history in the Hellenistic and Roman Ages. On the other hand, when the fable has a multiple tradition, significant progress may be made by reconstructing the common model by comparison; it may be the case that this model is closer in terms of syntax, structure and content to the fables of Classical type than the version of such and such a collection or exemplar. That is to say, that the establishment of the inventory and the reconstruction of the fables are not independent of each other, but sometimes simultaneous. We must disregard the epimythium, of course.

From the practical standpoint, however, we think the opposite procedure to the one indicated here is more rewarding, that is, proceeding by a process of elimination. We must eliminate, therefore:

a) Fables that do not possess metrical remnants from the Hellenistic Age. They may have been totally eliminated by the prosifiers, but it is more likely that these were fables added in the prosified collections.

b) Fables with late content, mainly Cynic and Stoic, also moralist in general terms. Or else fables that are not to be attributed to the Classical Age on account of their themes: those presenting the social, religious environment, etc., of later ages, such as "The Priests of Cybele" mentioned above.

c) "Secondary" fables, that is to say, those clearly derived from others. For example, H. 142 "The Camel", in which this animal, obliged to dance by his master, says that he is ugly not only dancing, but even walking; this is a clear derivative from the dance of the camel in the well-known fable of the fox and the monkey in Archilochus (= H. 85 + 83). H. 10 "The Fox", theme of the fox that was first afraid of the lion and then, when he had grown accustomed to him, went so far as to speak to him, is also a derivation of very ancient themes; and in turn from here comes H. 220 "The Rich Man and the Tanner", which develops the same theme, but in a setting that is already specifically Cynic (the rich man grows used to the bad smell of his neighbour's tannery). There are many more examples.

d) Fables with anomalous syntax and structure, which we have already discussed. Or with syntax and structure that, although not anomalous, were not very common in ancient times and later became very widespread.

Let us be quite clear, in all these types of fables there are extreme

cases, themes or structures, etc., where it cannot be ruled out in some circumstances that they are ancient; derivative fables are perhaps sometimes also ancient, in spite of everything. That is why it is essential to note that these criteria are not to be considered one by one, but rather they have greater meaning the more allied to each other they are. If a fable, in addition to not having metrical remnants and having a Cynic content, presents a late setting, an anomalous structure, and on top of all that is modelled on another previous one, the probabilities of a late origin are multiplied.

It is therefore necessary, from the report on the totality of ancient fables, to establish a dossier on each fable indicating: a) whether it appears or not in Classical times; b) its documentation in the Hellenistic and Roman Ages; c) the various data on metrical remnants, lexicon, syntax, structure, formulas, content, relationship with other fables, etc. A consideration of all these factors leads to a greater or lesser degree of probability, depending on the case, of our being able to attribute a fable sometimes to Demetrius, sometimes to his versifiers, sometimes to the prosifiers of these, sometimes to such and such an author of a collection or to such and such an exemplar.

It is interesting, among other things, to consider the effect of the presence of a fable in the collections on its antiquity. And we must consider separately the case of fables that are possibly from Demetrius and are not in the collections.[45] Another task then becomes necessary, that of studying when and why they were eliminated from these, a theme that is reserved for Part III of this volume.

Now, as we have said, this is the first part of the study that we must make regarding Demetrius' collection. The second would consist of reconstructing the fables of that inventory one by one; we have already said why we are not going to undertake this here. But we will offer some indications about the method that should be applied, adding specific detail to previous statements.

The method starts, of course, with a comparison of the different versions of a fable, when they exist; from this comparison, as we have said, general conclusions are drawn on the relationship between the collections, which in turn must be taken into account when working on each fable in particular. It is essential, then, to start from an edition of the fables that gives all the variants of same, not from

[45] Cf. the following section.

one structured like Perry's, the inconvenient aspects of which from this standpoint we highlighted in I 2. We have a file in which the existing materials are gathered together and on the basis of which said edition could be made.

The comparison, of which we have given examples in our work "El papiro Rylands..." and in this same book on occasions, takes us to a model with the basic topic of the fable. Of course, there are many occasions when profound doubts remain; when, for example, in H. 158, it is the shipwrecked man who is addressing the sea and in Bab. 93 it is the farmer, we may think that the first is more logical, but this is not certain. When, on the other hand, H. 140 and Bab. 84 give the bull and the mosquito as main characters, it seems clear that this is the ancient version, since these are authors who are on the two branches of the tradition, and the main characters are not the mule and the fly, as in Ph. III 6. There are, of course, countless cases, including the contaminations of fables in Phaedrus, which we have already discussed.

This task of reconstruction is a delicate one. With respect to the anonymous fables, it is not certain that we must always start precisely from the version of the Augustana; if the other versions had a semiprosified original at their disposal, as we have established (cf. I 2, pp. 195 ff.), of which they sometimes conserved more metrical traces than the Augustana, it may be the case that some of the basic differences are also ancient. On the other hand, the situation in the *stemma* of the collections of the fables of Ps.-Dositheus, Syntipas and Aphthonius, not to mention those of the indirect tradition, is, at the present time, poorly established. Avianus derives from the Babrian tradition, but within this many unknowns nevertheless exist, since it is not a unitary tradition, and reaches the point of offering two versions of the same fable. The same is the case, as we already know, in the tradition of the Augustana and in that of the anonymous fables generally.

The terrain is not, we repeat, sufficiently well prepared for us to perform the task of comparison in detail. We would need to check the accuracy of the statement we make here rather as a hypothesis, namely that the whole tradition comes from a single semiprosified model of each fable. Rather, we have offered it as a hypothesis, with one important exception: that of the fables of the Rylands Papyrus, which contain metrical remnants that are incompatible with those

of the anonymous fables; this supposes at least a second prosification. I say a second because it seems that the whole anonymous tradition has a prosification as its basis, which is dependent in turn on a version in verse; I cannot find incompatible metrical remnants. However, I repeat, we should study this in more detail, taking account of the existence of multiple versions of the same fable within the anonymous tradition. On the other hand, it seems a solid hypothesis that Phaedrus and Babrius (among other fabulists) come from the same tradition—as regards the "theme" of the fables—in general terms, but we do not know if this is so as regards the details. We have already indicated that in Nøjgaard's view the text of Phaedrus is particularly closely related to Ib. In short, the current state of our knowledge is collected in I 2, where the reader can find it. We will only repeat that, as we stated there, we will return to the theme in our Volume II, seeking the further clarifications that would be necessary for a reconstruction such as the one we propose.

Now, let us suppose that the comparison of the three main collections and, possibly, of other versions, leads us to a rough reconstruction of the basic topic of a fable, a model of these collections (or that of very closely related models). This does not take us back to Demetrius; we have stayed with the prosified collection or collections that we have attributed to the 2nd century BC. The fable reconstructed thus may come from Demetrius or from the metrical collection or, simply, have been added to the prosified collection; even in fables with a single version, this may be from later.

To go back in time, the fable needs to have metrical traces in the anonymous tradition; or have them in the Rylands Papyrus—excessively short—which we have already said dates back to a different metrical version. This has not yet taken us back to Demetrius, but to the collections of fables in verse of the 3rd century before Christ, of a Cynic character. And neither can we reconstruct these exactly, since the reconstruction of a few metrical passages, mostly formulaic, does not shed sufficient light on the topic. Certainly, arguments of likelihood may be added in relation to the content and the form; they remain just that, arguments of likelihood.

Only starting from this point can we go as far as Demetrius. To begin with, we have already said that the collection of fables in verse form added fables to the collection of Demetrius, fables characterized by their content and their form. We need only think that the

number of fables with metrical remnants in the anonymous collections is much higher, there are perhaps 200 (in quite a large number it is doubtful whether there are metrical remnants or not, see III 1) compared with the little more than 100 that we think Demetrius' collection may have contained.

It is a matter, then, of eliminating from the metrical fables those that, for the reasons already stated, do not seem likely to have come from Demetrius. In those that remain, the reconstruction of the original form must be based on arguments of likelihood that we have already mentioned.

In order for the reader to gain an orientation with regard to these problems, it is advisable for us to go back over our lines of argument about "The Eagle and the Fox" (pp. 418 ff.). We have seen that the comparison of the Augustana and Phaedrus leads to a reconstruction of a previous model, from which certain elements of the story of Archilochus were already lacking; a model which it seems Babrius knew. The problem is whether this model, already simplified and, on the other hand, distant from the lexicon and metrics of Archilochus, inherited those eliminations or simplifications from Demetrius or from the Hellenistic metrical version or whether he himself introduced them. The former hypothesis is the likely one, since the structural scheme of Archilochus was, as we have seen, too complex for what was usual in the fable in prose starting from the 4th century. But this is still no more than a likelihood.

An especially favourable case is when we have the version of the Rylands Papyrus at our disposal; in this way two metrical versions can be (partly) reconstructed and starting from these we can arrive at Demetrius. This is the case with the fables derived from the ancient fable of "The Stag, the Horse and the Man" by Stesichorus and Aristotle. The horse is present in the three versions, in the Augustana (H. 238), Phaedrus (IV 4) and Babrius (66); the man is in Phaedrus and Babrius (the Augustana replaces him with a hunter); but in all three the stag has been replaced by the boar. The stag is the ancient version, not only because it appears in Stesichorus-Aristotle, but because the animal that could contend for the pastures with the horse is the stag, not the boar. But if we make a comparison with the version of the Rylands Papyrus,[46] we meet with a surprise: the

[46] Cf. my *art. cit.*, pp. 356 ff.

boar is there too. It seems clear, therefore, that the change comes from Demetrius.

We can make similar comments on "The Swallow and the Birds", which we have also studied.[47] Here the version of H. 39 (in fact, there are two different versions) not only introduces the swallow instead of the owl, which is ancient judging by the Rylands Papyrus and two different versions of Dio Chrysostom, but the original intention of the fable changes totally. Here, according to our study, the whole branch of the tradition from which the versions of our Augustana, Babrius (the paraphrase, rather) and Phaedrus (moreover, contaminated with a different branch) come, reveal profound innovations and, within these, differences exist. We find ourselves dealing with a case in which at a date that we can place in the 2nd century BC at least three different versions existed (one giving rise to the version of the three main collections), which were already quite far removed from the original, best conserved in the Rylands Papyrus, which evidently referred to the owl.

Clearly, the absence of versions very different from those of the three main collections may be due sometimes to sheer chance, sometimes to the fact that a fable was not very diversified. It is often the case that the versions of the indirect tradition essentially agree with those of the main collections. Occasionally the differences, within these, are minimal or can be reduced by applying the criteria we are familiar with on syntax, formulas and structure. We may, unquestionably, make a mistake here or there, but in those circumstances of correspondence of subject matter and of closeness of theme, syntax, structure, etc., to what is usually found in Demetrius, the most likely hypothesis is that the prosified version of the 2nd century and the versified version of the 3rd century essentially reproduced Demetrius' version.

Along general lines, and comparing the evidence of the Classical fable, particularly as regards the topic and structure, with what can be reconstructed for the subsequent fable by comparison, it is clear that the collection of Demetrius was characterized by quite a number of innovations, as regards both topic (even the replacement of an animal with another, as we have seen) and structure, which tends to be simplified and standardized (which, clearly, has repercussions

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[47] *Art. cit.*, pp. 358 ff.

on the subject, as is the case of "The Eagle and the Fox" or that cited by us earlier of "The Hawk and the Nightingale"). Demetrius did not simply perform the work of a compiler or copyist, he organized the fables into clear and simple compositional schemes, he classified the syntax and the formulas, to a certain extent modifying the topics. It is almost impossible to arrive at the literal words, however. We can only imagine the prosaic formulas that underlie the metrical formulas reconstructed by comparison for the collections of the 3rd century, including a few formulas of "closing statements" and epimythia (in second grade narrations), to which we have referred.

It is easy to see, in view of all the above, that the problems of establishing the inventory of Demetrius' collection and the subsequent ones and those of reconstruction are very mixed up with each other, as indeed both are with those of establishing the relationships between the collections. This is the reason why, until the end of the work, we cannot approach all these problems. In an Appendix to same in Volume II we will report on all the ancient fables, with the data relative to their tradition, structure, content, etc., and the conclusions that can be drawn regarding their history in Antiquity. The fact is that it is impossible to study the history of the fable in periods, as all the data must be taken into account at the same time. Likewise, the history of the collections of fables of the Hellenistic Age will not be complete until we contribute—in Volume II—the data obtained from comparison of the collections of the Roman Age.

Consequently, in this chapter we will restrict ourselves—after the general considerations we have made and some further data, from Perry, which we present below—to contributing some elements, by way of examples, to the establishment of the inventory. First, re-examining from this standpoint the relationship of fables and motifs from the Classical Age that we have already offered. Then, re-examining some fables which we consider likely to be ancient, judging by the theme or by other motifs. By anticipating some elements of the chapters that follow and using the criteria already established, we will see, in these examples, the methods of investigation and the degree of probability of the results. The work will be completed, albeit in summary form, in the Appendix to Volume II.

2. *Some Proposals by Perry*

Before we go on, we must provide further details of the proposals made by Perry in an article we have mentioned regarding the col-

lection of Demetrius. From positions very far from our own, in this article he attributes a small number of fables to Demetrius' collection. Let us look at his way of proceeding and examine to what extent his proposals can be accepted.[48]

In my opinion, Perry's article, which contains valuable elements, nevertheless suffers from one handicap, the fact that its author thinks—as he repeats again and again—that the only Hellenistic collection of fables is the one by Demetrius and that any attribution of a fable to Aesop therefore amounts to the same thing as attributing it to the collection of Demetrius. These attributions occur in authors of the Imperial Age who offer an exemplum-fable attributing it to Aesop; it is normally fables from among these (generally absent from the Augustana) that Perry attributes to Demetrius' collection. An incorrect procedure, I believe, since we have already shown that the Aesopic tradition in the Hellenistic Age was extremely ramified. Furthermore, the collections, inasmuch as they put the name of Aesop in their title, also attribute their fables to Aesop. If this approach is followed, we would have to make them all come from Demetrius. Now, Perry himself[49] describes the collection of Demetrius as small. And when discussing the fable of the owl and the birds, he accepts my conclusion that the version in the Augustana, which introduces the swallow, is recent,[50] which is the same as admitting the ramified character of the fabulistic tradition of the Hellenistic Age.

In short, Perry proposes that all fables that are found in the learned tradition of the Roman Age come from Demetrius: Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, Lucian, Themistius, etc., generally with absence from the Augustana and inclusion in the other collections. Very specifically, the fable on the loquacity of men in Callimachus, *Iamb.* II and Philo; that of the man made of clay and tears by Prometheus in Themistius ("derivative" fable, Prometheus as creator is ancient, but nothing supports the idea that this fable is so too); that of the hunter and the dog in Phaedrus and Syntipas; that of the lion and the two bulls in Babrius, Aphthonius, Avianus, Syntipas and Themistius; that of the Indian or Ethiopian, whose master was unable to whiten him, in Themistius, Aphthonius, Lucian, etc.; that of the fox and the crane

[48] A previous article by L. Herrmann, "Quelques fables de Demétrius de Phalère", *AC* 19, 1950, pp. 5–11 is rightly criticized by Perry, "Demetrius", p. 323, as based on inadequate arguments.

[49] "Demetrius", p. 336.

[50] "Demetrius", pp. 315 ff.

or the stork in Plutarch and Phaedrus; that of the man who counted the waves in Lucian. In our opinion, these fables may or may not come from Demetrius, but what is clear is that Perry's arguments prove nothing.

We can say the same of his suspicions that other fables of Themistius or from the *Life of Aesop* come from Demetrius, for the simple reason that in these authors there are, indeed, some ancient fables, as we will see; and, particularly, the fables of Phaedrus that appear to come from a Greek original, that is to say, a very considerable number. The argument[51] that coming from a book called "Aesop" is the same as saying that they come from Demetrius could not be more wrong.

There are only two distinct cases in which Perry's argument deserves to be discussed, that is, when the fables in question have known Classical precedents or models and when some source relates them explicitly, in one way or another, to Demetrius.

In the first case, in which there is evidence of the fable in the Classical Age, sometimes in the 4th century, Perry says it is likely that it has reached a later date through Demetrius. The strange thing is that this argument, which is correct, has not been used for all the fables that are in these circumstances, but only for very few, which, except for one, are absent from Augustana; and that these few occur mixed with others without known Classical precedents and which are simply attributed to Demetrius because it is concluded that they come from a Greek source that, supposedly, can be none other than Demetrius.

The fables that Perry attributes to Demetrius' collection, arguing in the manner indicated, are the following, giving their number on our list on pp. 398 ff.:

26. "Dionysus and the Vine", an aetiological fable by Photius (and, previously, the *Life of Aesop*, Diogenes Laertius, etc.), coming from Panyasis and Eubulus. Cf. V. Grumel, "Une fable d'Esope dans Photius", *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves* 11, 1951, pp. 129–32.[52]

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[51] "Demetrius", p. 326.

[52] And Perry, "An Aesopic Fable in Photius", *BZ* 46, 1953, pp. 308–13 as well as *art. cit.*, pp. 294 ff.

24. "Apollo, the Muses and the Dryades", a fable from Himerius coming from Corinna. Cf. Perry, *art. cit.*, p. 303.

32. "Boreas and Helios", fable by Sophocles that became very widespread later, even appearing in the Augustana, and which appears in Themistius in a very changed form (*agon* of Persuasion and Violence). Some with special characteristics must be added:

"The He-goat and the Vineyard", a fable without a Classical tradition in Leonidas, *AP* IX 99, perhaps Sch. Ar., *Plu.* 1129, Ovid, *Fasti* I 354 ff., etc., but which Perry, *art. cit.*, pp. 322 f., states is likely to have come from the *Life* of Ahikar through the translation of Democritus and the work of Theophrastus on Ahikar.

"The Owl and the Birds", without a Classical tradition, but which Perry, like us, dates back to an earlier time than the version in the Augustana, based on the swallow; tentatively, to Demetrius.

"True and False Dreams", a fabulization in the *Life of Aesop* G 33 of a myth told by Euripides, *IT* 1259 ff.

The interest that these contributions by Perry may have is that he has studied the path from the ancient sources to the late fable in great detail, making the passage of the fables through Demetrius likely. For us it is particularly interesting that Demetrius reduced various myths—of the agonal or the aetiological type, moreover—to the fabulistic style. This mythical component of the collection of Demetrius has been well underlined by Perry. In our view it is important, on the other hand, to note that this is a very special fabulistic component and that Demetrius subjected his materials to a profound reworking.

If this contribution by Perry, though limited, is interesting, we do not believe it right, on the other hand, to attribute to Demetrius three fables to which ancient sources are supposedly attributed. We are not saying that they are or are not from Demetrius, we are simply saying that this is insufficiently proven.

To begin with, we must argue against the supposition that there is evidence of the conservation of Demetrius' collection in the 10th century AD and that the fable of "The Bitch and the Sow" (H. 251) is attributed to it. Perry,[53] of course with every precaution, considers it very likely, although not totally proven, that a letter from Stephanus to Aretas, in which he apologizes for not sending him a copy of an

[53] "Demetrius", pp. 288 ff.

ancient book earlier, implies that this book was the collection of Demetrius. Discussing the negative consequences of haste, Stephanus says: τὰς δὲ κύνας τυφλὰ τίκτειν ἐπειγομένας ἀφῆκας; τὸν δὲ Φαληρέα τοιαῦτα τίκτειν καὶ τὰ κριτήρια φάμενον εἴασας; he is clearly alluding to the proverb or belief according to which the bitch gives birth to blind puppies in her haste, and what follows is translated by Perry as "and have you been willing that the man of Phalerum should give birth to similar offspring?" Demetrius himself, the author of the book, would supposedly have said specifically how the products of haste are to be judged in the fable mentioned.

I think that Perry sees more here than the text actually contains. The passage needs to be interpreted on the basis of a χρεία by Demetrius that Perry himself gives below, taken from the *Gnomologium Vaticanum*: Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἔφη ὡς οἱ καθάπερ καὶ κύνες τυφλὰ τίκτουσι τὰ κριτήρια. It is to this χρεία, undoubtedly coming from the book dedicated to these, to which Stephanus refers, not to a fable. Today we know that it comes from Archilochus 478, 39 *S*. And it is clear to us that the translation of the passage by Stephanus is faulty: τὸν Φαληρέα is not the subject, φάμενον is left untranslated. The translation is, we think: "And have you left neglected the man of Phalerum, who said that (τοὺς θύμους, passion) gives birth to such criteria of judgement (faulty, of course)?"

There is no reference, then, to a fable, but to a χρεία that Demetrius presented in his collection, coming, as we have said, from Archilochus. Of course, fable H. 251 is possibly a development of this χρεία, a late development, on the model of fables of debate and with a structure very characteristic of fables deriving from a χρεία. And there is no trace of Demetrius' collection in the 10th century AD.

In the same way, there is no reason to attribute H. 226 (= Bab. 169 Cr.) "The Shepherd who Joked" to Demetrius, because the epimythium develops the theme that liars are not believed when they tell the truth and this theme is found in a χρεία sometimes attributed to Aesop (Maximus the Confessor) sometimes to Demetrius (Stobaeus).[54] The fables of Demetrius did not have epimythia, as we know. This fable may have been created starting from the χρεία in question, which undoubtedly figured among those in the collection of Demetrius attributed to Aesop. This is the most likely explanation.

[54] Cf. Perry, "Demetrius", pp. 292 f.

Finally, the fable by Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* XXXIII 16 "The Eyes and the Mouth", which develops the theme of honey, sweet to the mouth and harmful to the eyes, is undoubtedly related once again with a χρεία attributed to Demetrius by Maximus the Confessor.[55] The conclusion must be the same; that the fable is a late development starting from this χρεία.

That is to say, every time there is a reference to Demetrius in connection with a theme related to the fables, it leads us to a χρεία that has resulted, at a secondary stage, in a fable, in accordance with a very well-known procedure used by the late fabulists.[56]

To sum up, as we already stated earlier, Perry's work does not move us very far forward along the path towards the reconstruction of Demetrius' collection; it has, however, been advantageous to study and use it. He draws some negative conclusions, among others, that we must distinguish within Demetrius between fable and χρεία, and that we must distinguish particularly between fables of Demetrius and later fables. Nevertheless, in this article for the first time some proposals have been made on this terrain that may be considered valid. And his conclusion that the collection of Demetrius sometimes contained mythical, aetiological fables, sometimes λόγοι (agonal fables, as we would say) and that it was not very far removed from the Augustana, also as regards its brevity, are correct.

IV. *Contributions to an Inventory of Demetrius' Collection*

1. *Fables and Motifs from the Classical Age Present in the Collection*

If we re-examine our list of fables from the Classical Age in II 5, pp. 398 ff., it is easy to see that, among them, the following are without a tradition in the collections of the Hellenistic and Late Ages:

15 Sem. 9 "The Heron, the Hawk and the Eel".
21 Ib. 61 "The Ass and the Viper".
22 Sim. 9 "The Fisherman and the Octopus".
31 Soph., *Ai.* 1142 ff. "The Cowardly Captain".
36–44, various animalistic fables and anecdotes by Aristophanes.

[55] Cf. Perry, "Demetrius", p. 314.
[56] Cf. Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, I, p. 437 and above.

45 Pherecr. 117 K.-A. "The Man who Found a Golden Fish".
48 Herod. VI 86 "Glaucus".
52–55, various myth-fables invented by Plato.
58 Antisth. "The Lions and the Hares".
60 D. in Plut. "The Shadow of the Ass".
61 Arist., *HA* 619 a 17 ff. "The Eagle and the Man".
62 Arist., *Rhet.* II 20 "The Fox and the Hedgehog".

The absence of these fables may be due to various causes; sometimes, as we have indicated, to a mere accident of transmission, as in the case of "The Fox and the Hedgehog", whose epimythium with ἀτὰρ ὑμᾶς is certainly due to the very well-known one in the Augustana (cf. above, p. 446). The absence of fables by Antisthenes and Aristotle that appear in our report may be due to this same reason or to an oversight by Demetrius; the absence of fables by Semonides ("The Eagle and the Beetle" is present in the collection, however), Simonides and Ibycus, etc. is most probably due to his not having taken work by secondary authors of the choral lyric.

At other times the reasons may be different. A whole series of fables or anecdotes by Aristophanes are absent, including some that certainly would have been adopted by the Cynics if they had reached them, namely those of the χρεία type such as those of the Sybarite man and the Sybarite woman, the misogynous fable of Melanion, etc. It is clear that Demetrius tended to reject material of this nature and all personal anecdotes generally; only that of the fortune-teller Batusiades and that of Thales reached him; they entered the Augustana once the personal names were removed ("a fortune-teller", "an astrologer"). The abundant personal anecdotes of the Hellenistic and Roman fable are, I believe, late for the most part.

In the same way, the fables invented by Plato, almost all based on hypostasis and with a mythical-type structure, have been consciously rejected. They were not considered to be proper fables.

The aetiological fables not linked to the name of Aesop (or to those of Zeus and Prometheus), are also absent, as are those of the cicadas in Plato and the eagle's beak in Aristotle.

The influence of the theme has, moreover, I think, only been one of the factors. It is significant that all the fabulistic material by Hesiod reached the late fable, undoubtedly through Demetrius, although it was sometimes bordering on the myth, as did that by Archilochus, although in one case it was an anecdote. Certainly, the fables of

Hesiod sometimes arrived through versions that modified them (the myth of the creation in Protagoras, its modification with the intervention of Momus in Aristotle, *PA* 662 a 35, the myth of Virtue and Heracles in Prodicus). In any case, it is clear that for Demetrius some authors were especially fabulistic and deserved to be plundered in full; much more, undoubtedly, than we are aware in the case of Archilochus, whose work we only know in a very fragmentary manner.

The lyric writers and tragedians were plundered, it seems, in not such a complete manner, as their works are lengthy and fables not very abundant in them, some oversights, shall we say, may have occurred. Even so, there is quite a large amount of fabulistic material of this origin; undoubtedly, once again, much more than we, with our fragmentary knowledge, can identify. In the same way the plundering of prose writers such as Herodotus, Plato, the Sophists, the Socratics generally, is discontinuous. It seems the fabulistic style of these authors generally, which we have already discussed, influenced Demetrius more than their fables individually.

Leaving aside "duplications" (fables that are in Hesiod and a later author, although they are altered, or in Archilochus and a later author, etc.), we can establish the continuity in the tradition of a fable between the Classical and Late Ages, a continuity that involves their presence in Demetrius, in the case of thirty-six fables (numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 46, 47, 48, 49, 56, 57, 59, 63). We must add that of the he-goat and the vineyard in *Ahikar*, which undoubtedly passed through Democritus or Theophrastus. In total, then, 37 (and perhaps two more represented on vases).

It is interesting to indicate which of these fables crossed over to the collections—to the three main ones or to one of them, sometimes together with the secondary ones and/or the indirect tradition—and which did not. The following are absent from the collections: 4 (in the *Life*), 20 (in Aphthonius), 34 (in Himerius), 26 (in the *Life* and in the indirect trad.), 27 (in the *Life*). Two conclusions may be drawn from this: that the main collections, that is to say, their model (perhaps the one in verse form from the 3rd century before Christ, perhaps the prosified one from the 2nd century BC), eliminated certain fables from Demetrius at the same time as it added other material; and that the *Life* has direct access to Demetrius, independent, therefore, of the ancient model of the main collections.

These eliminations may be the product of chance, but may also

occasionally have a significance. Just as we saw that Demetrius was much less fond of the anecdote and the χρεία than his continuers, it seems that he conserved the myth more than these, although not that of the Platonic type. Very specifically, the myths of Apollo, the Muses and the Dryades and that of the eagle and the serpent appeared in him, myths without a comic or iambic point that were eliminated from the main collections (but the latter is in Aphthonius, who nevertheless seems to have known Demetrius' collection). Numbers 20 and 26, conserved in the *Life*, are also myths of this type. It is curious that in the Augustana and others there are myths of a religious type, which praise the power of the god that does not allow himself to be mocked or punishes the bad (cf., for example, H. 32, H. 279 and above, p. 457). They come from the current that moralized the fable in the 1st century BC. Undoubtedly, Demetrius did not find these myths in his model collection; they were most probably eliminated from the Cynic collection in verse form of the 3rd century BC, in connection with a certain Cynic current of religious criticism.

It is also interesting to indicate that, just as we suppose that many fables from the collections, though not proven by us to be from the Classical Age, did nevertheless belong to the collection of Demetrius (see below on this), there is all the more reason for us to suppose that the fables that did appear in the Classical Age, but not in the collections or not in the Late Age generally, might nevertheless have belonged to Demetrius' collection, and have been eliminated later. Thus, if the ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ἡμᾶς of the epimythia of the Augustana and others was inspired by a formula that appeared in the Aristotelian fable of the fox and the hedgehog (although, undoubtedly, also outside it), this model-fable is likely to have appeared in the collection of Demetrius.

Another different and certainly very important problem is that of to what extent Demetrius respected the original versions of the fables that he took from the Classical authors. We have already said that he rewrote them as prose and that he adopted a narrative style and a composition that we have attempted to characterize. But as it happens that a fable is transmitted to us through various sources, recovering its form and content in Demetrius forces us to perform some comparison and restoration work beforehand and a series of hypotheses on the age that the form thus reconstructed reached. We have already discussed this and have said that we were not going to

attempt the systematic reconstruction of the fables in their ancient versions here.

In any case, some elements are clear. When a fable such as that of the fisherman and the fish conserves an identical structure in H. 11 and in Bab. 7 (although the latter is clearly an "extended" version) to that of its model in Herodotus, that is, A/Bsit.-Aact.-Adir., it is clear that this was also the structure of the fable in Demetrius, who simply altered the vocabulary and the details, but not the structure or content. When the fables of Batusiades and Thales, cited above, were changed to refer simply to a fortune-teller and an astrologer (the latter also in *Tetr.* I 52), this undoubtedly comes from Demetrius. If certain very specific, allusive and obscure "closing statements" by Archilochus were replaced by other much more general ones in the whole late tradition (in our numbers 10, 13, 14), the person responsible was certainly Demetrius. On the other hand, 11 approximately conserves the closing statement by Archilochus, of a generic type.

There are occasions when we must suppose that Demetrius introduced a standardization of the Archaic or Classical fable, sometimes in the content, sometimes in the structure, sometimes in both at the same time. On p. 181 we discussed "The Hawk and the Nightingale", by Hesiod, our number 3, which receives (in H. 4, the only witness) a structure A/Bsit.-Bind./Adir, and a variation on the theme, inasmuch as the nightingale attempts to deceive the hawk. We discussed the simplification of the structure of "The Eagle and the Fox" on pp. 418 f. There is also an approximately corresponding standardization in all the versions of our number 28, "The Eagle and the Arrow".

Yet at other times these same standardizations offer problems. Number 9 "The Fox and the Monkey", by Archilochus, corresponds to two fables in the Augustana, H. 83 and H. 85; the original fable has, so to speak, been split into two much more governable and "normal" ones, without an exact correspondence outside the Augustana. We may wonder whether it was Demetrius, or one of his successors, who introduced the division. Another case is that of 29 "The Trees". Both H. 71 (to which Aphth. 36 is closely related) and H. 239 (to which Bab. 36 and Av. 16 are closely related) introduce the wind instead of the torrent; the theme undoubtedly dates back to Demetrius. But were the trees and the reed (H. 239) or the trees and the oak (other exemplars) the main characters of the fable in

Demetrius? Was his the standardization of H. 71 or the most typical one of H. 239? These are the problems.

On occasions matters are even more serious, such as when, in H. 211 (the only witness), the fable of the crab and the snake takes on a subject, a structure and, particularly, a meaning that are quite different; a joke on someone who criticizes another when he has a glass roof is followed by a recrimination against the false animal that does not cease being deceitful until it dies; this gives the impression that we are dealing with a secondary moralization.

Finally, we must emphasize that not only did Classical fables find a direct echo, so to speak, in certain fables from Demetrius, but they produced, by imitation, numerous derivative fables. See in our list, for example, the imitations of 14 "The Two Dogs" and the possible ones of 57 "The Sheep and the Dog". Sometimes we do not even have precisely the fable that continues the ancient one, but various imitations or modifications, as in the case of the theme of Prometheus the creator of men. Here the problem is to what extent these imitations were already in Demetrius or whether they were of later origin. This is something that needs to be studied on a case by case basis with the help of the criteria we have established. For example, various derivatives of 14, with their χρεία style and their accentuation of the advantages of freedom, though at the cost of a less comfortable life, have an undeniably Cynic air. As do various themes of Prometheus.

All these problems are raised again, but in sharper relief, with regard to the possible continuity in the late fable, by means of fabulizations, of non-fabulistic motifs of the Archaic and Classical Ages, such as those gathered together on our pp. 403 ff. We will now offer some considerations on this theme.

It does not seem that the study of our list on pp. 173 ff. is capable of increasing significantly the repertoire of the fables attributable to Demetrius' collection. This, leaving aside the fact that the Classical origin of various of the fables mentioned there is purely hypothetical.

Judging by the content and the form, various of the fables on that list are of Cynic origin, a fact that will be better understood after reading our Part III.

H. 26 "The Fisherman" is a human anecdote with dialogue between a "survenant" C and the fisherman (Bsit.-Bact.-Cind./Bdir.), of a type that was developed a great deal among the Cynics. Yet above all the content, which transforms a simile on how Cleon "fished"

muddying the water into a fable whose theme is that obtaining food comes before any other consideration, points in the same direction.

H. 60 "The Old Man and Death" is another human situation fable (Asit.-Bact./Cind.-Bdir.) which develops the Cynic theme in comic form, related to the previous one, of φιλοζωΐα or love of one's own life.

A religious critique, another Cynic theme, is found in H. 30 "The Shipwrecked Man", H. 91 "Hermes and Tiresias". The first is a situation fable that develops a proverb and has been imitated by Bab. 20, which proves that it was a popular theme; the scheme is B1B2 . . . sit.-B1act./B2ind./B3dir., quite anomalous within the situation fables. The same may be said of H. 91 (against prophecy, a Cynic theme, compare pp. 627 ff.): B1/B2sit.-B1ind./B2dir.-B1ind./B2dir. Religious criticism is also made in H. 96 "The Father and the Daughters", which seems to be the development of a proverb by Theognis and has a very complex scheme.

Other themes that we may describe as Cynic, in fables with a final χρεία, are in H. 130 "The Crow and the Serpent" (theme of the τύχη, H. 177 "The Fly" ("I have eaten, I have drunk and I have taken a bath. If I die, what do I care?", says the fly drowning in the soup), H. 178 "The Shipwrecked Man and the Sea" (theme of φύσις). The first has a more regular structure, the other two are situation fables: respectively, Bsit.-Bdir. and Bsit.-C-Bind.-Cdir.

The theme of φύσις or nature is also developed by H. 29 "The Coal Merchant and the Fuller" (a regular situation fable, B1B2sit.-B1ind./B2dir.) and by H. 259 "The Tortoise and the Eagle" (very anomalous situation fable: BCsit.-Bind./Cind.-Cact./-Bact.). A quite foolish fabulization of the theme of the swan that sings his most beautiful song before dying is found in H. 247, with a confused and anomalous structure devoted to the theme of καιρός or opportunity (to which Phaedrus dedicated a new fable, with hypostasis, V 8).

At other times the fables in question introduce a moralism which we can sometimes qualify as Cynic, sometimes as Stoic and which, in any event, is not proper to the ancient fable. These include H. 23 "The Cocks and the Partridge", against parricide, with a totally atypical structure; H. 35 "The Man and the Satyr", against duplicity, a situation fable with a very complex, anomalous structure; H. 209 "The Bird-catcher and the Stork", against those who allow the company of "the wicked", with a regular structure, moreover; Bab. 70 "War and Violence", an imitation of aetiological themes based on hypostasis.

The theme of H. 279, "The Father, the Son and the Painted Lion" with an anomalous situation structure (B1B2sit.-B1act. + dir. + act) is frankly religious, not Cynic but from later, that it is inevitable that oracles will be fulfilled.

These are almost always human situation fables, then, with structures that are frequently anomalous or of the "double" type, which are rare in the Classical Age. Taking a pretext from certain similes and, particularly, proverbs or χρεῖαι, they develop themes that in general are very far from the original ones; they also use myths. This gives the impression that the authors, Cynics and later ones, have been inspired by Classical motifs to develop their own themes. In any case, it is certain that—in most cases at least—these fables were already present in the Hellenistic collections; various of them are in Babrius or else in the indirect tradition (Lucian, Sextus Empiricus) or have been the object of imitation. Evidently, recourse to fabulizing proverbs and similes into human situation fables was very popular among the authors of Hellenistic, Cynic and later collections of fables.

Certain fables on the list not mentioned so far have greater probabilities of dating back to Demetrius Phalereus, such as that in the *Life* G 33 "True and False Dreams", an aetiology that is neither Cynic nor moralist that very closely follows a myth by Euripides;[57] we must also add what we have already said on the knowledge of the collection of Demetrius by the author of the *Life* and on the elimination of fables of this type by the Hellenistic collections. It is a simple story, as is suitable for aetiological fables. I also consider it likely that another myth that very closely follows the model of Herodotus, H. 214 "The Man who Received a Deposit and the Oath" belongs to Demetrius' collection; an extensive yet simple scheme has been conserved, with two *agones* of cunning and one of action, reminiscent of fables coming from Archilochus or that of "The Fox and the He-goat" (ABsit.-Bind./Aind-Bact./Adir.-Bact./Aact.-Bind./Adir.). Also, finally, H. 225 "The Shepherd and the Wolf Cubs", which follows very closely the simile in the *Agamemnon*, may be ancient in the collections; the "double" story has been transformed into a ternary one, finishing with the lament of the shepherd (ABsit.-Act.-Bdir.).

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[57] Cf. above, p. 405.

Only in a few cases, it seems, were lengthy stories (myths or similes) from ancient times, not proverbs or simple allusions, fabulized. In two cases, the resulting myths were eliminated, as were various others, from the collection of Demetrius; the other fable, that of the shepherd and the wolf cubs, was very much imitated. It has traditional structures and themes.

2. *Examples from Other Fables*

As we stated earlier, the attempt at reconstructing the inventory of the fables of Demetrius' collection with a certain degree of accuracy cannot be carried out other than within a broader framework, that of the study of all the fables transmitted from all the standpoints that we have indicated, a study that must lead to the establishment of the particular history of each of these. At this time, in which we have not yet studied the Hellenistic fable or its derivation into the subsequent collections, this study is impossible to carry out. As we have said, we will report on the known fables at the end of our Volume II, with indications of the history of each one.

In any event, below we will offer a few examples regarding the study that may be made of some fables that we have previously found to possibly be of ancient origin, on account of their content or for some other reason. To a large extent the negative approach, the absence of recent features of content or form, is used tacitly, in another we use it here.

We look first at fables that in our Chapter II 1 we considered as belonging to different types of fables—particularly from the standpoint of the content—that already existed in the Classical Age.

To some of these we will apply various tests regarding the presence or absence of metre, the structure and syntax, the formulas, the metrics, the content itself. It must be remembered that these tests do not usually have an absolute value, as the significance of their answers is confirmed by the correspondence of the results of various of them. All fables from Demetrius that crossed over to the anonymous collections must have been given the metre previously, but this is sometimes difficult to recognize and, on the other hand, the collections in verse form accepted new fables; the ancient compositional structures and formulas were sometimes imitated.

Let us look, firstly, at a few fables which in II 1 we considered as belonging to types with ancient content and topics, which a) show

clear traces of verse, b) have a regular compositional structure. With regard to the structure, I rely on the support of the Augustana, introducing the evidence of Babrius or others when it is necessary either as confirmation or to assist in reconstructing the ancient version.

H. 145 (= D.S. XIX 25.5, Bab. 98, Aphth. 7): "The Lion and the Farmer". The farmer succeeds with his cunning in making the lion pull out his teeth and claws and drives him away with a stick, scheme ABsit.-Aind. Bact.-Act. The version from Babrius, which has literal correspondences with the Augustana, has the same scheme, except that it has ind. instead of dir. and extends the whole scheme; the version in Aphthonius does not have these changes. The Augustana offers traditional formulas and syntax, in addition to remnants of verse: for example, λέων ἐρασθείς . . . ἐμνηστεύσατο ⏑ – ⏑ – – [– ⏑] – – – ⏑ ⏓ which gives an iambic trimetre replacing θυγατρὸς γεωργοῦ in the middle with παιδός (in Babrius) and eliminating ταύτην: λέων ἐρασθεὶς παιδὸς ἐμνηστεύσατο, following, undoubtedly, with παρὰ πατρός as in Babrius. Cf. also]τοὺς τ' ὀδόντας ἐξέλῃ,]τὴν κόρην δεδοικέναι (with an inversion).

H. 148 (= Bab. 97) "The Lion and the Bull". The clever bull discovers the deception in the invitation of the lion and mocks him, scheme ABsit.-Act./Bind.-Adir. (identical in Babrius). There are traces of verse, among others: δόλῳ περιγενέσθαι,] πρόβατον τεθυκέναι/ φήσας (or ἔφη) πρὸς ἑστίασιν,] εἰπὼν ἀπηλλάττετο,] οὐ μάτην τοῦτο,] ὁρῶ γὰρ παρασκευήν,] ταῦρον ἡτοιμασμένην: as we can see, there are choliambic and iambic endings.

H. 162 (= Av. 26, Synt. 44), "The Wolf and the Goat". The goat makes fun of the wolf, who invites her to come down from her peak with a pretext. Scheme: ABsit.-Bind./Adir. There are clear beginnings of verse: λύκος θεασάμενος [, μὴ καὶ πέσῃ λαθοῦσα [, ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη [. The version from Avianus (undoubtedly Babrian) introduces a lion instead of a wolf and direct instead of indirect style (the latter also in Syntipas).

H. 166 "The Wolf and the Sheep". Similar to the previous one, except that here the wolf asks for water, to which the sheep answers that what he wants is to eat her. This has no tradition outside of the Augustana, it is therefore perhaps an imitation of it (or of the lion and the fox in Archilochus), but the scheme is A/Bsit.-Bdir./Adir. (although with dir. instead of ind. in the first part of the *agon*) and there are clear metrical remnants.

H. 168 (= Bab. 132, Av. 42) "The Wolf and the Lamb". The

same theme: in spite of the words of the wolf, the lamb that has taken refuge in a temple prefers to be sacrificed in it to being devoured by the wolf. The scheme is once again ABsit.-Bind./Adir.; Babrius once again replaces ind. with dir. There are traces of verse.

H. 254 (= Bab. 177 Cr., Lib. 2) "The Tortoise and the Hare". The steadfastness of the hare wins through; it is a scheme A/Bsit.-Bact./Aact. (which Babrius expands introducing Bdir./Adir. in the middle). On the other hand, given the theme (praise of work), it is not impossible that it was introduced by the Cynics. The type is that of the competition, which conserves the original verse:] ὀξύτητος ἤριζον; there are other metrical traces.

On other occasions we find more complex original schemes, but which do not differ from those inherited (with certain modifications) from Archilochus, which we have already cited; they seem to offer a fair guarantee of antiquity. As in:

H. 2 (= Bab. 137, *Tetr.* I 55, Aphth. 19, Synt. 9) "The Eagle, the Rook and the Shepherd". The rook fails to imitate the eagle and falls victim to the shepherd, who makes fun of him: A/Bsit.-Bact./Cact.-Cdir. The shepherd acts as a "survenant" who makes fun of the defeated, as the fox does with the monkey in Archilochus. There are traces of verse at the start of the different parts of the fable, with very clear syntax and formulas: ἀετὸς καταπτάς [, καὶ δὴ καθεὶς ἑαυτόν [, ἕως ὁ ποιμὴν [, in the "closing statement" ὡς ἐγὼ σαφῶς οἶδα / κολοιός, ὡς δέ [and elsewhere.

H. 99 (= Rhet. Branc. 3) "The Kid and the Wolf". The wolf lets the kid escape by beginning to dance at the other's request; the theme of the animal dance is ancient. The verse is conserved in the initial formula ἔριφος ὑστερήσας and elsewhere. The scheme is A/Bsit.-Adir./Bact.-Bact./Cact.-Bdir. A third character—here the dogs—intervenes as does the fox in Archilochus.

At other times, on the other hand, the question of a fable belonging to the collection of Demetrius seems more doubtful, and this for various reasons.

One may lie in the very doubtful character of the verse. As in H. 6 "The Wild Goats and the Goatherd", H. 7 "The Cat and the Hens", H. 81 "The Cat and the Mice", with their correspondences in other collections. The themes and structures (respectively A/Bsit.-Aact./Bind.-Adir.; A/Bsit.-Bind./Adir., with dir. instead of ind. in Babrius; ABsit.-Bact./Adir.) are normal. However, as we have said, the verse is doubtful. And other problems are added; for instance,

fable H. 6 totally changes structure and intention in Bab. 45, we would therefore need to investigate which is the ancient version; H. 81 appears in contaminated form in Bab. 1 (but not in Phaedrus).

Clearly, the absence of verse is sometimes added to other negative arguments. H. 199 "The Ass and the Lionskin" is a very widespread theme, but it seem to imitate H. 157 "The Ass and the Lion" and, conclusively, the theme of the monkey dressed in a lionskin. Above all, leaving aside the fact that the version of the Augustana and that of Assend.T. 11 (published as Bab. 139) lack verse, despite their differences, they agree on the scheme of the situation: B1B2sit.-B2dir. in Augustana, Bsit.-Cdir. in T.Assend. Rather, it is a Cynic χρεία on the theme of nature. The same certainly has to be said of H. 244 "The Peacock and the Rook" (= Synt. 53), with a scheme Bsit.-Cdir. and with verse (theme of criticism of beauty).

The case of H. 103 is more complicated, with an abundant tradition from Philodemus (*Rh.* II, p. 685 S.) and Horace (*Epist.* I 3. 15); it is also found, among other sources, in the three main fabulists (Bab. 72, Ph. I 3). It is the fable of the rook and the birds, who rob him of his feathers. In spite of the formulas and the verse and a scheme that is to a certain extent regular (CB1act.-B1act./B2act.), the antiquity of the fable is doubtful. The themes of borrowed beauty and the competition organized by Zeus seem recent, from the Cynics; there is a derivation, of course, from the monkey disguised as a king. On the other hand, the relationship between the collections poses difficult problems, which have been studied by Nøjgaard[58] and to which we will need to return.

These are a few examples of the different possible cases, taken from especially favourable material, as is that of our Chapter II 1. If we now take the fables represented in the three main collections that we have listed above (p. 491 ff.) as perhaps coming from Demetrius, study of them leads us to comparable, mixed results.

H. 126 (= Bab. 77, Ph. I 13, Hor., *Sat.* II 5.55, etc.) "The Crow and the Fox" seems ancient; according to Crusius[59] it is on a Corinthian vase in the Berlin museum. The scheme is regular, Bsit.-Aind./Bact.-Aact.-dir.; there is at least one choliamb, which agrees with Babrius (in which, as is customary, there is dir. instead of ind.). Nevertheless, certain doubts remain; there is a certain Cynicization of the theme,

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[58] *Op. cit.*, II, p. 375.
[59] Cf. Perry, "Demetrius...", p. 327.

which, moreover, seems to derive from "The Dog that Carried a Piece of Meat". The relationship between the collections is complex, cf. Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 380 ff.

H. 9 (= Bab. 182 Cr., Ph. IV 9, etc.) "The Fox and the He-goat" also seems ancient. It is the theme of the deception that the latter animal suffers from the fox, who makes him go down the well into which he has fallen and then help him get out, leaving him at the bottom. The structure is extensive, but to a certain extent simple, all binary, and with two *agones* of deception and another with the victory of the fox: ABsit.-Bind./Aind.-Bact./Adir.-Bact./Aact.-Bind./Adir. It recalls certain Epodes by Archilochus that we have already seen, with action in various acts. If we add that there are clear traces of verse and that Babrius and Phaedrus reduce the fable, each in his own way (as in the case of "The Eagle and the Fox"), it seems clear that we have a pre-Classical fable conserved here. Cf. above, pp. 418 f.

On other occasions, however, these fables represented in the three collections are clearly late (something that, moreover, we have already indicated with other examples). Such as with H. 22 "The Fox and the Woodcutter", which, despite its having verse, has a totally anomalous structure; or H. 76 "The Stag and the Lion", a situation fable also with verse but very anomalous and which, on the other hand, presents serious problems with respect to what its ancient form was.[60]

This is not a definitive study, as we have said. Even so, it does show that, even if we eliminate the more suspicious negative features in advance or introduce similarities with the Classical fable or presumably favourable arguments such as an abundant tradition, it is not always guaranteed that a fable is of the Classical tradition and has been in the tradition of Demetrius. In quite a number of cases, a detailed study proves or makes it likely that this is not the case.

In any case, after all the above, Demetrius' collection has taken shape in a certain sense before us as regards its themes and the structure of its fables. Animals undoubtedly predominate in it and, within these fables, those with an agonal theme. Situation fables are rare, and among the agonal ones there is a tendency towards the types that we have called regular, conserving, however, some archaic ones with various binary *agones* or with the intervention of a "survenant" C. There were also myths, mainly aetiological, which were

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[60] Cf. Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 383 ff.

sometimes eliminated in the version in verse form. The length of fables, as far as we can tell, was average; certain Archaic fables necessarily had to retain a greater length, but most came to be of 10 or 12 lines. The short ones, whether situational or not, but finishing in a χρεία, in the style of the fable of the Cynics, must have been absent or very rare.

As regards the themes, we have already said that they came from a criterion of selection based on what was understood to be a fable in the 5th and 4th centuries, with its comic and critical aspect, its emphasis on nature, power, cunning. We have already seen in what direction this content was extended later through the introduction of various Cynic and moralist themes. There are, in certain sense, precedents of both in Demetrius, since these philosophies derive from Classical thought. The collection of Demetrius was, nevertheless, a compilation of fabulistic themes, more or less adapted, recreating as a new genre, in a certain sense, alongside the myth and the romance, what until then had appeared as mere loose exempla in very specific situations. From the exemplum-fable it was transformed into the fable of the collections. The foundations for the further transformation of this fable into a poetic genre, for its use serving the philosophies and schools, were from now on, certainly without Demetrius knowing it, definitively laid.

Supplement

As regards this Chapter VI "The Fable in the Collection of Demetrius", I do not think Perry's conclusions and my own have been modified subsequently. See N. HOLZBERG 1993, pp. 41 ff.

PART THREE

THE FABLE IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE

CHAPTER ONE

THE NEW PANORAMA OF THE FABLE

I. *General Overview*

1. *Ideas on the Fable in this Period*

If Demetrius Phalereus began the new genre of the fable of the collections and those of the Imperial Age known by us derive conclusively from him, we have seen throughout our study that the idea of a direct derivation is mistaken. From our Chapter 2, from previous articles that serve as the foundation and from material spread throughout the book, it can be seen that between Demetrius and the collections of the Imperial Age there was an entire ramification of Hellenistic collections of fables. This ramification can only be reconstructed to some degree by means of the comparison between the versions of a same fable in the various Imperial collections; we have offered examples of this comparison, sometimes our own, sometimes with reference to some by Nøjgaard.

Here we are presented with another example of how, in the history of the fable, it is not possible to study any of its different periods in a manner independent of the others. Only when we study the collections of the Imperial Age closely, in our Vol. II, will we approach to some degree the detailed study of this ramification.

In this Part we will attempt, however, to detail the more general lines of an evolution that, to a certain extent, we have already outlined. There is throughout the Hellenistic Age a movement that creates new fables or modifies the existing ones; from the little more than 100 fables of Demetrius there must have become 300 or 400 in the models of the Imperial collections, taking into account that not all those of Demetrius were retained, some were eliminated. This whole increase, as well as the corresponding evolution as regards themes, structures, formulas, etc., was carried out through a process with two fundamental steps: the creation of a collection of fables in verse derived from that of Demetrius; and the derivation, starting from same, of successive collections of semiprosified fables, added to

which were others drafted directly in prose that sometimes engendered new metrical versions. In this second phase the fables were sometimes provided with epimythia, sometimes with promythia; initially, only some, not all.

This whole movement is intimately related with the passage of the fable of the collections towards forming a Cynic genre, a further form of the *spoudaiogeloion*. And, in a second phase, towards forming a didactic, moralizing genre, with a strong Stoic influence, and moralist influence generally.

It is the general lines of this process that we will study here, without entering into the details of the different subcollections, which we will only be able to investigate later. It is appropriate, at the same time, to draw attention to the continuation of the existence of the ancient exemplum-fable alongside the fable of the collections; this may derive from the collections or, conversely, enter these, in a process that has not been studied until now.

This chapter attempts to place the general panorama of the fable of this period before the reader's eyes. We will do this first by listing some general characteristics that have already been stated earlier; accompanying them, later, with examples. Only later will we approach the problems of the versification and prosification of the fables, and also of their ideological components.

It is appropriate, first and foremost, to repeat that a complete solution to the problems of the Hellenistic fable of the collections would require the establishment of an inventory of the collections lost to us (a fragment of the Rylands Papyrus is almost all we have left) and of their relationships; it would then require an inventory or a catalogue of the fables of each one; later, a reconstruction of each fable in each collection, performed with the assistance of the comparative method. Needless to say, this it is a rather utopian programme, which we will only attempt to a degree in our Vol. II. Among other things, one fable may have produced two or three very differentiated variants, contained in various collections, whereas others may have been transmitted from some to others without significant variations, judging by the closeness of the versions of the Imperial Age.

It is a question, then, for the moment, of establishing general features. We can, at most, aspire to approach an inventory of the fables in verse form, paying attention to the conservation of remnants of verse in the Anonymous Fables (sometimes doubtful); and aspiring,

later, to approach an inventory of the subsequent fables in prose; these would be the Anonymous Fables that do not contain metrical remnants, plus all the others from the later collections insofar as it cannot be proven that they have been original creations of such and such a fabulist of the Imperial Age, particularly Phaedrus, the most original of all (but Babrius also introduces new fables, some Oriental).

Before undertaking our investigation, we will discuss the general features of the Hellenistic fable. We will indicate a series of points, for which we make reference to various passages in Parts I and II of our book. They refer to the total inventory, to the new fables, to characteristic structures and themes, sometimes in the new fables, sometimes in the ancient modified ones.

2. *For an Inventory of the Hellenistic Fable*

By putting together now all the fables that were used as models for the authors of the collections of the Imperial Age and for the prose writers of the Imperial Age who continued to use the exemplum-fable, we can aspire to make a catalogue of all the Hellenistic fables, both those inherited and those created then, both those in verse and those prosified or in prose, both the traditional and the Cynic or Stoic. The preparation of this inventory does of course require a prior examination of these collections, which means, once again, that we cannot tackle the problem in full here. It is easy, in any case, to establish the sources that should be used and the way in which it should be done. The following fables may be from the Hellenistic Age:

a) All those in the Augustana collection (and, of course, those of the Rylands Papyrus, which, moreover, are all in the Augustana). There are, according to Perry, 231 fables. We need to take into account, on occasions, the presence of fables in only one group of manuscripts, for example, in Ia; or the presence of two quite differentiated versions in two groups or, finally, the existence of repeated fables, with two variants. Cf. I 2, pp. 84 ff. and below, III 2, pp. 591 ff. If we gather together all these fables, they form a group of fables that at a given time lived in different collections.

b) Other fables from the Vindobonensis and Accursiana collections. To the small extent that fables that are not in the Augustana appear here, we must suppose that these come from the collections on which the Augustana itself was based; that is to say, from Hellenistic collections. The studies in existence to date, of which we make a

summary in I 2, establish that the collections in question (either their archetypes or certain particular manuscripts) had access to semiprosified fables from the very same tradition as those that were accessible to the Augustana. The exception is a few fables of the collection III δ which Hausrath publishes at the end of his edition of the Anonymous Fables and which either derive from the *Life of Aesop* or else are clearly Byzantine.

c) The fables of Phaedrus, insofar as they come from the previous tradition and have not been created by him freely or based on previous models. In a separate study already cited,[1] I calculated that the number of his possible "new" fables, inasmuch as they were only known by him, was 65. There were 164 ancient ones; I report on both. Although in this and in other cases the fact that a fable is only in one author is not a decisive criterion for considering it recent, cf. above, p. 469; reasons of form and content must be added. The Phaedrian tradition, for its part, may contain Hellenistic fables only conserved there, cf. I 2, p. 127 (and Table I below).

It is indeed clear that some of the fables only known through Phaedrus or from the Phaedrian tradition may come from his sources, that is, they may be Hellenistic; for example, the case of I 19 *Canis parturiens*, is noteworthy; this was only known through Phaedrus and Justinus and its Greek version, more or less closely related, has now appeared (*PColon.* 2.64.1–8, published in 1978). At other times, they will be original, but developing ancient motifs. In our work cited above we offered a brief report on fables known only from Phaedrus and which we have reasons (relationship with fables of the Augustana, in particular) to consider from the ancient tradition. At other times, certain fables are in Phaedrus and Babrius or in Phaedrus and another independent source, particularly Plutarch, and it is likely that they are also of Hellenistic origin. We give a report of these in Table II.

d) With the same reservations, the fables of Babrius and the Babrian tradition. Since this tradition already comes about in the Imperial Age in various ramifications, which moreover, have barely been established till now, it is not at all easy to see, when there are duplications and variants of the same fable (cf. I 2, pp. 84 ff.), which is the ancient one or whether there are various. A total inventory of the Babrian tradition does not solve this problem; a detailed study is needed, which we will attempt in Vol. II. Another problem, which

[1] "Fedro y sus fuentes", *cit.*

we will study in this volume, is that of whether the Babrian tradition derives from the prosaic versifications (prosified or original) from which the Anonymous Fables come or else directly from the prior metrical versions; depending on what the solution is to this problem, those added to the Anonymous Fables coming from this tradition will date back to one date or the other.

At the end of the chapter (Table III) we report on fables of Babrius and the Babrian tradition that are absent from that of the Anonymous Fables. In addition to Babrius and choliambic fables generally, we refer only (with two exceptions) to the paraphrases as edited by Crusius; it is clear that a new edition of these and of the Byzantine dodecasyllables will add new material, which is mostly present, but in a rather chaotic manner, in Chambry. We eliminate the fables common to Babrius and Phaedrus, already given.

In the whole long list of Babrian fables that are absent from the Anonymous Fables there is, clearly, ancient material; we need only mention fables, such as Bab. 58 "Zeus and a Barrel of Goods", 95 "The Stag, the Lion and the Fox", 128 "The Sheep and the Shepherd" or 181 Cr. "The He-goat and the Vineyard", which are in the Classical tradition, as we have seen, but not in the Anonymous Fables. On occasions the agreement between Babrius and the indirect tradition (apart from Babrius-Phaedrus) makes the ancient origin equally likely. In other cases, the comparison with the book of Ahikar or with Neo-Babylonian fables (the case of 84 "The Mosquito and the Bull", cf. p. 363) certifies that Babrius was inspired by material from the Oriental fable that was probably already present in Demetrius.[2] The problem lies in separating all this material from that which is specifically Babrian, if there is any. This is, as we have said, a question that is deferred for the moment.

e) Various fables in other collections. In the collections of fables that—besides the three main ones and their traditions in a broad sense—we have studied briefly in Chapter I 2, we find, although rarely, some fables that are only proper to these (or to more than one of them, but not the Anonymous Fables, Phaedrus, Babrius and their traditions). I refer specifically to the collections of the Pseudo-Dositheus, Aphthonius, Avianus, the Codex Brancaccianus, Syntipas and Ignatius the Deacon (*Tetr.*). The fables that are found in these

[2] Cf. B. E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus*, *cit.*, p. LX.

circumstances may, of course, either come from the Hellenistic Age or be original to the collections in question; the first hypothesis is more likely when a fable is in more than one collection, without having crossed over from one to the other; or else when it appears at the proper time in the indirect tradition. We must study these collections and their relationships with the others in depth—in I 2 we only offer some indications—to be able to proceed on this terrain with greater knowledge. We restrict ourselves, then, to reporting on the fables that are found in these circumstances, without deciding whether they are of Hellenistic or later origin (Table IV).

f) Fables which appear in the indirect tradition of the Hellenistic Age. Irrespective of whether the new tradition of the fable of the collections was created in the Hellenistic Age, the ancient tradition of the exemplum-fable continued. And, within this, there continued that of the exemplum-fable in iambic poetry: Callimachus, Cercidas, the Pseudo-Callisthenes, Ennius, Lucilius, Plautus, Terence, Horace; and also that of the exemplum-fable in prose. Counting approximately up to the change of era, we cite: Varro, Diodorus, Cicero, Conon, Livy. The other epigrammatist poets in the *AP* must be added: Catullus, Theocritus, Nicander. It is, to sum up, the same tradition as before, only now the problem arises of to what extent the Hellenistic exemplum-fable is influenced by the fable of the collections, or vice versa.

These exemplum-fables are to a large extent the same ones we have cited from the Classical Age, which also crossed over into the collections. We have already mentioned various of these; in Table V we offer a more complete report.

g) Fables that appear in the indirect tradition of the Later Age. It is not appropriate to give a complete report on the exemplum-fable of the Imperial Age in this volume. Yet it is appropriate to repeat here that in these there is the same problem as always, namely that they may come from the Hellenistic tradition or be of later origin. This problem is resolved in support of the first possibility when the fable in question is at the same time in the collections or in some way reveals a tradition making it date back to earlier. In the fables that appear in various authors without their seeming to have borrowed from each other, this is also the most likely hypothesis. Cf. for example, "The Eyes and the Mouth" in D. Chr. 33.16, attributed as a χρεία to Demetrius Phalereus by Maximus the Confessor, Migne, *PG* 91.817 (known by Stob. III 13.41 and Plu. *Mor.* 59 d),

cf. on this above, p. 483; "Prometheus Modelling Man" in Them., *Or.* 32.359 d, Suet., *Tib.* 57; "The Ass" in Luc., *Macr.* 21, Val. Max. 9.12, D.L. VII 185.

In the case of certain authors, there are biases in favour of the Hellenistic origin. This is the case of the author of the *Vita Aesopi*, who, as we have already said (cf. p. 485) presented various fables coming from Demetrius; the story of how the Delphians hid a golden goblet and, very probably, all his fables in Aesop's luggage must undoubtedly have come from him (cf. also Luc., *As.* 41.5), cf. below III 4. Perry says something similar on Plutarch, who, as we have seen, shares with Phaedrus various fables that only appear in them.[3] We might add that it is the only exemplar for "The Satyr and the Fire" (*Mor.* 86 e–f), which we have proposed as coming from Aeschylus, that is to say, that it is ancient. The various allusions to fables in the *Ass* by Lucian and in other works of his come, I believe, from the ancient Cynic tradition. Of course, single exemplars of a fable in the Imperial Age can date back to ancient times, as in the case of "The Ass and the Viper", only in Aelian, *NA* VI 51, which, as we know, comes from Ibycus. At other times in similar cases doubts will remain as to the antiquity of the fable, doubts that we must attempt to resolve with the criteria of content and form that we have already mentioned.

As we can see, for the moment it is not possible to offer a complete inventory of the fable of the Hellenistic collections. What is clear is that they contained a body of very important fables, undoubtedly between 300 and 400; if on one hand these continued ancient themes and structures, on the other they introduced innovations to both aspects. We will study these innovations in this chapter, since insofar as the Hellenistic fable continues the ancient one, we have already devoted attention to it in the previous chapters. We have even stated that new fables may have been created, but from themes and structures similar to the standard one that we have attributed to Demetrius. When we find fables of these types in the collections or the indirect tradition, it is not easy, or it is not possible, to decide whether we are dealing with ancient fables of which we had no evidence until now or whether these are new creations based on the ancient models.

On the other hand, even within the production of Phaedrus and

[3] "Demetrius", p. 321.

Babrius (and, to a lesser extent, of the other collections and the indirect tradition of the Imperial Age) that can be considered "new" with a greater or lesser degree of certainty, it is clear that the new traditions of the fable in the Hellenistic Age had a major influence. In spite of differences, which we will study in Vol. II and which place a different emphasis depending on the different authors and collections, there is a certain uniformity throughout the ancient post-Classical fable as regards its themes and its structures. In the two chapters that follow, starting with the themes and structures that we consider most proper to the Hellenistic Age, we will look for these in the different collections and authors, though there is a certain risk of a vicious circle in this procedure. Of course, we will need to discard or consider with special caution the fables that—sometimes on account of their tradition, sometimes their theme, sometimes their structure—prove excessively anomalous. And we will need, in any case, to attempt to separate, within the Hellenistic Age itself, chronological strata and collections of different periods and different lines of ramification. Within, of course, the rather modest limits from which it is impossible for us to escape for the moment.

We offered earlier, on the subject of all this, a series of considerations in our "state of the question" in Chap. I 2, which it is appropriate to recall here. On one hand, our Augustana was supplemented with different fables or variants on fables that ended up in the Vindobonensis and the Accursiana—not to mention the other collections—coming from the Hellenistic model of the former; on the other hand, our Augustana sometimes collected together heterogeneous materials. It is, on the other hand, a collection into whose history many alterations were introduced and whose text in our editions is, in short, purely artificial, as it subsumes texts of manuscripts and groups of manuscripts mirroring the text of the ancient, lost Augustana, with variable degrees of faithfulness.

We have shown, on the other hand, that the lost "ancient Augustana" is the model for Phaedrus and presents a different line from the one that ended up in the Rylands Papyrus; and that Babrius and the Babrian tradition very probably come not from these lines, but from a previous model, in verse; we will see that it is possibly the same one that underlies the Augustana. In the next chapter we will see the conclusions that may be drawn from these facts and others (duplicated fables, etc.) for the study of the ramification of the collections of fables after Demetrius.

Thus, when we talk of an inventory of the Hellenistic fable, we emphasize that we are referring to a "diasystem", a sum of heterogeneous elements that later ended up sometimes in different collections, sometimes in the same ones; sometimes they remained more or less unaltered, sometimes they evolved more.

3. *On the New Hellenistic Fable*

It is certainly necessary to separate the fables of the Hellenistic collections from those created by their imitators or derivations in the Imperial Age. In Phaedrus, particularly, it is quite simple to separate a series of fables with a specifically Roman setting and theme as originals of his; at other times it is less so because, even if the fable is new, it continues the themes and structures of the ancient fables. Thus, when discussing the new Hellenistic fables, we are generally referring rather to the new fables subsequent to Demetrius, of which the majority are clearly from the Hellenistic Age. What the authors of the Imperial collections did was, fundamentally, to choose from among the samples of existing fables and create others imitating one or the other sector of said set of samples.

To begin with, it is clear that a continuity exists within the "fable" genre, a continuity that facilitates an approximate definition of same, such as the one we carried out in I 1. The distinguishing between a central, agonal type and another marginal, aetiological type was continued; the tendency was for the fable to refer to concrete, fictitious, animal events, and only exceptionally was there a departure from these rules. Now, anomalous fables such as those studied in I 1, pp. 37 ff.—from the Hellenistic Age, since they are in the Augustana—did not meet these requirements, rather, they were generic stories of Natural History, jokes, etc. which only as a second consideration, by means of the adaptation of a rather arbitrary epimythium, were converted into fables proper. We must admit, then, a major tendency towards the expansion of the fable in the Hellenistic Age, with a return, in the collections in prose of the 1st century BC, to the concept of the fable as a story that must necessarily have an exemplary conclusion (directly or in sarcastic form).

Leaving aside the most anomalous type, which we have already discussed, the fable continued to conserve, roughly speaking, the ancient features. Very specifically, in all the seven types of ancient, animalistic fables described in Chap. II 1, we see that fables existed

that could be both from the Classical Age and from the Hellenistic Age; and sometimes, more probably, from the Hellenistic Age. In this study it was clearly seen, moreover, that some types were preferred at the expense of others. For example, the situation fable in which somebody complains of their misfortune (type 7) proliferated; also type 2 (that of the powerful defeated, but generally adding to it the theme of the cunning of the weak); and 4 (criticism of boasting), which produces a series of fables against those who go against nature and serve false values. That is to say, there is a continuity, but also an evolution. Starting from the Classical types that highlight the value of ingenuity compared with brute force, but also the reality of the abuses of the powerful, others are created, fundamentally along the same lines, but emphasizing the themes of power, ingenuity, nature; this is the Cynic fable, derived, in short, from the ancient fable. The theme of ingenuity and deception, type 5, is constant; that of the weak who suffer abuse, at this time usually provides fables in which, although without success, they attempt to survive with their ingenuity.

There is, we repeat, a derivation from the previous types, but focusing the themes on motifs that we have described as Cynic and moralist and that we will see in greater detail in III 3. We have seen that new animals are introduced—the fly, the flea, the tortoise, the frog, etc.—to serve these new conceptions.

The same needs to be said of the human anecdote, with the addition that its frequency increases enormously. As we have said, from among these, only the fables of the fortune-teller and the astrologer are of Classical origin. With these exceptions, Demetrius seems to have tended to discard the anecdote. Another exception is that of the limited number of fables narrated in the second grade, relating an anecdote concerning Aesop or Demades; in Phaedrus these also appear (original or not) referring to Socrates, Simonides, etc. Now, the comparison of the Imperial collections or the mere examination of the Augustana shows that the Hellenistic collections reintroduced the purely human fable on a large scale. The farmer, the sailor, the walker, the doctor and many other characters are presented to us with the greatest frequency. Sometimes they are human fables proper, at others men and animals play a part in them; this model, as we know, was ancient. Both are especially frequent in the situation type, which finishes with a χρεία, the "closing statement" by the character who speaks.

We have already discussed the mythical fable, or that with the intervention of gods, in the previous chapter. We detect a decrease in the number of these fables after Demetrius; various ones that appeared in his work were eliminated by the collections. There was the introduction, on the other hand, of a few fables of religious criticism in which, however, it is the superstitious men or those of false piety that are the most criticized. The fable of "The Fortune-teller" was already a precedent, to which later fables must be added: consider others such as H. 56 "The Magician Woman", H. 112 "The Hero", H. 227 "The Walker and the Crow" and fables from Phaedrus such as III 3 and *App.* 8, from Babrius, such as 2 and 48. However, we will see (cf. p. 640) that there is a new layer of religious fables, which accentuate the idea of the power of the gods who punish the wicked. The ancient theme of Zeus and Prometheus as creators of men gave rise to a series of fables touching the theme of nature, that of divine providence and that of the unjust criticisms of men and animals against the gods.

The content of the new Hellenistic fable, inasmuch as it was different from that of the Classical fable, will be studied in III 3, and we have already offered some considerations on this, referring to the intention of the fable, to its objective. But we will find the themes as such, the points of departure for the creation, either in the imitation of Classical models, with varying degrees of modification, as we have just stated, or in the creation of new fables, sometimes starting from the related genres, sometimes from the anecdote and the χρεία, sometimes from the derivation. We will now offer some considerations on all this.

a) *Fables Derived from Related Genres*

If we recall, already in I 1, when discussing the anomalous fables, and in II 2, when discussing the animal fable in its original context, we referred to genres related to the fable but which are not properly fabulistic, which produced fables in a given moment. Since precisely on account of the original connections of these genres with the fable, connections that sometimes make it difficult to see when we are dealing with a fable and when with a proverb, simile, enigma, etc., it may have been the case that in a secondary phase, in the Hellenistic Age, fables were created starting from proverbs, similes, enigmas, historical stories, myths, etc.

In our report in I 1 we gave a number of examples of this process

of fabulization of jokes, anecdotes, enigmas, stories of Natural History and myths; we do not think it necessary to repeat these. And in II 1, pp. 88 ff. we indicated the relationship between various of these genres and fables, sometimes from the Classical Age, sometimes from the collections, adding data on the proverb, with specific reference to fables such as H. 15, H. 30, H. 140, H. 155, H. 267, H. 126; these were sometimes fabulizations of proverbs, at others, equivalent to developed proverbs, at others still, the source of proverbs. We refer the reader to this section, and also to Nøjgaard, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 437 ff.

The conversion of all these different materials into fables, in the sense of the single, fictitious action with a conclusion, is characteristic of the Hellenistic Age, although we have said that sometimes the fabulization is incomplete, and is only finished with the application of the epimythium. In this context we also have to make reference to another place, that is, our Chap. II 5, pp. 403 ff. and II 6, pp. 482 f.,[4] in which we discussed Hellenistic fabulizations of ancient themes, similes and proverbs in particular. This is an especially favourable case, because we have before us the two phases, that of the process and that of its chronology. We also see how those new fables, mentioned there, were generally used to serve the new intentions of the Cynic and moralist fable.

b) *Fables Derived from Anecdotes and χρεῖαι*

The χρεία or "bon mot" is not new, but in the Hellenistic Age there were the first attempts to collect these, by Demetrius Phalereus, the Cynics and others. We have seen that from the Classical Age they appear together with a short anecdote, as in Aristophanes; it provides the "closing statement" for short situation fables, more rarely agonal ones, a "closing statement" by the victim or the victor or a "survenant" C. We have also seen that in Demetrius this type tended to decrease significantly. But we also know that it is especially common in the Hellenistic fable, almost always in very short fables, of the situation type, finishing either with the lament of the defeated or with their taunting by the victor or the "survenant". In fact, within the Hellenistic collections and those derived from them (very notably, that of Babrius), this type of fable constitutes a true subgenre, on account of its structure and content.

The anecdote can be human: for example, the old man calls Death

[4] Cf. also "Prolegómenos ...", pp. 44 ff.

and when he arrives and asks what he wants, he answers: "Help me carry my bundle of firewood" (H. 60). Or animal: the swallow, whose chicks have been devoured by the snake, complains about her misfortune in court (H. 255). Or else animal and human, or with an inanimate character at the same time: the oxen, on hearing the axle screech, say that those who bear the whole weight do not screech (H. 45); the dog says to the walker, who urges him to get ready for the journey, "I have everything, it is you who are delaying" (Bab. 110). Or vegetable: the walnut tree that is being pelted by stones complains of its misfortune (H. 141). Or gods also intervene, (cf. H. 112 "The Hero").

The anecdotes are anonymous, referring to "a" man, "a" widow, etc.; and of course, as always, to animals, plants, etc., generally. We have seen that Classical anecdotes lost their own names when they crossed over into Demetrius' work. It is significant that the different types of fables unify definitively into this sub-genre, serving very homogeneous schemes and conclusions.

c) *Fables Derived from Fables*

We are not referring here, as we did at the beginning, to the fact that certain types of fables produce new fables with new actions and, possibly, new animals. We are referring to the fact that fables that we know or conjecture to be Classical, depending on the case, have produced other new ones, by the combination of new motifs serving ideas that are sometimes the same, sometimes different.

Clearly, the derivation of a fable starting from another is a phenomenon that must have taken place from the oldest times and it is not always easy or possible to date the process; not to mention the fact that the presence of the same motif in two ancient fables does not enable us to find out whether there is derivation from one to the other or vice versa, or whether the hypothesis is not necessary. Thus, H. 199 "The Ass and the Lionskin" presents the ass who, dressed in a lionskin, is about to deceive the lion, but his bray betrays his deception. There is no evidence of this fable in ancient times, but it may have existed then. In that case, is it to be considered an original fable or a derivation from the theme of the monkey disguised with a lionskin, which continues to be a monkey, the theme from Archilochus? Or is it to be considered a Hellenistic derivation of this same fable? Do H. 44 "The Frogs Asking for a King" and H. 190 "The Ass and the Gardener" derive from "The

Fox and the Hedgehog", in Aristotle? There are many questions of this type that can be formulated.

However, there is a definite presence in our collections of a great number of derivative fables, though the details are frequently obscure. In our Appendix to Vol. II, we will give details on derivations, together with other details on each fable. And in this same chapter we will offer a small list of derivative fables. Let us look at some examples now.

Fr. 239 A. by Archilochus, "how was your skin pulled off?" comes from the fable of the guard dog and the vagabond: the former eats better, but lacks freedom. H. 294 (III δ) "The Wolf and the Dog", seems to derive from here; it amounts to the same thing, except that here it is the wolf who says to the dog: "I prefer hunger to the collar", a Cynic theme; H. 194 "The Wild Ass" is also very similar. Now, H. 94 "The Two Dogs", must have the same source, but the theme changes (cf. also H. 209 (Ia) "The Field Pigeons and the Tame Ones"): the hunting dog criticizes the house dog for living on the work (πόνος) of others and devoting himself to τρυφή (this is also a Cynic theme); and the former blames the master, that is to say, the theme is nature. This theme is also dealt with, for example, in H. 225 "The Shepherd and the Wolf Cubs", which develops the theme "nature does not change", taking this from the simile of Helen and the lion in Aeschylus. It can be seen from these examples that the Cynic fable derives from fables and motifs from the Classical Age.

The derivations from Archilochus, *Ep.* VII, = H. 14 "The Fox and the Monkey", in which the fox laughs at the noble aspirations of the monkey, are curious. In H. 75 "The Dolphin and the Monkey" the theme has been corrupted by that of the dolphin as lifesaver: he throws the monkey in the water; the latter is supposedly from a good Athenian family, until he assures the dolphin that Piraeus is a friend of his. The presence in the fable (as in H. 93) of the "dogs of Malta", with which Diogenes compares himself,[5] creates the suspicion of a Cynic intervention; the setting, in any event, is Athenian.

Let us look at some final examples, among many that could be used,[6] regarding "The Fox and the Lion", the fable that tells how the fox refuses to enter the old lion's cave "because he saw many

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[5] Cf. D.L. VI 55 and *PRainer* (in Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemus*, reprint, Amsterdam, 1965, p. 49 and ff.) 2.1.

[6] Cf. again "Prolegómenos...", pp. 42 ff.

traces of animals that had entered, none of any that had come out" (cf. Archilochus, *Ep.* IV = H. 147). This is a fable with a long tradition; after Archilochus, it appears in Plato, *Alc.* I 123a, later in all the fabulists except for Phaedrus, and in Lucilius, Horace, Seneca, Plutarch and Themistius. The version in the Augustana reveals iambic trimetres and many remnants of formulas. Without discussing the most superficial variants, among others, we will indicate the following:

a) In the Augustana itself we find a fable, H. 10 "The Fox and the Lion", which tells how the fox is scared, on seeing the lion for the first time, but then gets used to him and plucks up the courage to speak to him. This is a theme developed starting from the basic fable, that of "people can get used to anything". Now, in H. 220 "The Rich Man and the Tanner" we find the same theme developed, but now in a Cynic setting. Cf. Also H. 210.

b) In Phaedrus 21 we find the old, sick lion in his cave, who is bitten, butted and reviled by the animals and who suffers especially from the kicks from the ass; the intention of the fable (perhaps original to Phaedrus) has totally changed.

c) But this is not all; the theme of the lion's cave gives rise to new descendants. In Phaedrus IV 14 the lion is in his cave and, as king of the animals, wishes to be just, yet he asks them questions and, whatever they answer, he eats them, even the monkey, who is the cleverest (new theme); the lion pretends to be sick and tells the doctors that he wishes to eat monkey meat. The theme is traditional, but now it is clear that if the king is wicked, whatever he promises he will continue to be so (certainly an original theme from Phaedrus).

d) In Babrius 107 we continue to find the lion in his cave, where he is now accompanied by the fox and the monkey, who shares out the spoils from the hunt. The monkey is liberal with the animals that arrive, but at the expense of the fox, who is left without food. When he complains, the lion blames the monkey. That is to say, the master and his servant are always right, they make themselves likeable at the expense of others, but never to their own detriment.

Thus, new shades and changes of topic constantly produce new fables. Cf. p. 71 on "The Owl and the Birds" and its derivation "The Swallow and the Birds".

It may also be the case that the characters are totally changed without this changing the intention of the fable; for instance, in Babrius 107, in which we find the weasel instead of the lion and the mice instead of the fox. Other similar ones are H. 140 "The

Bull and the Mosquito", H. 155 "The Lion and the Mouse", H. 267 "The Lion and the Mosquito", etc.

The procedures whereby new fables are created are numerous, as we can see; this may either be by the authors of the first Cynic collections, or by the various prosifiers, or by the authors of the later collections. At the same time, there is both continuity and innovation.

4. *Features Proper to the Hellenistic Fables*

With the same reservations as always and leaving the detailed study of the form and content of the fables for the two next chapters, we will offer here a general panorama, fundamentally bringing together elements already stated earlier, since the study of the fables in one age necessarily involves that of the previous and following ages.

We recall, to begin with, everything regarding promythia and epimythia, which was already explained, as far as possible, in II 6. And also regarding the versifications and prosifications of fables, with the new fables in prose included together with these. To sum up, the Hellenistic fables of the first period were fables in trimetres or choliambs (or the two mixed together, as we will see) without an epimythium (or a promythium, of course); I think that not even the few fables coming from the narrations in the "second grade" by Demetrius had them. And the fables of the collections of the 1st century BC were semiprosified or prosaic, sometimes having epimythia, sometimes promythia. We do not need to repeat this; we do no more than recall it. Nor do we repeat the range of Cynic, Stoic and moralist themes, which will be studied in greater detail in III 3 and which we have already mentioned in II 1. In any event, it is important to point out that there were imperceptible links between the range of themes of the Classical fable (the theme that nature does not change, the "comic" victory of the weak, social criticism) and that of the Hellenistic fable; within this, between those of the different schools of thought. We have also pointed out that the range of themes and intentions of the new fable were applied not only to the newly created fable, but also to the "derivative" fables, and even to the ancient fables, which could be modified. We have indicated, for example, on p. 170 how H. 9 "The Fox and the He-goat" was adapted to fit Cynic motifs; H. 14 "The Fox and the Monkey" makes the final answer of the fox, who does not believe in the nobility of the ape, clearer and more explicit. Already before there had been

adaptations of the ancient fables to the characteristics of Demetrius' collection, as we have explained.

Other characteristics proper to the Hellenistic fables refer to the social and human landscape that they mirror. And not only with regard to the geographical setting; fables with an Athenian theme (H. 5, 30, 63, 75, various from Phaedrus and Babrius), others with an Egyptian theme or from the Hellenistic world generally (H. 20, 32, 231, 33, Synt. 41, Bab. 8, 57, etc.), fables, in Phaedrus, of the Roman world. We must observe that the Oriental divinities do not intervene in the fables (in contrast with the *Life of Aesop*) and that all references are, practically, to the Greek and Roman world. But it is important to observe the social panorama reflected by their human characters, who, as we have said, mostly appear in recent fables. In them we find travellers, sailors and merchants, masters and slaves, doctors, fortune-tellers, athletes and magicians, gardeners, cart drivers, farmers, soldiers, shepherds, hunters, fishermen, fullers, coal merchants, bandits, sawyers and potters, rhetoricians and philosophers (including Diogenes and Aesop himself), the poor and the rich: a whole motley world that would easily allow a description to be made of the new social stage on which the fable moved. We have already said that the new animals that take part for the most part represent the Cynics, who were loud-mouthed and incisive like the frog or the mosquito; or the world of kings and tyrants. A series of abstractions such as Fortune, Truth, Shame, Religion, are also presented to us by the new setting. And, from among the gods, in addition to Zeus and Prometheus, Hermes, Momus, Aphrodite and Heracles, in particular, are added. It is not the great Olympian gods, with one or two exceptions, who are the favourites.

Matters relating to the structure of the fable are also important. We have said that in Demetrius the types we have called "regular" predominated, preserved approximately intact in the Augustana and often undergoing certain alterations in Phaedrus and Babrius, together with which both the "situation" type and the archaic type based on various binary *agones*, occasionally with a change of character, must have been rare. The fables of "regular" type, more or less modified, now represent an significant proportion, but in a somewhat dominant form.

Together with these are, on one hand, the situation fables, almost always finishing in χρεία, as we have seen. As we have said, this is a particular sub-type of the fable that was very widespread in the

first collections in verse, since they often present metrical remnants revealing the existence of fables with four verses. As well as the fact that they appear prosified in the Augustana, with the "closing statement" being the last verse or part of the last verse, they are common in Babrius and have provided the model for the Byzantine tetrastichs of Ignatius the Deacon.

On the other hand, there are extended fables with varying degrees of anomaly, to which we have referred in II 6, pp. 436 ff.; fables with multiple acts based on direct speeches or with ternary scenes or with various structures corrupted by or confused with others, of the myth or the romance type. There are, in fact, degrees; and at the moment there is no decisive study which isolates these anomalous Hellenistic fables from those that must be attributed conclusively to Babrius and Phaedrus. Long fables are common in these two authors, together with the short fables to which we have referred before; these long fables have a lax structure, and probably originate from these two authors themselves. In Babrius, specifically, the differences in composition and style are considerable and have been observed many times, cf. for example Nøjgaard, work cited, II, pp. 316 ff.

It is significant that these fables are rare in the Augustana, in which, on the other hand, they are distinguished also by the peculiarity of their formulas, whereas they are much more common in Babrius and, particularly, in Phaedrus. This seems to indicate that the complex type of fable, from the epic, mythical or romance-like model, however we wish to call it, originated (or was renovated) at the end of the evolution of the Hellenistic fable, in the 1st century BC, and acquired its true development later, in the fabulists of the Empire. This is a new argument to support the original Phaedrian character of fables such as, among many others, Ph. II 4 "The Eagle, the Cat and the Boar", derived from "The Eagle and the Fox":

B1/B2/Asit.-Act.+Adir.+Aact.+Adir.+Aact.

It is very easy to see that this pure story is separate not only from the Classical fable but from the Hellenistic fable generally. Equally anomalous, but in another way, is Ph. III 13 "The Bees and the Drones Judged by the Wasp":

A/Bsit.-Cdir.-A/Bsit.-Cdir.

Even if the structure is approximately regular, the presence of a long story suggests a recent date to us, as in Ph. II 5 "Tiberius Caesar to the Servant", scheme Bacc. (long story)/Adir.-Bact./Adir.

This is not the moment to enter more in depth into the structure of the fables innovated by Babrius and Phaedrus—the minor fabulists are more conservative—but I think what is stated above is sufficient for us to be able to distinguish the Hellenistic fables from the later ones to some degree. In the former, we repeat, there exist anomalous types to which we have already referred, but always within relatively short structures, and with a symmetry that is still apparent in spite of everything. Also, the very anomalous ones are rare.

The conclusive fact is that the Hellenistic collections of fables must have been characterized by a great irregularity, which tended to conceal the moralizing epimythia; there were fables of the Classical, Cynic and Stoic or moralizing tradition, with very short structures with χρεία, regular ones and other relatively lengthy ones; often with contradictory intentions with respect to each other. This is the result of the long-term transportation of materials, starting from the Classical Age and then throughout the Hellenistic Age. In any event, the comparison of the Augustana—which is where the Hellenistic fable has been best conserved, despite certain moralizations—with Phaedrus and Babrius shows that the Hellenistic fable generally lacked the extended structures of these poets; that it contained heterogeneous material which it did not attempt to homogenize either in an epic- or romance-like direction or in a moralizing direction; and that if it expanded the ancient concept of the fable to a certain extent, with the risk of going beyond its bounds at certain times to merge with other genres, this was the exception not the rule. The comic and critical core, with a medium or small size and regular structures and syntax, was maintained. The Cynicization and moralism, the insertion of certain very reduced or irregular structures, the diffusion of the anecdote, the creation of certain aetiologies and of derivative fables or fables coming from proverbs, etc., generally did not reach the point of radically altering the concept of the fable that underlies Demetrius' collection, a concept inherited from the Classical Age.

II. *Exemplification*

1. *Analysis*

The previous section has done no more than offer a general view of the panorama that the collections of Hellenistic fables must have presented as a whole, a panorama that we have achieved partly by

recalling elements of previous chapters, partly by anticipating others from the chapters that follow.

As we have seen, a major stratification of structural types, different contents, etc. existed, all being organized into central or more common fables and marginal fables, the former sometimes being from the ancient tradition, sometimes imitations of same, sometimes contributions from the new Cynic and moralizing movements; the marginal fables, in turn, may come from any of these sectors, but preferably from the most recent.

The best way for us to gain an overall idea of the presence of the different types we have mentioned in the Hellenistic fable is to conduct an analysis of the Augustana collection, which is wholly Hellenistic, although it was altered formally at a later date.

It is clear, we think, from our Chap. I 2 (cf. pp. 67 ff.) that the Augustana, as we conserve it, is closer to the archetype of the "ancient Augustana" than any of the other collections derived from same; on the other hand, apart from some fables that it adds coming from other Hellenistic collections, it does not create new fables, as Phaedrus and Babrius do. Therefore, it seems appropriate to use it to exemplify what the Hellenistic fable was. It will provide us with a slightly incomplete and deformed image, but only slightly, we think.

Furthermore, the Augustana does not represent the whole Hellenistic tradition and sometimes offers duplicated or contradictory materials coming from different collections. It inherits the basis of Demetrius Phalereus, but with the elimination of some fables that were not accepted by the collections; this basis was later versified, with the addition of new fables, from origins already indicated; and we know that later this whole group lost fables on the one hand, on the other gained other new ones and was either prosified or else incorporated fables in prose. To simplify, we have placed the prosifications and fables in prose in the 1st century BC, but this is in fact a *terminus ante quem*. Since the different fables may have been added on different dates and it is a ramified tradition, some fables from the Augustana passed through a greater number of draftings (included those of the Imperial Age), which almost erased the traces of verse and expanded the composition or modified the schemes, while others better preserve the literalness of the ancient version.

Even bearing all this in mind, this is—shall we say—an illustrative review of the Augustana showing the presence in it of very different fables; sometimes ancient, sometimes modern from various

ages, sometimes central, sometimes marginal, sometimes traditional, sometimes Cynic or Stoic, sometimes lengthy, sometimes short, sometimes with varying degrees or types of anomaly. These are all features to which we have already referred, but now, when analyzing a series of fables, we expect to show how they are presented, sometimes set in opposition to each other, sometimes allying with each other. When we can, we give a history of the path that the fables presumably followed. Generally speaking we take the Augustana as a whole, within which in the chapters that follow we will attempt to indicate the possible evolutionary stages more closely.

Since the ordering of the fables of the Augustana on manuscripts and in editions is roughly alphabetical, we think the best approach is to follow precisely the order of the fables in Hausrath's edition. This alphabetical order is as arbitrary as any other and avoids any subjectivity. Analyzing the first 40 fables of this collection, it will be possible to see, approximately, the proportion of frequency of the various types and the resources on which they are founded. Based on the Appendix devoted to all the fables, which we will publish in our Vol. III, readers will be able in turn to carry out simple analyses such as the one that follows, also extended to fables that are not in the Augustana, to complete their overall view of the fabulistic tradition. We think, however, that an analysis of 40 fables from the Augustana is sufficient to give an idea.

H. 1 "The Eagle and the Fox", the fable from Archilochus with extensive representation in the collections and in authors of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages. See in II 6, pp. 418 ff., our reconstruction of the fable in Demetrius and its simplification in the Augustana, where the central act is eliminated and, in contrast, the fable is rounded off with the fox devouring the eagle's chicks. The version in our Augustana, although reduced to a regular scheme, is very long, with A/Bsit. "extended" and limited presence of verse; there are regular syntax and formulas, on the other hand. It is, undoubtedly, considerably altered.

H. 2 "The Eagle, the Rook and the Shepherd". A fable of which there is no evidence in Classical times, but certainly coming from these times (cf. II 6, p. 493). In addition to the Augustana, it is in collections (T.Assend. 2, Aphth. 19, Synt. 9, *Tetr.* I 55; not in Babrius or Phaedrus). Medium length, with quite a regular scheme (A/Bsit.-Bact./Cact.-Cdir.), sarcastic "closing statement". The theme of the animal that suffers because of wanting to be more than he is recalls

that of the monkey in Archilochus, but the theme is well suited, on the other hand, to many Cynic fables (following nature). Extensive remnants of verse (cf. II 6, p. 493) and formulas; it is a regular fable, adopted in all environments.

H. 3 "The Eagle and the Beetle". This is an ancient fable from Semonides and Aristophanes that later is only found in the Augustana and in various quotations by Lucian (and in a proverb, Zen. I 20). It bears traces of the ancient structure, which is complex on account of the multiple number of *agones* and the presence of four characters, but symmetrical and regular within them (B1/B2sit.-B2ind./Aind.-B1act./Aact.-B1ind./Cind.-B1act./Cact.); but there are no skilful "extensions" and there are remnants of verse and formulas. The ancient theme of the clever weak who triumph and the religious satire are conserved. But it must be observed that the beetle was adopted as a symbolic animal by the Cynics, cf. III 3.

H. 4 "The Nightingale and the Hawk". It is the fable from Hesoid, the only later appearance of which is here. Cf. p. 181 on its adaptation to a regular scheme and the theme of the deception (failure) of the weak. There is verse and formulas, medium length.

H. 5 "The Athenian Debtor". This fable (appearing only here) is completely anomalous: a mere joke with a forced epimythium. The structure is also anomalous: B1/B2sit.-B1act./Cact.+ind./B1ind-Cact./B2dir.—of the type of the inorganic story, though with a final χρεία. It is undoubtedly the late fabulization of a joke (doubtful verse and formulas) from an Athenian environment, at the expense of a debtor who promises absurd things.

H. 6 "The Wild Goats and the Goatherd". It is doubtful whether it is ancient or not; the theme of the wild goats that do not fall into the goatherd's trap may be ancient, but the structure and intention are very different from the version in Bab. 45 and the verse is dubious. Cf. also *Tetr.* II 14. In any event, the version in the Augustana seems considerably altered; it is a regular scheme A/Bsit. Aact./Bind. Adir., but with the beginning expanded with a long story. It is probably an ancient, complex fable, considerably altered to reduce it to the conventional scheme.

H. 7 "The Cat and the Hens". Also in Bab. 121 and Plu. *Mor.* 490 c, of medium length and with a regular scheme (A/Bsit.-Bind./Adir., with sarcasm), perhaps with verse, of the ancient type of the arrogant mocked. It could easily be of Classical tradition; it links to the tradition of the animal disguised as what he is not (theme of the

monkey) with the Cynic attacks against doctors, cf. III 2, p. 625. Ph., *App.* 19 and the Medieval fable Perry 599 seem to derive from here.

H. 8 "Aesop in the Shipyard". From the purely aetiological story, in the second grade, from Arist., *Mete.* 356 b 11, a scheme has arisen, also in the second grade, that certainly dates back to Demetrius: B1/B2sit.-Aind./B3acc-Cdir. It is an unusual structure, corrupted with the agonal elements and with an interruption that makes the narrator Aesop (C) pronounce a "closing statement". There are remnants of verse, but hardly any formulas, a fact which depends on the aetiological character.

H. 9 "The Fox and the He-goat". Certainly a Classical fable, with verse and formulas and a rather uncommon, but archaic structure, cf. II 6, p. 596. The Hellenistic fable has left extensive traces in the collections: Par. Bodl. 182 Cr., Ph. IV 9, *Tetr.* II 15, 31 (two versions), on its relations cf. Nøjgaard, II, p. 375; there are derivations in H. 70, Synt. 10, Perry 593.

H. 10 "The Fox and the Lion". It is a derivative fable that only appears here, without verse and with an anomalous structure, inasmuch as it is that of the situation fables, but with two characters: A/Bsit.-A/Bsit.-Aact.

H. 11 "The Fisherman". This is the fable from Herodotus, conserved with a regular structure, cf. p. 388. It undoubtedly comes from the Hellenistic collections (from where it crossed over to Bab. 9, Aphth. 33, Ael., *NA* I 39), but has been adapted to fit a Cynic epimythium, relating to the καιρός; the apparent absence of verse is strange, although the syntax and formulas are regular.

H. 12 "The Fox and the Leopard". A Cynic fable that sets the beauty of the soul and that of the body in opposition around a scheme of a short situation fable, with a final χρεία (A/Bsit.-Aind./Bdir.). It comes from the metrical fables judging by the remnants of verse and formulas and has left traces in Par. Bodl. 180 Cr., Av. 40, *Tetr.* II 16 and in Plutarch (*Mor.* 155b, 500c). The type of the two animals that dispute over the superiority of one of them is frequent in the Cynic fable.

H. 13 "The Fishermen". Pure anecdote without action, undoubtedly recent: its scheme is B1/B2-Cdir. and it serves as the illustration of the power of the τύχη. It is noteworthy that, absent from the collections (except for *Tetr.* II 9), it does however appear in Lucian and Alciphron; and the remnants in verse of the version of

the Augustana seem to differ from those in the Vindobonensis, which supposes two metrical versions.[7] We have supposed in II 5 that it is a (Cynic) derivation of the Aesopic fable in Pl., *Phaedo* 60b.

H. 14 "The Fox and the Monkey". A version of the fable in *Ep.* VII by Archilochus with a regular structure (A/Bsit.-Bdir./Adir.), with an abundance of verse and formulas and slight touching-up by the Cynics: the theme of the τύχη at the end, the presentation of the whole thing as a "dispute" on the εὐγένεια. The fable is present in Bab. 81, Synt. 14 and in versions of the paraphrase that do not come from Babrius.[8]

H. 15a "The Fox and the Vineyard" and b "The Fox and the Mouse". There are two versions, the second standardizing the first, as we have seen, of a fable perhaps ancient[9] already alluded to in Theocritus I 48. Now, H. 15a presents the scheme of a situation fable with a final χρεία (Bsit.-Bdir.), while b is, as we have said, derived; both seem to lack verse. I am inclined to believe that this fable has been considerably reworked, producing perhaps a late Hellenistic version of the one that also comes in Ph. IV 3, Bab. 19 and *Tetr.* I 23.[10] There is a derivative iambic fable, Perry 471 Add.

H. 16 "The Cat and the Cock". The theme of the excuses of the weak, which do not prevent the strong from devouring it. It may be ancient, with an archaic scheme (double *agon*) A/Bsit.-Aind./Bind.-Adir./Bind.-Adir. and verse; or perhaps it derives from H. 160 "The Wolf and the Lamb" which, having the same theme and having such a structure, has an extensive tradition while our fable is isolated. Both, in any event, continue the theme of "The Hawk and the Nightingale"; both have verse, and are at least from the ancient Hellenistic Age.

H. 17 "The Tailless Fox". A Classical fable, with a regular scheme (B1/B2sit.-B1ind./B2dir.), clear verse and system of formulas. After the Classical Age, it does not appear outside of here.

H. 18 "The Fisherman and the Sardine". A Hellenistic fable clearly created around that of the hawk, of whose "closing statement" there is a literal echo. The scheme is the same (A/Bsit.-Bind./Adir.), regular; it presents traditional verse and formulas. There are versions in Bab. 6 (identical scheme, with "extension") and Av. 20.

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[7] Cf. "La tradición fabulística . . .", pp. 291 f.

[8] Cf. "La tradición fabulística . . .", p. 28.

[9] Judging by the vase from the 5th century BC, cf. Perry, "Demetrius", p. 328.

[10] Another opinion of Nøjgaard, II, p. 382.

H. 19 "The Fox and the Bramble". An atypical fable, only appearing here, in which the fox plays the unusual role of a foolish animal and the bramble justifies the fact that it always follows the φύσις. Furthermore, the scheme is regular: A/Bsit.-Bind./Adir. It was created in the first Hellenistic Age, with verse and formulas, to serve a Cynic idea and with a derivation from fables of the fox and the bramble, which it corrupts.

H. 20 "The Fox and the Crocodile". A fable of debate with a regular scheme A/Bsit.-Bind./Adir., on the theme of the εὐγένεια. It has verse and formulas from the first Hellenistic Age and certainly imitates H. 14 (a fable from Archilochus), with an Egyptian setting. The Archilochian theme has been combined with the Cynic one of the φύσις. It has only been conserved in the Anonymous Fables.

H. 21 "The Fishermen". Pure anecdote with an irregular scheme (Asit.-C-Aact.) which illustrates the role of the τύχη. It is clearly Cynic, it seems to contain remnants of verse.[11] It does not appear outside of here.

H. 22 "The Fox and the Woodcutter". A fable that clearly belongs to ancient Hellenism, judging by the documentation (Bab. 50, Max. Tyr. XXXII 1–2, Romulus IV 3; derivation in Ph., *App.* 28 "The Wolf and the Oxherd"; perhaps also in Ov., *Met.* II 690–706) and the verse and formulas. Now, the scheme of the Augustana is anomalous, with triangular situations between the fox, the hunters and the woodcutter and a structure that is non-agonal: B1/B2/Csit.-B2ind./Cind.+act.-B2act./B1act.-Cind./B1dir. The doubt remains as to whether this anomalous structure is from the first Hellenistic collections or from the last, since it does not agree with that of the other exemplars. On its relationships, cf. Nøjgaard, II, pp. 377 ff.

H. 23 "The Cocks and the Partridge". A possible fabulization of Aeschylus (cf. p. 403), an atypical animal anecdote: a situation fable with two characters or groups of them, B1/B2sit.-B1act./B2ind.-B2sit.+dir. The scheme is not very regular and there seems to be verse;[12] it is certainly a metrical Hellenistic fable against those who do not respect the laws of the family. There is, as at other times, a cross between the situation fable, with χρεία, and the fable of two characters. This is the only documentation.

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[11] Cf. "La tradición . . .", pp. 247 and 285.
[12] "La tradición . . .", pp. 261, 288.

H. 24 "The Fox whose Stomach Swelled". A fable with doubtful verse which did not appear outside of here until later (Gregor. Tur. IV 9, p. 147 R., Cyrill., *Spec. Sap.* III 11, p. 85 G.), but very similar to that of the two mice in Hor., *Epist.* I 7.29 ff., Bab. 108, the relationship being doubtful. It is a situation fable (Bsit.-Bsit.-Bind./Cdir.), with an atypical role from the fox and a final χρεία. A Cynic fable, against greed. The verse is doubtful, but has formulas. Undoubtedly comes from the first Hellenistic Age.

H. 25 "The Halcyon". An atypical animal anecdote, created on the theme of the eagle and the fox and the frequent opposition of sea and terrestrial animals in the Cynic fable (to which it belongs, the theme of nature), as well as an observation of Natural History. The scheme is that of the situation fable with χρεία (Bsit.-Bsit.-Bdir., lament); it has verse and formulas, this is the only documentation.

H. 26 "The Fisherman". Fabulization of an Aristophanic simile (cf. p. 403), with situation scheme: Bsit.-Bact.-Cind./Bdir.; it is the Cynic theme of the *primum vivere*. Probable verse. There is no further documentation.

H. 27 "The Fox and the Mask". A Cynic situation fable, with sarcastic χρεία on the lack of intelligence (BCsit.-Bdir.), cf. Thiele, *art. cit.*, I, p. 569. It lacks verse and must belong, therefore, to the last collections: it is re-encountered in Ph. I 7, with the same scheme.

H. 28 "The Liar". Theme of the punished liar, without any other documentation apart from this and with abundant verse and formulas. It is not properly religious, rather it refers sarcastically to the failure of the swindler. The scheme is relatively complicated, but undoubtedly Hellenistic: A/Bsit. Bact.+dir./Aind.+dir.-Bsit.+act. (punishment). It is an invented anecdote.

H. 29 "The Coal Merchant and the Fuller". Perhaps a fabulization of a Homeric simile (cf. p. 403) transformed into a human anecdote on the impossibility of reconciling incompatible natures. It is a situation fable (B1/B2sit.-B1ind./B2dir.), with verse and formulas. There is no further documentation.

H. 30 "The Shipwrecked Man". Fabulization of a proverb, cf. p. 404, more or less parallel to that of Bab. 20; there are precedents for these proverbs in the Classical Age. The proverb is ametrical and it seems that the fable is too, with a rather irregular structure, moreover: B1/B2 . . . sit.-B1act./B2ind./Cdir. It is undoubtedly Cynic, against superstition and in favour of πόνος. It was, certainly, added to the collections in the final phase of Hellenism.

H. 31 "The Middle-Aged Man and the Prostitutes". A misogynous anecdote, undoubtedly Cynic, appearing in various Hellenistic collections: cf. D.S. 33.7, Bab. 22, Ph. II 2, Doxop. 189.33 W., *Tetr.* I 57; it has a regular scheme adapted to fit the presence of two antagonists, B/A1/A2sit.-A1act./A2act.-Bsit. and has verse. On the relationship with the version in the Augustana (which moralizes the epimythium) and the others, cf. Nøjgaard II, p. 374.

H. 32 "The Murderer". An ametrical version of a fable that is in *AP* 11.348 (Antiphan.) and of which there is a version with remnants of trimetres in the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus II 84. It has an Egyptian setting and an atypical scheme, with multiple *agones* in which different animals pursue the murderer until he dies: A1/Bsit.-A2act./Bact.-A1act./Bact.-A2act. (divine punishment, Stoic or religious theme). It is undoubtedly an addition from the last Hellenistic Age.

H. 33 "The Boastful Athlete". Fabulization of a proverb, it is doubtful whether there is metre. It is a Cynic attack against athletes with a situation scheme (Bind.-Cdir.), but with an "extended" story. There are no further appearances (the proverb, in Apostol. VIII 100).

H. 34 "The Man who Promised the Impossible". An anecdote that is a mere joke, a variant on 28, with literal agreements. It is situation scheme with χρεία: Bsit.-Bind.-Cdir./Bdir.; it has verse. Only appearance.

H. 35 "The Man and the Satyr". Possible fabulization of Aeschylus, cf. p. 404, with an attack against falsehood containing verse and formulas. It comes from the first Hellenistic versions in verse, and reached the Babrian tradition (Par. Bodl. 192 Cr., Av. 29), but is undoubtedly from after Demetrius. This scheme is very complicated, with two triangular actions:- B1/B2sit.-B1sit.+act./B2ind./B2ind.-B1sit.+act./B2ind./B1ind.-B2dir.

H. 36 "The Unfortunate Man". Religious anecdote against those who want to test the oracle of Delphi: it recalls themes of Herodotus and according to Crusius, *Fest. Overb.*, Leipzig 1893, pp. 105 ff., is to be found on a Classical vase. However, there is no appearance other than this and the verse is doubtful: it may belong to the late, moralizing strand. The scheme is regular, A/Bsit.-Bind./Adir.

H. 37 "The Blind Man". Another anecdote without appearances outside of the Anonymous Fables and with doubtful verse. The scheme is of situation and χρεία: Bsit.-Bsit.+dir., the theme of the radical opposition of good and wicked men. Cynic or Stoic.

H. 38 "The Ploughman and the Wolf". An absurd anecdote of the wolf-ploughman, whom the farmer attempts to moralize: certainly Cynic, without appearing outside of here. It seems to have verse and have normal formulas; the structure is B1/B2sit.-B2act./B1dir., of modified situation. A Cynic fable.

H. 39 "The Swallow and the Birds". Aetiological fable derived from the one we have dealt with on various occasions. The two versions 39a and b are from after Demetrius, as we have seen; they reveal different traces of verse.[13] These two versions, of divergent content, have rather anomalous structures: the first A/Bsit.-Aind./Bact.-Act./Cact.-Bact./Aact.; and the second Aind./Bdir.-Aact./Bind.[14] Although these versions are relatively late, they did engender subsequent fables, such as Bab. 12, I believe.

H. 40 "The Astrologer". This is the Classical fable of Thales in Plato (cf. p. 402). It is to be found in D.L. I 34, *AP* VII 172. 5 ff., Ps. Callisth. I 14 and *Tetr.* I 52; it was adopted by the Cynics, clearly. A narration in the second grade based on a first stage prol.-Bact.-Cact.-epil. has become Bsit.-Bact.-Cdir. It shows abundant traces of iambic trimetres.

2. *Conclusions*

If we summarize the material from this sample, we think we can reflect the general panorama of the Hellenistic fable quite faithfully, though with the limitations to which we have already made repeated reference.

From the standpoint of their origin, these 40 fables can be divided into four groups:

a) Fables from the Classical tradition. From literary evidence: 1, 3, 4, 8, 11, 14, 17, 36, 40. From archaeological evidence, less reliable: 17, 36. From more or less credible conjecture: 2, 6, 9, 16. Total 15. All these already appeared in Demetrius.

b) Fabulizations of proverbs, similes, anecdotes, religious stories, stories of Natural History, jokes: 5, 13, 21, 23, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37. Total 17. There are varying degrees of

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[13] Cf. "La tradición...", pp. 248 and 312, and below III 2, pp. 589 ff.

[14] On their relationships with each other and with the rest of the tradition cf. "El papiro Rylands...", pp. 58 ff.

probability with respect to the fabulization of Classical themes. These fables may be from Demetrius or later.

c) Fables derived from fables: 7, 10, 18, 19, 20, 25, 39. Total 7. The degree of reliability, as well as the age of the derivation, are variable, and must be established with the help of other criteria.
d) Other new fables: 12, 22, 24, 27, 38, 39. Total 6.

Note that the sections (except for the last) sometimes interconnect; there may be imitation and fabulization at the same time, for example. The metrical remnants are to be found in most of the fables. However:

a) They do not seem to exist in 10, 11, 15a, 27, 30, 32.
b) They are doubtful in 5, 6, 7, 21, 24, 33, 36, 37.

Some of the more recent themes (derivative fables, Cynic χρεῖαι, religious themes, anomalous structures) lack or seem to lack verse. While on one hand this absence could be due to secondary prosification (as is undoubtedly the case in 11 and 15a), on the other, fables are found of similar types with verse. There does not seem to be a great difference of content between the fables of the first Hellenistic Age and the last prosified collections, except, perhaps, with respect to the entrance into the latter of religious and moralizing material (5, 21, 30, 32, 36, 37). The theme needs to be studied further, on all the materials available.

Now classifying the fables studied according to their main characteristics, we find:

a) Animal fables (sometimes with plants and inanimate objects): 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29. Total 19.
b) Mixed fables, with men and animals: 6, 11, 18, 22, 38. Total 5.
c) Human fables (sometimes gods): 5, 8, 13, 21, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40. Total 16.

If we take into account that there were only two human anecdotes in Demetrius, as far as we know, it is clear that the proportion of these increased in the Hellenistic fable. And that the elimination of certain religious anecdotes or myths, which we have discussed, was later compensated for both in the fables in verse and, particularly, in those in prose.

The heterogeneity that we have attributed to the Hellenistic fable is also reflected in the structure. Here the table is as follows:

a) Regular structure: 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 31, 36, 39. Total 13.
b) Standardized archaic structure: 1, 3, 9, 16. Total 4.
c) Situation structure: 12, 13, 15, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 33, 34, 37, 38, 40. Total 13.
d) Various anomalous structures: 5, 8, 10, 21, 22, 23, 28, 30, 32, 35. Total 10.

Various facts are significant here: the conservation of archaic structures, standardized by Demetrius; the frequency of the situation structures, generally with a final χρεία, very often Cynic; the relative abundance of anomalous structures, many coming from the Hellenistic collections in verse. These must have already presented, essentially, the features of heterogeneity of our Augustana.

These features also refer to the content, which I think there is no point in presenting in table form. We have been able to note the presence of all the types of Classical fable, Cynic and moralist fables and others that we have called mixed, which have been adapted simultaneously to fit two or three of these settings, whatever their origin may be.

Finally, it is appropriate to take a quick look now at the transmission of these fables. We have drawn attention to the existence of differences between two versions in the Augustana or between the version in the Augustana and others, differences that may affect the characters, the intention, the structure or the verse, or various of these elements at the same time. They indicate the existence of ramifications in the tradition of the fables. Cf. above in connection with 1, 6, 13, 15, 24 and 39 in particular.

Most of the fables listed appear outside of the Anonymous Fables, sometimes in collections, sometimes in collections plus indirect tradition, sometimes only in the latter (such as 13). Yet some are only in the Augustana (and Anonymous Fables generally) and of these, two—8 and 17—are from the Classical tradition. They were, therefore, in Demetrius and have been lost outside of the Anonymous Fables. This may also be true in most of the other cases (5, 10, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 33, 34), but we cannot confirm this in such an explicit manner.

This is approximately the panorama of which we must take account for the collections derived from Demetrius. It is a panorama of the fable quite different from that of the Classical Age and from that of

Demetrius, and precisely the point of departure to enable Phaedrus and Babrius, among other authors, to move the fable a step further forward in its evolution.

TABLE I

Fables only in Phaedrus, from the Ancient Tradition

Ph. I 3 "The Proud Rook and the Peacock" (fable corrupted by H. 103 and 125).
Ph. I 30 "The Frogs Fearful of the Fighting of the Bulls".
Ph. II 8 "The Stag to the Oxen".
Ph. III 6 "The Fly and the Mule".
Ph. III 19 "Aesop Responds to a Charlatan".
Ph. IV 2, 10–19 "The Weasel and the Mice".
Ph. IV 16 "Prometheus Drunk".
Ph. IV 25 "The Ant and the Fly".
Ph., *App.* 19 "The Sow about to give Birth and the Wolf".
Ph., *App.* 32 "The Woodlark and the Fox".

See our arguments in "Fedro y sus fuentes", *cit.*

TABLE II

Fables in Phaedrus and Another Source, from the Ancient Tradition

Ph. I 6 (cf. Bab. 24) "The Frogs to the Sun".
Ph. I 18 (cf. Plu., *Coni. Praec.* 143 e) "The Woman Giving Birth".
Ph. I 19 (cf. *PColon.* 2.64.1–8) "The Labour of the Bitch".
Ph. I 22 (cf. Bab. 27) "The Weasel and the Man".
Ph. I 23 (cf. Synt. 21) "The Faithful Dog".
Ph. I 24 (cf. Bab. 28) "The Frog that Swelled" (the toad in Bab.)
Ph. I 26 (cf. Plu., *Quaest. Conu.* 614 e) "The Fox and the Stork" (the crane in Plu.)
Ph. III 3 (cf. Plu., *Sept. Sap.* 149 c–e) "Aesop and the Rustic".
Ph. III 8 (cf. Plu., *Coni. Praec.* 141 d, D.L. II 5.33, Stob. III 1.172) "A Sister to her Brother".
Ph., *App.* 15 (cf. *Vita Aes.* G 129, Petr., *Sat.* 111) "The Widow and the Soldier".
Ph., *App.* 21 (cf. Bab. 29, Aphth. 31, Luc., *Asin.* 42. 3) "The Racehorse".
Ph., *App.* 23 (cf. Plu., *Phoc.* 9) "The Walker and the Crow".
Ph., *App.* 24 (cf. Bab. 3) "The Goat and the Goatherd".

For more details, see our *art. cit.* in Table I. For ancient fables in the *Vita*, see below, pp. 657 ff.; in Plu., Perry, "Demetrius", p. 321. The presence of these ancient fables proves that some of those only appearing in Phaedrus may also be ancient.

TABLE III

Fables from Babrius and the Babrian Tradition that are Absent from the Anonymous Collections

Bab. 2 "The Farmer who Lost his Pick".
Bab. 4 "The Fisherman and the Fish".
Bab. 8 "The Arab and the Camel".
Bab. 10 (cf. Sud. s. u. ἧρα) "The Slave and Aphrodite".
Bab. 11 (cf. Aphth. 38, Luc., *Asin.* 31.3, Ov., *Fast.* IV 701 ff., LXX *Id.* XV 4, 5) "The Farmer and the Fox".
Bab. 14 (cf. Sud. s. u. ἔκτοπος) "The Bear and the Fox".
Bab. 15 "The Athenian and the Theban".
Bab. 20 (cf. Phot., *Lex.* II, p. 213 N., Av. 32) "The Cart Driver and Heracles".
Bab. 21 "The Oxen and the Butcher".
Bab. 26 "The Farmer and the Crane".
Bab. 30 (cf. Sud. s. u. λύγδινα, Av. 23) "Hermes and the Sculptor".
Bab. 33 (cf. Sud. s. u. νέος) "The Farmer and the Birds".
Bab. 40 "The Camel in the River".
Bab. 41 "The Lizard and the Snake".
Bab. 44 (cf. Aphth. 16, Av. 18, Synt. 13, Them., *Or.* XXII 278 d–279 a) "Three Bulls and a Lion".
Bab. 46 "The Sick Stag".
Bab. 48 "The Pillar of Hermes and the Dog".
Bab. 54 "The Eunuch and the Sacrificer".
Bab. 55 "The Ox and the Ass Ploughing" (Cf. Plaut., *Aul.* 226 ff.).
Bab. 56 (cf. Av. 14) "The Mother of the Monkey and Zeus".
Bab. 57 "Hermes' Chariot and the Arabs".
Bab. 58 "Zeus and a Barrel of Goods".
Bab. 61 "The Hunter and the Fisherman".
Bab. 69 "The Dog and the Hare".
Bab. 70 "War and Violence".
Bab. 75 (cf. Ps. Dos. 7) "The Unskilled Doctor".
Bab. 76 "The Horse and the Soldier".
Bab. 83 "The Horse and the Groom".
Bab. 85 (cf. Sud. s. u. διάργεμοι) "The Wolves and the Dogs at War".
Bab. 88 (cf. Sud. s. u. λόφος, Enn., *Sat. inc.* II 21–58, Av. 21) "The Lark and the Farmer".
Bab. 90 "The Rabid Lion and the Fawn".
Bab. 92 (cf. Sud. s. u. γομφίους) "The Cowardly Hunter".
Bab. 95 (cf. Av. 30) "The Stag, the Fox and the Lion".
Bab. 101 "The Wolf among the Lions".
Bab. 102 "The Kingdom of the Lion".
Bab. 104 (cf. Av. 7) "The Dog with a Bell".
Bab. 105 "The Wolf and the Lion".
Bab. 106 "The Lion, the Fox and the Monkey".
Bab. 108 (cf. Hor., *S.* II 6.79–117, Ps.-Dos. 16, Sud. s. u. σωράκους, καμειραία ἰσχάς, κρίμνον) "The Field Mouse and the Town Mouse".
Bab. 110 "The Dog and his Master".
Bab. 112 (cf. Av. 31) "The Mouse and the Bull".
Bab. 113 "The Shepherd that was Going to Enclose a Wolf".
Bab. 114 "The Lamp".

Bab. 116 (cf. Luc., *Asin.* 9.27) "The Boy, the Woman and the Man".
Bab. 117 "The Man who was Stung by the Ant and Hermes".
Bab. 124 "The Bird-catcher, the Partridge and the Chicken".
Bab. 127 "Zeus the Judge".
Bab. 128 "The Sheep and the Dog".
Bab. 130 "The Wolf and the Fox Together in a Trap".
Bab. 133 "The Ass that Ate Brambles".
Par. Bodl. 142 Cr. "The Goat and the Ass".
Par. Bodl. 143 Cr. "The Oaks to Zeus".
Par. Bodl. 144 Cr. "The Farmer and the Eagle".
Par. Bodl. 145 Cr. "Heracles and Athena".
Par. Bodl. 148 Cr. "The Boastful Swallow and the Crow".
Par. Bodl. 149 Cr. (cf. *Tetr.* I 5) "The Lion and the He-goat".
Par. Bodl. 152 Cr. "The Crow and Hermes".
Par. Bodl. 153 Cr. "The Hunting Dog".
Par. Bodl. 154 Cr. "The Wolf General and the Ass".
Par. Bodl. 156 Cr. "The Calf and the Stag".
Par. Bodl. 158 Cr. (cf. Synt. 10) "The Hare and the Fox".
Par. Bodl. 175 Cr. "The Shepherd that Raised a Wolf".
Par. Bodl. 176 Cr. "The Eagle that had its Feathers Pulled out".
Par. Bodl. 178 Cr. "The Rose and the Amaranth".
Par. Bodl. 181 Cr. (cf. Euenus, *AP* IX 75, Leon., *AP* IX 99, Aphth. 37, *Tetr.* I 7, Suet., *Dom.* 14, Sch. Ar., *Pl.* 1129), "The He-goat and the Vineyard".
Par. Bodl. 184 Cr. "The Good and the Bad".
Par. Bodl. 187 Cr. "The Farmer and the Plant".
Babr. fr. In Sud. s. u. κωλώτης (= 204 Cr.) "The Spider and the Lizard".
Fr. Iamb., p. 236 Cr. "The Proud Wolf and the Dog".
Fr. Iamb., p. 273 Cr. "The Flea and the Ox".

We must point out that, among these fables, there are many that only appear here. The Suda is dependent on Babrius, perhaps also on Avianus and the Ps.-Dositheus (but may come from their sources). On the other hand, some of the references with cf. are not exactly identical fables, whose relationship with those of Babrius or the Paraphr. may leave room for doubt. Finally, it must be added that, although the fables in our report are not in the Anonymous Fables, sometimes they may be considered as derived from others of these or vice versa; this is a problem to be studied, as is that of the date (Hellenistic or later?) of the alterations. In any event, it is very clear that Babrius and the Babrian tradition bring together many Hellenistic fables that are absent from the tradition of the Anonymous Fables.

TABLE IV

Fables from the Collections that are Absent from the Anonymous Fables, Phaedrus, Babrius and the Babrian Tradition

Ps. Dos. 4 "The Houseowner and the Sailors".
Ps. Dos. 5 (cf. Rom. IV 11) "The Cat (the Crow, Rom.) who Invited the Hens to Eat".
Ps. Dos. 8 (cf. Av. 27, Bianor, *AP* IX 272, Plu., *Soll. An.* 967 a, Plin., *HN* X 60, Ael., *NA* II 48) "The Crow and the Hydria".
Ps. Dos. 13 (cf. Rom. LXXXIX) "The Ass and the Wolf Doctor".
Aphth. 2 "The Swan that was Taken instead of a Goose".

Aphth. 3 "The Kite and the Swans".
Aphth. 4 "The Bird-catcher and the Cicada".
Aphth. 6 (cf. Them., *Or.* 32, 359 bc, Luc., *Ep.* 29, Moses of Khorene, *Arm. Hist.* II 88, Synt. 41) "The Ethiopian" (Indian in other texts).
Aphth. 20 "The Fox, Servant of the Lion".
Aphth. 27 "The Bees and the Shepherd".
Aphth. 28 "The Snake and the Eagle".
Aphth. 40 "The Crow and the Swan".
Av. 22 "The Greedy Man and the Envious Man".
Av. 25 "The Boy and the Thief".
Av. 28 "The Rustic and the Calf".
Av. 30 "The Heartless Pig".
Av. 38 "The River Fish and the Lamprey".
Rhet. Branc., Sbordone, *RIGI* 16, 1932, p. 38 "The Fox and the Farmer".
Synt. 4 "The Rivers and the Sea".
Synt. 6 "The Hunter and the Wolf".
Synt. 17 "The Captured Lion and the Fox".
Synt. 19 "The Dogs that Tore Up the Lionskin".
Synt. 30 "The Wild Ass and the Donkey".
Synt. 38 "The Dog that Pursued a Lion".
Synt. 45 "The Pony".
Synt. 48 "The Cyclops".
Synt. 49 "The Hunter and the Horseman".
Synt. 54 "The Young Man and the Old Woman".
Tetr. I 8 "The Mouse and the Blacksmith".
Tetr. I 22 "The Ostrich from Libya".
Tetr. II 7 "The Bear, the Fox and the Lion, Hunters".
Tetr. II 28 "The Wolf Teacher and the Hen".

Some of these fables undoubtedly come from the Hellenistic tradition; we need only point out that the fable by Stesichorus only appears in Aphth. 28. At other times, it is undoubtedly a question of a tradition of the Babrian type only preserved here (whether it is conclusively Hellenistic or not, is another problem). More often, undoubtedly, we are dealing with new fables, created around the model of ancient fables, which is sometimes transparent, cf. for example Synt. 10 and H. 9; or else freely created, for example, around myths or romances (cf. Synt. 48 and 54).

TABLE V

Fables from the Hellenistic Age Appearing through the Indirect Tradition

H. 1 "The Eagle and the Fox", cf. Catul. 40, Hor., *Epist.* I 19.23 ff., *Epod.* 6.12 ff. (the three, allusions to Archilochus, *Ep.* I).
H. 15a "The Fox and the Grapes", cf. Theoc. 1.48.
H. 24 "The Fox whose Stomach Swelled", cf. Hor., *Epist.* I 7.29.
H. 31 "The Middle-aged Man and Two Prostitutes", cf. D.S. XXXIII 7.
H. 32 "The Murderer", cf. *AP* XI 348 (Antiphan.)
H. 40 "The Astrologer", cf. Ps.-Callisth. I 14.
H. 46 "Boreas and Helios", cf. *AP* 16.332 (Agathias) and "Demetrius . . ." *cit.*, pp. 307 ff.

H. 72 "The Coward who Found a Golden Lion", cf. *AP* IX 431.
H. 103 "The Rook and the Birds", cf. Phld., *Rh.* II, p. 68 f. S., Hor., *Epist.* I 3.15.
H. 108 "Zeus and the Turtle", cf. Cercidas 9 L.
H. 122 "The Gardener and the dog", cf. Menander, *Dysc.* 633 f.
H. 126 "The Crow and the Fox", cf. Hor., *Serm.* II 5.55.
H. 132 "The Stomach and the Feet", cf. Liv. II 32.9–11.
H. 139 "The Dog and the Hare", cf. Demetr., *Eloc.* 261.
H. 141 "The Walnut Tree", cf. *AP* IX 3, Par. Bodl. 151 Cr., Ps.-Ov., *Nu.*
H. 145 "The Lion and the Farmer", cf. D.S. XIX 25.5–6.
H. 147 "The Sick Lion and the Fox", cf. Lucil. 980 ff., Hor. *Epist.* I 1.73–75.
H. 165 "The Wolf and the Shepherd", cf. Plaut., *Pseud.* 139–40, *Trin.* 169–72, Ter., *Eun.* V 1.16, Cic., *Phil.* III 11.17.
H. 172 "The Bees and Zeus", cf. Nic., *Ther.* 806–10.
H. 178 "The Shipwrecked Man and the Sea", cf. Ps.-Callisth. III 8.
H. 182 "The Bat and the Weasel", cf. Varr., *Agath.* fr. VIII B.
H. 229 "The Two Knapsacks", cf. Catul. 22, Hor., *Serm.* II 3.299.
H. 238 "The Boar, the Horse and the Hunter", cf. Hor., *Epist.* I 10.34–41.
H. 297 "The Winter and the Summer", cf. Enn., *Sat. Inc.* I, p. 207 V. (Death/Life).
Babrius 88, Av. 21 "The Lark and her Young", cf. Enn., *Sat. Inc.* II 21–58 V. in Gell. II 29.20.
Ph. III 3.14 "Aesop and the Rustic", cf. Plu., *Sept. Sap.* 149c–e.
Bab. 11, Aphth. 38 "The Fox and the Farmer", cf. Ov., *Fasti* IV 701 ff.
Bab. 28, Ph. I 24 "The Toad that Swelled", cf. Hor., *Serm.* II 3, 314–20.
Bab. 95 "The Stag and the Lion", cf. Av. 30.
Par. Bodl. 181 Cr. "The He-goat and the Vineyard", cf. *AP* (Leon.) IX 75 and 99, etc., cf. above, p. 468.
Ps.-Dos. 8 "The Crow and the Hydria", cf. Bianor, *AP* IX 272, Plin., *NH* X 125, Plu. *Mor.* 967a., Ael., *NA* II 48.

All these fables probably belonged to the Hellenistic collections. But we also find fables in authors of this age that do not appear outside of these, although they possibly also existed in them:

Callimachus, *Iamb.* IV "The Laurel and the Olive" (from here, perhaps, H. 233, 263, Bab. 64) = not-H. 79.
Ps.-Callisth. II 16 "The Flies and the Wasps" = not-H. 208.
Callimachus, *Iamb.* II "The Gossipy Nature of Men" = not-H. 27.
Antiphilus, *AP* IX 86 "The Mouse and the Oyster" = not-H. 211.

It must be taken into account that the ancient tradition of the iambic fable has been reinforced with the new, also from iambic fables of Cynic inspiration. In this regard, see the following chapter.

Finally, it should be noted that the age of some of these fables and also of others is guaranteed by their presence, in a more or less similar form, in the Oriental tradition, as we stated in II 4.

We refer the reader to this chapter.

Supplement

There is not a great deal to add in the recent bibliography, which, as I have already said, considers the fable en bloc; and, when it traces its history, it moves on summarily from the Classical fable to the collections starting from Phaedrus; if at all, it relates some Hellenistic exemplum-fables, irrespective of the previous and subsequent history (if there is any). In general works such as those of S. JEDRKIEWICZ 1989, N. HOLZBERG 1993, C. GARCIA GUAL 1977 and 1978, J. PORTULAS 1978, A. DEMANDT 1991, A. PATTERSON 1991 information is offered on the content of the fable, some of which could be attributed to this age, without their introducing any distinction. There is virtually no discussion of the Cynicism of the fable, cf. on this later. There are, then, hardly any new contributions to what has already been said by the Spanish edition of the book.

Apart from this, an inventory of the Hellenistic fable, such as the one proposed on pp. 503 ff., is today easy to compile, by collecting the related exemplum-fables told or alluded to by Hellenistic authors in our Volume III, whether they come from the Classical Age or they arise in this period. Cf. also VAN DIJK, *Ainoi*; "Suplemento al Inventario de la fábula greco-latina: Épocas arcaica, clásica y helenística", *Emerita* 66, 1998, pp. 15–22; "There Were Fables Before Aesop. Fables in Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greek Literature", *Reinardus* 11, 1998, pp. 205–214. To find out about these fables, we must take into account, on one hand, what is said in this volume and in volume II on the Hellenistic metrical versions, as well as on their content; on the other, the references in subsequent authors (exemplum-fables), which can be gleaned from Vol. III, where the material in the Spanish edition has been considerably increased. We also add a bibliography on certain fables there.

For the fables with Hellenistic metre, in addition to what is stated in this and the following volume, see my article "Más fragmentos nuevos de poesía griega antigua", in *Studi in onore di Adelmo Barigazzi*, Sileno 1984, pp. 1–11 fables H. 40 "The Astrologer", H. 63 "Demades", H. 254 "The Turtle and the Hare" (a variant), H. 28 "Dispute of the Helicon and the Cytheron", H. 24 "The Man who Counted the Waves", H. 37 "Aesop and the Rustic", H. 84 "Dionysus and the Grapes", H. 97 "The Festival and the Following Day", H. 104 "Love", H. 248 "The Shepherd and the Butcher", H. 277 "The Moon and her Mother". See the information in Vol. III, "Documentation . . .". See also the metrical fables of the *Vita Aesopi*, Vol. I, pp. 647 ff.; the dactylic ones, Vol. II, II 7 and my paper, "De la fábula griega a la fábula latina en dísticos elegiacos", in *La favolistica latina in distici elegiaci*, Assisi 1991, pp. 27–43 (from which I take some references that I include below).

To the references on Hellenistic authors and from Roman times until the change of era, approximately, collected in Table V on pp. 534 ff., it is appropriate here to add some further ones (I indicate with + when it is a Hellenistic reference to a Classical fable already known; the precise information is given in Vol. III, "Documentation . . ."):

H. 4, "The Nightingale and the Hawk" + Aristarchus.
H. 11, "The Fisherman" + Ennius.
H. 32, "The Murderer" Ps.-Callisthenes and Bianor.
H. 158, "The Wolves and the Sheep" + Aristobulus.
H. 195, "The Ass and the Cicadas" Callimachus.
H. 254, "The Tortoise and the Hare" + Menedemus (perhaps a variant on "The Tortoise and the Eagle").
H. 255, "The Swallow and the Serpent" Antipater of Sidon.

H. 273, "The Eagle and the Arrow" + Bianor and Apollonides or Philippus.
not-H. 4, "The Eagle and the Man" + Demetrius, *Eloc.*
not-H. 22, "The Man who Defecated his own Brain", Cicero.
not-H. 49, "The Ass to the Lyre" + Menander.
not-H. 60, "The Ox and the Ass Ploughing", Cicero.
not-H. 63, "The Priest of Cybele and the Lion", Antipater of Sidon.
not-H. 84, "Dionysus and the Grapes" + Euenus, Leonidas and Ovid.
not-H. 89, "The Two Roads" + Cicero.
not-H. 134, "The Camel" + Ps.-Aristotle.
not-H. 146, "The Cyclops" *AP* (Statilius Flaccus).
not-H. 170, "The Lark Burying his Father" + Theocritus.
not-H. 298, "Opportunity" Posidippus.
Plus the proverb that gave rise to not-H. 235 "The Shadow of the Ass", which is found in Men. fr. 6 Arnott and Did. fr. 2 Pearson-Stephens.

Note that the fables not in collections cited on pp. 534 f. (H. 27, 79, 208 and 211) have no new references. It is doubtful whether certain fables in which the *Ahikar* and the subsequent collections correspond (H. 242, 246, M. 246, see my "Siria, cruce de caminos de la narrativa bizantina y la oriental", *Aula Orientalis* 1, 1983, pp. 17–29) reached the West in the Hellenistic Age or later, in the Syriac fables or Medieval collections.

With the aforementioned, it seems to be conclusively proven that the vast majority of Greek fables, whether from collections or not, are Hellenistic (whether of Classical origin or not). There is little increase in the Roman Age, though there is in the Medieval.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HELLENISTIC FABLES IN VERSE AND THEIR PROSIFICATIONS

I. *From Prose to Verse and from Verse to Prose*

1. *Cynic Movement, Fable and Verse*

In our Chap. I 2, summarizing the "state of the question" and taking it forward with a series of points, we clearly established the fact that our Greek collections of anonymous fables, now including those conserved in fragmentary form in the Rylands Papyrus among these, are in fact prosifications of older collections in iambic trimetres or choliambs or a mixture of both. We offered the history of how we established this fundamental fact, giving the precedents, and we also offered numerous examples, which, we think, leave no room for doubt in this regard. Indeed, Quintilian already considered the versions in verse as central to the fable and the act of prosifying fables in verse was documented through examples such as the fables of the Assendelft Tablets or the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus; not to mention the fact that it is doubtful whether Phaedrus would have taken the initiative of writing a collection of fables in verse without mentioning their originality and I find it strange that Babrius boasted of a new type of choliamb and fabulistic style, if choliambic fables had not existed before him. But an attempt had been made to close the eyes to an evident reality, already suspected by Wilamowitz at a given moment.[1]

In this chapter we established the following facts:

a) The fables of the Rylands Papyrus are founded on prosifications of iambic or choliambic fables whose relationship with those that are at the basis of the principal line of the anonymous fables needs to be investigated.

b) This principal line, represented by the Augustana, the Vindobonensis and the Accursiana, with their intermediate versions, depends

[1] Cf. *Hermes* 40, 1905, p. 164.

on a metrical collection of that type, already semiprosified. Different collections and even groups of manuscripts had access to that semiprosified version independently, leaving aside the relationships of dependence that exist between some collections and others. For that reason the verse can sometimes be reconstructed by combining the remnants of same in the different collections or manuscripts; we think a critical edition of this semiprosified version could be attempted, if there were more complete collations of the manuscript tradition of the Anonymous Fables.

c) However, despite the fact that the verse that appears in the different collections and manuscripts is usually the same, we have shown some cases (cf. pp. 94 ff.) in which either the whole Augustana, or groups of mss. within it, or the Vindobonensis or the Accursiana, offer different versions of the same fable, possibly also with different metre. Together with the archetype from which most of our collections derive, there were undoubtedly other collections that could have had different verse. This is a theme to be studied.

d) Another important theme is that of the source of Babrius and the Babrian tradition, which we have considered likely to be a versified collection, the same one that perhaps sometimes gave rise to the principal line of the Anonymous Fables (there are metrical correspondences, although limited). This is a theme to be studied further.

We are now left, then, with the task of investigating the detail of the metrical collections of the Hellenistic Age. Their existence has, we believe, already been sufficiently demonstrated; and their reconstruction in an edition such as the one proposed above is impossible for the moment; a knowledge would be needed of the manuscript tradition, which we are far from possessing, not even resorting, as we have done, to Chambry's Critical Apparatus, which is the most complete of all.

On the other hand, it is not our task in this volume to use the metrical remnants of collections and manuscripts to look further into the problem of their relationships. Insofar as the Hellenistic verse is reconstructed, taking the metrical remnants from where they appear, our task, which is to give an idea of said verse, is complete. Clearly, it is indeed our task to investigate whether there may have been double or triple versions of a same fable, coming perhaps from different collections, presenting different verse, among other distinctive features. Supposing the existence of these double or triple metrical versions, a further task would be to establish their relationships:

do they derive independently from Demetrius? Or some from others? Although there is not much hope of arriving at a solution, for the moment, since this would involve the study of the relationships of all types between the Imperial collections, the primordial basis of all study on the ramifications of the Hellenistic fable. Furthermore, it must be taken into account that as we are working with Latin versions (Phaedrus) or very altered Greek metrical versions (Babrius) or prosaic versions, also Greek, very far removed from the originals, the study of the ramifications is more difficult from the metrical standpoint than from any other.

However, to place the problem in focus, the essential thing is not so much this possible proliferation or ramification (which, in short, is not very accessible as regards the metre, at least) as the very existence of the metrical versions: versions in trimetres or choliambs or a mixture of both, combining other characteristics that we have already mentioned in terms of vocabulary, syntax and structure. The correspondence between Demetrius and the fable of the later collections supposes a continuity through the Hellenistic collections in verse. These collections, on the other hand, agree with each other in terms of their concrete metrical characteristics, which we will study.

To sum up, at a given moment somebody took the initiative of versifying Demetrius' collection, to which they added other fables. Other authors may, later, have taken the initiative of versifying yet other fables, as well as variants on the previous fables. But always with the same characteristics, roughly speaking, in terms of language, formulas, metrics, structure and content.

This, then, is the core of the problem, establishing when and why the versification of Demetrius' collection and the rest of the fable was achieved, in the same way that, as we have said, there were poets who versified prosaic genres such as the collections of myths (Callimachus, Eratosthenes, etc.), the fictionalized *Lives* (the case of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, see below), the *Periegesis* (the case of the one by Heraclides Creticus (= Ps.-Dicaearchus), ed. Pfister, Vienna 1951), the *Artes* (the *Ars Poetica* by Horace), etc.

Our answer is clear and has been stated earlier, at various points, throughout this book: this step was taken in the 3rd century BC within the Cynic movement. We will now attempt to lay down the first groundwork, although the key part is the study of the Cynic content of many Hellenistic fables, notably fables in verse, a study already partly carried out, and which we will look at in more depth in the chapter that follows. As regards the date, we have some impor-

tant points to make later on in this same chapter, in relation to the metrics of the versified collections.

As regards the content, the influence of Cynicism on the *Life of Aesop* was already noted by H. Zeitz (although to an insufficient extent).[2] We repeated this later.[3] And sporadic observations have also been made regarding the Cynic origin of such and such a fable, particularly in relation to Phaedrus. Above, I 2, on p. 125, I pointed out that it is not a question here of either isolated fables or a Cynic collection that was added to other "sources", or specifically a question of Phaedrus; there was a Cynic content that reached all the collections on approximately equal terms, which therefore came from Antiquity and was even introduced into fables of the Classical tradition and, of course, into all kinds of romances and anecdotes. It is not one more element, isolated and independent; it is a stratum or a phase in the evolution of the fable. This was also pointed out in the previous chapter.

In short, just as the Cynics developed the genre of the biography that was a combination of the realistic and the fantastic, as we will show in our Chap. III 4, they adopted the fable in the same way. Indeed, their use of animal fables, proverbs and similes, starting from the famous one of the dog, had already been noted on various occasions.[4] To take some obvious examples, we have made reference to fables in Cercidas and the Ps.-Callisthenes (on the Cynic influence on same, cf. below), to Cynic symbols in the animals of the fable, to Cynic themes and vocabulary in many fables, to χρεῖαι of Cynic character in the epimythia. The strange thing is that the impact of Cynicism on the fable has gone so unnoticed by Hausrath (despite observations in his article *Phaedrus* in *RE*), by Nøjgaard, by Perry; even by Thiele, who only refers to Phaedrus and, within him, to a limited group of fables.

The reason why the Cynics adopted the fable for their teaching and developed it in accordance with their ideology is clear. The ancient fable agreed with their positions in a series of features sketched

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[2] "Der Aesoproman und seine Geschichte", *Aegyptus* 16, 1936, pp. 225–56, in particular.

[3] Cf. "Elementos cínicos en las 'Vidas' de Esopo y Secundo y en el 'Dialogo' de Alejandro y los gimnosofistas", in *Homenaje a Eleuterio Elorduy S.J.*, Deusto, 1978, pp. 309–328; cf. also "The Life of Aesop and the Origins of the Novel in Antiquity", *QUCC, N.S.* 1, 1979, pp. 93–112.

[4] Cf. for example, G. A. Gerhard, *Phoinix von Kolophon*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1909, pp. 247 ff., 267 ff.; Josifović, art. *Aisopos* in *RE* Suppl. XIII, col. 34 ff.

above; we need only recall the existence of Cynic fables derived from Classical fables or Classical fables with a Cynic interpretation (III 1, page 510 ff.). In essence, it may be said that the Classical fable represents a protest movement against the dominant classes and ideologies of its time, not without agreeing with both on points such as the doctrine of nature, punishment of perjury, etc. It was a rather occasional protest, characteristic of genres such as the iamb and the comedy and the festivals in which they flourished; of "déclassé" characters such as Archilochus or Aesop. It became a supplement to other genres such as the epic and certain types of lyric, to a society and an ideology, without by this there ceasing to be common points, as we have said. The fable, used as an "exemplum" in certain situations, was a lesser and complementary genre; all this was already stated in II 3.

Now, the Cynics presented themselves as systematic enemies of all the old social order, as radical moralists who demolished the old values, sometimes at the service of an uncompromising moralism, sometimes of a hedonism and utilitarianism that nobody had dared to profess openly before. As their weapons they used the joke, the satire and what, in general terms, is called the *spoudaiogeloion*; that is why they took possession of the ancient fable. This was no more and no less than they did with other ancient genres, using them in their own way, modifying them; in their hands the epic became parody, the Socratic dialogue diatribe, they developed the χρεία and created all kinds of jokes, anecdotes, romances; they obtained new shades from the ancient iamb and choliamb, wrote biographies of their heroes, into which they introduced all these elements, used in the way that interested them.[5] Of course, the Cynics were not familiar with the concept of literary property. The thesis of A. Packmore, *De Diogenis Sinopensis apophthegmatis quaestiones selectae*[6] gives a good idea of how the Cynics attributed anecdotes and maxims of the most varying origins to Diogenes; sometimes, very specifically, these had previously been attributed to Socrates, to the Seven Sages or to Aesop. There is nothing strange then, in the fact that they also adopted the

[5] D. R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism*, London, 1937, pp. 95 ff., 110 and ff.; D. L. Giangrande, *The use of Spudaiogeloion in Greek and Roman Literature*, The Hague, 1972, J. Roca Ferrer, "Kynikós tropos". *BIEH* 8, 1974, pp. 85 ff., 163 ff.

[6] Münster, 1913.

fable, a genre midway between the satirical and didactic, a genre of "opposition" and enlightenment.

This interest of the Cynics in the fable is not only deduced from the general considerations stated above and from the data, also mentioned, on its use by same. It also left a trace, I think, in the introduction of the choliamb into the composition of the fables, as well as into formulas and vocabulary of Hellenistic compositions, both the iambic and the choliambic and the subsequent ones in prose.

With respect to the iambic metre—iambic and choliambic trimetres—in which at a given moment the Hellenistic collections of fables were drafted and in which later on, in the Roman and Byzantine Age, they were drafted again, in other places,[7] I have established the thesis that this was, in fact, inherited. In its phase in the Archaic and Classical Age the "exemplum" fable is found fundamentally in iambic poetry: Archilochus, Semonides, the comedy, etc. Fable and iamb were concomitant elements at the festivals, including the banquet; indeed, the fable was part of the iamb, and had its same spirit. This has already been sufficiently emphasized, we believe (7).

There was a very clear idea about the connection between fable and iamb. In the Hellenistic Age, admittedly, it was first a collection of fables in prose that was created, that of Demetrius Phalereus, but later, in parallel to the resurrection of the iambic genres (Callimachus, Herodas, Phoenix, Cercidas, Chares, etc.), this collection began to be drafted in iambic verses, in various versions, and other metrical fables began to be created. Later, these fables were prosified or semiprosified, as we have seen, but this "Aesop in prose" again produced iambs in the collection of Phaedrus, as the prologue to book I of the Latin poet is generally interpreted. Thiele, however,[8] doubts whether it was prose as such or prosified iambs. If we are inclined to support the second opinion, this is because we know that those semiprosified versions are at the basis of the three anonymous collections[9] and that in fact all of the three contain prose with metrical remnants; because we know of an independent semiprosified version, that of the Rylands Papyrus, not to mention the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus and the Assendelft Tablets; and because the tradition of versifying fables in prose was kept alive in the Byzantine Age.

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[7] Cf. particularly II 3.

[8] *Art. cit.*, III, *Hermes* 46, 1910, pp. 30 ff.

[9] Cf. "La tradición...", *Emerita* 37, 1969, pp. 235 ff., cf. especially p. 314; and above I 2, pp. 93 ff.

Thus, the metrical and prosaic traditions of the fable coexisted and replaced one another at various times. From the iamb of the iambographers, the comedians and even the tragedians, there was a change to the prose of the philosophers, which Demetrius continued in his collection, and from his prose there was a change to the iambic collections; and when these were prosified or semiprosified, later came Phaedrus, Babrius and other poets to versify them.[10] The poetic tradition of the fable was never interrupted; we have found the iambic exemplum-fable in the Hellenistic and Roman Ages in Callimachus, Cercidas, the Pseudo-Callisthenes, Lucilius, Ennius, Plautus and Horace. Neither was the prosaic exemplum-fable interrupted, as we have already said.

Nevertheless, this rather general explanation does not seem sufficient to take account of the Hellenistic versification of Demetrius' collection and, particularly, of the prevalence of the choliamb in same. It has been pointed out on certain occasions that the choliamb of the exemplum-fables of Callimachus, which the poet says imitate Hipponax, may have been the model for Babrius. In any event, in view of our current knowledge, we should say that Callimachus is the model for the choliambic fables of the Hellenistic collections and that Babrius followed this model, perfecting it. But we find it a model limited to very few fables, incapable therefore of inspiring a large-scale production. Then it so happens that our knowledge of Classical fables is in iambic trimetres, not in choliambs; it is possible that the latter did exist, but it is certain that they were much less numerous.

In view of this circumstance, we find that just as Hipponax is the model for the Hellenistic choliambs of Callimachus and Herodas, he is also, indirectly, for those of the fables, for a special reason: because his metre was adopted by Cynic poets such as Phoenix and Cercidas. And it was adopted because the Cynics (and Phoenix specifically) presented themselves characterized in a way very close to Hipponax.

The Cynic, wandering around with his knapsack, full of contempt for a society to which he offered the spectacle of his shamelessness and at which he threw the darts of his derision, saw himself as a new incarnation of the wandering poet and beggar, shameless and virulent. Callimachus himself, when writing his well honed choliambs, presents the figure of a Hipponax who has returned to earth from Hades[11] to teach the conceited scholars a lesson. How much more

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[10] It is doubtful, however, whether Babrius is rightly placed here, cf. p. 600.
[11] Callimachus, *Iamb* I.

closely related to him must the Cynics have felt, just as imbued with a belief in their own superiority and in their rabid individualism as the ancient poet? It is not at all strange that, attempting to resuscitate the ancient fable to place it at the service of their ideas, their propaganda, they did so by lending it precisely the metre of the most virulent old iambic poet of all, at the same time the one who was most rooted in the lower classes of the population.

Indeed, the Cynics not only adopted a series of genres which we have mentioned and which appear almost all together in our collections of fables, but they adopted the choliambic metre in particular; the union of the fable and the choliamb was, then, a logical consequence. Cynic poets, or poets with Cynic tendencies, such as Cercidas and Phoenix, wrote in choliambs; we have mentioned these authors and we have already said that they offer animal fables and comparisons, χρεῖαι, etc., of the type of our collections of fables; as do various other poets such as Parmenon, Hermias and Diphilus.[12] In particular, it can be demonstrated that the choliambs, mixed with iambs, of the Hellenistic fable are comparable to those of a work with very pronounced Cynic features, the choliambic *Life of Alexander* which, prosified for the most part, is a component of the *Life of Alexander* attributed to the Pseudo-Callisthenes.

This case is very closely related to that of the Aesopic Fables: a choliambic work, with choliambs endowed with greater metrical licence than those of the Classical choliamb and that of Callimachus and Herodas, which has been partially prosified. The advantage with respect to the fables is that the choliambs have been reconstructed (mostly, not totally) in the editions of G. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, Berlin 1926[13] and A. D. Knox, *Herodes, Cercidas and the Greek Choliambic Poets*, London, 1929, pp. 320 ff.; they have also been studied in a thesis by H. Kuhlmann, *De Pseudo-Callisthenis carminibus choliambicis*, Münster, 1912 (based, moreover, on a knowledge of these choliambs that was nevertheless incomplete).

The work by the Pseudo-Callisthenes as a whole, in the form that it has reached us, is generally considered to be from the Imperial Age: R. Merkelbach[14] gives the 2nd century AD as the *terminus post*

[12] See details on the genre and its dependence on Hipponax and the Cynics in Gerhard, *op. cit.*, pp. 202 ff.

[13] Reprint of 1958.

[14] *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderroman*, Munich, 1954, pp. 31 ff.; cf. also W. Deimann, *Abfassungszeit und Verfasser des griechischen Alexanderromans*, Münster, 1914.

quem. But this does not apply for the choliambic *Life* of Alexander, with a novellesque character imbued with Cynic motifs, as I have studied elsewhere;[15] many of these motifs correspond perfectly to those of the fables and, specifically, the work contains a fable told by Alexander to his army—in choliambs of course[16]—which he uses to raise their spirits with the exemplum of the countless flies destroyed by the wasps. Merkelbach specifically postulates[17] that this fictionalized *Life* included in the Pseudo-Callisthenes comes "right from the middle of the Hellenistic Age" through intermediate versions. Evidently, the choliambic composition is the oldest and the intermediate phases are the prosifications, as in the case of the fable.

We have here too, then, choliambic literature with Cynic tendencies from the first Hellenistic Age, very shortly after the death of Alexander. As they took possession of the fable, the Cynics also took possession of (or influenced) the biography, giving it a tone midway between the realistic and the fantastic, as was the case with those of Alexander, of Aesop, of the *Ass*, later collected by Lucian and Apuleius. We must resist the temptation to attribute the choliambs of that fictionalized *Life* from the 2nd century AD precisely to Babrius, as Kuhlmann does. Today, now that we are familiar with Hellenistic choliambs, that would be impossible, not to mention the fact that we run into the traces of historical proximity to the life of Alexander. How could we think that a *Life* in prose, full of novellesque and poetic features, was put in verse in the 2nd century AD to later be prosified and included in the work of the Pseudo-Callisthenes? This is even more inadmissible if we think that the *terminus ante quem* of the choliambic fables, later prosified and transformed into a source of the Augustana, the Rylands Papyrus and Phaedrus, is the 1st century BC.

Kuhlmann clearly could not place the choliambic *Life* within an appropriate frame; he was also working with a very small quantity of verse from same. On the basis of our current knowledge of the

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There is an extensive summary of the whole question in C. García Gual, *Vida y Hazañas de Alejandro de Macedonia*, Madrid, 1977, pp. 15 ff. K. Wyss, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alexandersromans von Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, Diss., Freiburg 1942, p. 121 places the recension A in the 3rd or 4th centuries AD.

[15] Cf. "Elementos cínicos . . .", *cit.*

[16] Fable of the flies and the wasps in II 16, 2. See above III 1, pp. 534 f., two other fables from the Ps.-Callisthenes.

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

Life, thanks to Kroll and Knox, we can see that the accent on the long penultimate syllable is predominant in the *Life*, but not without exception, as is the case in Babrius.[18] What is more, it contains mixed iambic trimetres, as do the fables (as we stated in our Chapter I 2) and in contrast with Babrius. The choliambs of the Pseudo-Callisthenes (which we should study today, again) are not comparable with those of Babrius. We will see this in detail.

Although the study by Kuhlmann needs to be completed, it does give us a provisional glimpse at this pre-Babrian choliambic poetry, which also differs from that of Hipponax, Herodas and Callimachus. These choliambs, Kuhlmann tells us, are the least rigid that we have encountered. In the Pseudo-Callisthenes we find elements unknown in other choliambographers; for example, the anapest in the second foot and (rarely) the proceleusmatic in the first third, the spondee in the second and fourth, the dactyl in the second, the anapest in the fourth and fifth. As a result of this, there are peculiar sequences of feet. There is licence such as the long syllable before ν, μ, ρ and λ and the hiatus in the penthemimeres (which are reminiscent of Homer). Now, making an exception of what we will say later, from now on we can anticipate that the verses whose remnants are in the prosaic fables of the Imperial Age have the same metrical characteristics and even other new ones.

This choliambic metre (sometimes iambic), then, more flexible than that of Callimachus and Herodas, was the one that the Cynics adopted in the 2nd century BC. Babrius did no more than continue it, but again disciplining it; he "bridles" these choliambs, polishes them in fire, softens their hard and fast feet, as he himself says in his two prologues; and others imitate him. It is clear now that Babrius was familiar with the choliambic fables of the Hellenistic Age.

Now, we must not consider the concepts of the Cynic fable and the choliambic (or iambic) fable as interchangeable. On one hand, it seems clear that Demetrius' collection of Classical fables was all versified in the 3rd century BC; undoubtedly, other Classical fables may have been versified later and included in the new collections. On the other hand, we have already said that, starting from a given moment, the fables were prosified and new fables of a Cynic character

[18] In fact, already in Hipponax, Herodas and Callimachus it is predominant: 73 out of 100, 65.8 out of 100 and 60.2 out of 100 cases, respectively, according to I. C. Cunningham, *Herodas, Mimiambi*, Oxford, 1971, pp. 218 ff.

(and other Stoic or moralizing ones) were included, drafted for the first time in prose; prosaic epimythia were added to all of them.

Indeed, as we have seen, Cynic themes are found both in fables with remnants of verse and in others without; and, in parallel, there were structures that were favoured by the Cynic movement—particularly the situation fables with χρεία—that occur in both. The same needs to be said of the formulas; we will find formulas of a Cynic character, sometimes in verse, sometimes prosaic. And we will see how the latter derive from the former.

Certainly, if there was a Cynic versification of the fables after Demetrius and later a Cynic prosification of same, it is to be expected that some of the formulas, in verse or in prose, have a Cynic character. They offer proof of the intervention of the Cynics in the history of our collections, as do elements of the vocabulary (sometimes presented precisely in the formulas), such as the repeated presence of the key words of their philosophy and their phobias: πόνος, τύχη, φύσις, θάνατος, νοῦς, φρένες, κάλλος, δίκη, πλοῦτος, εὐγένεια, ἰσχύς, εὐτέλεια, τρυφή, τῦφος, μῶρος.

In the section that follows, we will re-examine some of the metrical formulas of the collections and in that and the one after we will also refer to prosaic formulas. We will find traces of Cynicism, in the following types of formulas, among others, to which we will refer later in greater detail:

a) Formulas of self-reproach by the defeated or dead character, for not abiding by the great principles of Cynic philosophy: types δίκαια πάσχω, ἄθλιος ἐγώ and others, cf. pp. 561 f.

b) Theme of the lack of φρένες, cf. H. 9 ἀλλ' εἰ τοσαύτας φρένας ... εἶχες, H. 126 φρένας εἰ εἶχες, H. 19 ἀλλ' ἐσφάλης τῶν φρενῶν, H. 72 ἐκβέβλημαι (τῶν) φρενῶν.

c) Theme of the justice of nature, cf. H. 86 and 150 (Ia) μὴ ἐμὲ μέμφου, ἀλλὰ τὴν φύσιν (with abbreviation of long final syllable into hiatus, cf. p. 577: –⏑⏑–⏑–⏑–⏑⏓), cf. 241 μὴ ἐμὲ μέμφου, τὴν δὲ σὴν φύσιν. From here derive H. 94 (Ia) μὴ ἐμὲ μέμφου, ἀλλὰ τὸν δεσπότην, 178 μὴ ἐμὲ μέμφου, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνέμους, ametrical, but cf. above ἐμέμφετ' αὐτῇ on fables with themes of nature.

d) Theme of fortune, cf. H. 61 πάλιν τὴν τύχην μέμψῃ (metrical).

e) Theme of the "deputation to Zeus" of animals, plants or men, complaining unjustly about their nature: bees, frogs, dogs, camels, asses, plants, etc. There is a metrical formula πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Δία (H. 44, H. 196), and prosaic derivatives; there is also a for-

mula ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ἀγανακτήσας, which I think comes from of a metre Ζεὺς δ' ἠγανάκτει.

f) Theme of the debate "on nobility", H. 14 and 20 περὶ εὐγενείας ἤριζον and "on beauty" H. 123 περὶ κάλλους ἤριζον; various formulas derive from here, cf. below p. 558.

This is no more than a foretaste of a much larger theme.

2. *The Versification and Prosification of the Fable. Formulas*

It does not seem useful to offer more isolated examples of metrical remnants either in the fables of the Rylands Papyrus or in the Anonymous Fables, since the material in I 2 is sufficient. Rather, we will proceed in another way: by presenting a selection of metrical formulas, expanding on what we have just said, but referring this not to the strictly Cynic formulas, but to all of them generally.

And demonstrating the passage from metrical formulas to ametrical ones and the creation of others of this latter type.

This procedure has, I think, various advantages. Since it is easy to see, on occasions, how other ametrical formulas are created from metrical formulas, this way it is possible to find traces of verse where direct examination would not reveal them. On the other hand, since the formulas—both the metrical and the ametrical ones—possess considerable external regularity, we can see in this way that the versified fables had a uniform appearance, due to a single initiative or to an initiative later imitated; and the same needs to be said for the prosified fables (or later ones in prose). Although, as we have said, there may be ramifications within the history of the Hellenistic collections, there is considerable uniformity between them and this is best proven by studying the formulas. Also, since they are a fixed element, they show us the most characteristic themes of the Hellenistic fable, as well as their ideological intention. This all the more because, as we have seen, the "closing statements" are the part of the fable that most frequently conserves formulaic elements.

We saw that the formulas are something inherited by the fable; in fact, from the broader genre that at the time included myths, similes, etc. We then studied the formulas of the fable of the 5th century and those of the prosaic fable of the 4th, which, as we know, influenced those of the fables of Demetrius. The tripartite (or bipartite) division of the fable is marked, indeed, by formulaic elements that begin and close the different parts, cf. pp. 425 ff. We also know

that clearly ametrical formulas of epimythia were extracted from or revealed again in the prosaic fables, after their elimination as a result of deformation in the metrical fables, cf. p. 464; it is not at all strange that the same may have happened in the internal formulas. Not to mention the fact that some formulas, for example, the initial of the animal + καί + another animal, were used both in fables in prose and in verse.

That is to say, we have to suppose that the formulaic language of the fables, which we must bring to light in the Greek fables in prose (Anonymous), derives from the previous formulaic language, which clearly had to be adapted to fit the new needs; but it is derived through metrical versions. We will later have to see to what extent this formulaic language and, specifically, the metrical versions, also left traces—these more difficult to discover—in the Latin fables and in those of the Babrian tradition, which remodels the whole language and style of the fable.

We will start, then, with the study of the system of formulas in the Archaic and Classical fable, in that of Demetrius and in epimythia generally, conducted in Chapters II 5 and 6, to go on to consider the metrical remnants of the formulas of the Augustana and the other Anonymous collections. These remnants had been indicated various times in passing,[19] without reference to the possibility that they might contain verse. We will consider these below, expanding on the elements stated above.

To begin with, then, it is a question of rediscovering at least a part of the formulaic metrical system that underlies the Anonymous collections, extracted either from the Augustana or, on occasions, also from the rest of the tradition (certain manuscripts isolated from it, the Vindobonensis and Accursiana collections, etc., as we have said). From this formulaic system we can expect to deduce something of that of Demetrius, on which we already offered some considerations in II 6, pp. 431 ff.; both systems must be studied, certainly, in connection with the syntactical structures and the structure of the fables generally, as we have already indicated. Certain formulas are characteristic of very precise moments of the fable.

One observation that must be made is that the system of metrical formulas must necessarily be obtained by separating elements within a prosaic context and sometimes by combining elements from

[19] Cf. for example, Nøjgaard, *op. cit.* I, pp. 168 f., 502 f.

the different recensions that we suppose operated on a same semi-prosified model. This means that there is a certain amount of subjectivity in the reconstruction, as well as in the deduction of which prosaic formulas derive from which formulas in verse. There can be no doubt about this; but the fact that a 100 per cent degree of success is not claimed does not mean that there are not some high margins of certainty, particularly if the texts have not been altered more than slightly (exclusions, elimination of the article, reversal of word order, etc.). On the other hand, there is a difficult problem to solve, one that moves in a vicious circle: depending on whether we attribute a stricter or laxer character to the metrics of the Hellenistic collections, the lesser or greater, respectively, will be the volume of formulas re-encountered. On the metrics, cf. below, II. This means that some of the formulas that we collect below must be considered as established provisionally, until we carry out the metrical study.

At this point we will begin a review of some types of formulas that we find in the collections, fundamentally in the Anonymous Collections.

a) *Initial Formulas*

In II 6, pp. 427 ff. we presented various types of initial formulas, which we attributed to Demetrius Phalereus, starting both from their presence in earlier times and in our collections. These are groups started by the protagonist or the two protagonists of the fable, sometimes accompanied by participles, and ended by a verb which may, in turn, take a complement (sometimes one of the protagonists) and other determiners; we emphasized the presence, together with same, of determiners of place and time, including genitive absolutes. But we did not refer to the occasional metrical character of these formulas in the Augustana or to the occasional antiquity of same in Babrius: this did not concern us in that context.

This metrical character is sometimes clear, although at others the same groups of words prove to be ametrical in the Augustana and other collections as a result of prosifications which, moreover, lead us to texts that are undoubtedly comparable to the prosaic fables of Demetrius. It is easy to see that over the course of time there was a change from metrical formulas (Archilochus, etc.) to ametrical ones (the Socratics, Demetrius) and from these to other metrical ones which, in turn, changed into other ametrical ones in the prosified versions.

Now, however, we are interested exclusively in the metrical formulas. In our report in I 2 on the formulas of the Rylands Papyrus and the Anonymous Fables, some can be seen that correspond to initial types reported on in II 6, pp. 427 ff., where they were expressed without paying attention to the metrics (despite the fact that some of the examples that are given are metrical): of the type: noun + part., noun + καί + noun, noun + verb + noun comp., etc. We will, however, make a more detailed exposition of this.

These metrical groups, the continuation, as we have said, of other prosaic ones with the same structure, were created so as to be complemented by other formulas to fill the verse or form a broader group. Thus, a choliamb ending περὶ εὐγενείας ἤριζον in H. 14 and 20 clearly requires an initial noun + καί + noun, with a total of two iambic feet; the beginnings ἀλώπηξ καὶ πίθηκος ἐν ταὐτῷ ὁδοιποροῦντες and ἀλώπηξ καὶ κροκόδειλος, which are those we actually find, cannot, then, be original. On the other hand, parallel ametrical formulas (περὶ τοξικῆς ἤριζον, περὶ εὐκαρπίας ἤριζον) are clearly late, whereas περὶ κάλλους ἤριζον, περὶ δυνάμεως ἤριζον may be ancient. But neither a combination δρῦς καὶ κάλαμος ἤριζον περὶ ἰσχύος (71), nor a final κάλαμος καὶ ἐλαία ἤριζον (239) are old; we see very clearly how formulas that in ancient times were metrical, when placed in certain positions, were later prosified and displaced, which, in short, leads to the same result.

Let us now look at the metrical beginnings in the nominative that in turn required formulas to complete the verse. Here are some remnants of same, which we will occasionally have followed by conserved complementary metrical elements (in brackets) and by derivative prosaic formulas (in brackets and preceded by cf. and an arrow). Unless otherwise indicated, the numbers are from the Augustana (H. numbering, by Hausrath):

1. Noun in nom. sing. or pl.: *PRyl.* 493 ποιμὴν (= 113), 8 Αἴσωπος (ἔλεγε), 26 ἁλιεύς (... ἡλίευε), 137 κύων (... ἐκοιμᾶτο), 148 λέων (... ἐβουλήθη), 149 λέων (... εἰσῆλθε), 184, 185, 186, 187, 188 ὁδοιπόρος, -οι (sometimes with determiners: 184, 188 πολλὴν ὁδόν, 185 θέρους, 186 χειμῶνος, 217, 218 περιστερά, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209 ὀρνιθοθήρας, 253 φιλάργυρος (cf. → 72 δειλὸς φιλάργυρος), etc. From here the type with an ametrical noun such as ἀλώπηξ (common).

2. Noun in nom. sing. or pl. + adj. or equivalent: 42 ἀνὴρ γεωργός, 43 βάτραχοι δύο, 53 παῖδες γεωργοῦ (I invert with γεωργοῦ παῖδες) 55 γυνὴ φιλεργός (I eliminate χήρα in the middle), 56 γυνὴ μάγος

(cf. → 57 γυνὴ πρεσβῦτις), 175 μύρμηξ ὁ νῦν (cf. → μύρμηξ διψήσας), 252 ὗς ἄγριος (ἑστὼς τοὺς ὀδόντας ἠκόνα) with an elimination in the middle.

3. Noun in nom. + part.: from 145 λέων ἐρασθείς, 146 λέων ἀκούσας, etc. there arises → 147 λέων γηράσας, etc.; from 114 τέττιξ λιμώττων, 138 κύνες λιμώττουσαι → 24 ἀλώπηξ λιμώττουσα, 128 κολοιὸς λιμώττων, 96 γυνή τις οὖσα, 44 βάτραχοι λυπούμενοι, 28 and 34 ἀνὴρ πένης νοσῶν, 140 κώνωψ ἐπιστάς (in Bab. 84). There are countless ametrical imitations: 99 ἔριφος ὑστερήσας, 2 ἀετὸς καταπτάς etc., etc. Sometimes a simple inversion restores the metrical formula: 9 πεσοῦσ' ἀλώπηξ (ἀλώπηξ πεσοῦσα).

4. Noun in nom. + καί + noun in nom.: *PRyl.* 493 ἵππος καὶ ὗς (on the prosody cf. p. 577), 71 δρῦς καὶ κάλαμος, 102 Ζεὺς καὶ Προμηθεύς, 106 Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀπόλλων, 250, 251 ὗς καὶ κύων. There are countless ametrical imitations, which undoubtedly often correspond to the ancient originals in prose.

5. Noun in nom + case + verb (variable): *PRyl.* 493 ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν Ἡρακλῆ, 13 ἁλιεῖς σαγήνην (εἷλκον), 78 ἔλαφος κυνηγοὺς (φεύγουσα ametr., cf. → 22 ἀλώπηξ κυνηγοὺς φεύγουσα), 135 κύων λέοντ' (ἰδών, I eliminate θηρευτικός), 139 κύων λαγωόν (συλλαβών, same observation), cf. → 148 λέων ταύρῳ. On occasions a simple inversion can reconstruct the original verse: 45 ἅμαξαν εἷλκον βόες, 1 φιλίαν ἀλώπηξ κἀετός (πρὸς ἀλλήλους complete choliamb). More frequently the imitation has created completely ametrical groups.

6. Noun in gen. abs.: 155 κοιμωμένου λέοντος (with inversion, conserved in Bab. 82).

We need only take a look at II 6, p. 430 to realize that the same metrical combinations appear in Babrius; he clearly inherits them from the Hellenistic collections (unless he proceeds from already prosified collections and has to reinvent them). So it can be seen more clearly that these are the same, we quote from Babrius: 62 ἡμίονος ἀργής, 74 ἵππος τε καὶ βοῦς, 59 Ζεὺς καὶ Ποσειδών, 71 ἰδὼν γεωργός, 76 ἱππεὺς τὸν ἵππον, 57 Ἑρμῆς ἅμαξαν, 78 κόραξ νοσήσας, 79 κύων κρέας, 87 κύων λαγωόν, 95 λέων νοσήσας, 98 λέων ἁλοὺς ἔρωτι (and the κοιμωμένου λέοντος and κώνωψ ἐπιστάς quoted).

b) *Parallel Formulas to the Initial Ones*

In the second part of the three-part fables a protagonist appears again in an initial position, as we already stated above. This is the moment when new formulas appear, similar to some of the previous

ones but also containing a linking particle and sometimes replacing the protagonist with a demonstrative pronoun or, simply, if it is not mentioned, the verb is sufficient. It must be observed that these formulas also appear outside of the beginning of the second part of the fable, and not necessarily at the beginning of the verse; and that there are certain logical differences with respect to the initial ones, apart from the presence of the pronoun: for example, the formula noun + καί + noun is absent.

There are, firstly, groups of nom. + adj. or part., also verb or complement: 38 λύκος λιμώττων, 84 λέων λιμώττων in which the prose has introduced an intermediate which in the verse must follow the group; 93 ὄνος φθονήσας, 102 ὁ δὲ φθονήσας (from where the ametrical 85 κάμηλος φθονήσασα, 83 ἀλώπηξ δ' αὐτῷ φθονήσασα, 127 κορώνη φθονήσασα); 137 λύκος δὲ τοῦτον (θεασάμενος, from where, for example, 151 ἀλώπηξ δ' αὐτὸν θεασαμένη); 18 ἁλιεὺς εἶπε; 24 ἑτέρα δ' ἀλώπηξ. From the group with pronoun, examples can be given of 28 κἀκεῖνος ἐξαναστάς, 151, 155 ὁ δ' ἐξαναστάς (from where ametrical derivatives in 153, 178 and with ἐξαναστᾶσα in 50, 85), 44 ὁ δὲ συνιδών, 57 ὁ δ' εἰσιών, 125 οἱ δ' ἀμφιγνόντες, 133 ὁ δ' οὐχ ὑπομείνας, 68 ὁ δ' ἕτερος (αὐτῷ) παρῄνει (cf. 66); there are, of course, ametrical derivatives, cf. for example, 234 κἀκείνη πειράζουσα. At other times the noun goes in the gen., depending on a pronoun. I think that 80 τῶν δὲ πλεόντων ἕτερος, 39b τῶν ὀρνέων τις represent an ancient type and another 13, 30, 73, 173, which take εἷς δέ τις, generally followed by a genitive, for example, 73 εἷς δέ τις τῶν δελφίνων, and sometimes ametrical 143 εἷς δέ τις τῶν λαγώων.

The beginning of the second part frequently takes καὶ δέ, a more explicit link word than the customary δέ. With this formula there may be noun, metrical or ametrical, but the simple participle without subject is more common: 26 καὶ δὴ κατατείνας (τὰ δίκτυα), 117 καὶ δὴ συνάψας, 166, 199 καὶ δὴ θεασάμενος; of course, there may be a metrical subject pronoun, 177 καὶ δή τινες, just as there may be a part. without a subject and with καὶ δέ absent: 127 ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὀλύνθους, 230 ἰδὼν δέ τινα.

The noun in gen. abs. also occurs, although the use of ὡς ἐθεάσατο, etc. is more frequent: 45 τοῦ δ' ἄξονος τρίζοντος, 303 λέοντος (δ') αὐτοῖς περιτυχόντος.

c) *Formulas of Time and Place*

We have already seen that certain formulas of this type were always traditional in the fable and the myth, particularly with ποτέ. In the Hellenistic fable they are especially frequent at the beginning, although they are not limited to this. They retain fewer metrical remnants than others, clearly many had already been developed within prose.

The traditional ποτέ can easily be introduced into various formulas, cf. for example 139 τοῦτον ποτὲ μὲν ἔδακνε, 196 ὄνοι ποτ' ἀχθόμενοι, cf. parallels in Bab. 72, 85, 87, etc. But there is an extended formula, καὶ δήποτε which we find opening the verse in 25, 37, 40, 87, 107, 183, 222, followed by elements that are sometimes metrical, sometimes ametrical.

A simple χειμῶνος was, evidently, traditional; it is adapted to the metrical scheme in 114 Ib χειμῶνος ὀρχοῦ, which is repeated in Babrius 140 and therefore dates back to the earliest Antiquity. It also fits into other metrical schemes, such as the beginning of the verse in 62 χειμῶνος ὥραν, 179 χειμῶνος ἐπιλαβόντος, 35 χειμῶνος καταλαβόντος and at the end in 179 ὕστερον δὲ χειμῶνος. But in the fables we also find it in ametrical contexts, such as 52 χειμῶνος ἐναπολη φθείς, 186 χειμῶνος ὁδεύων, 30, 35 καὶ δὲ χειμῶνος. Furthermore, true prosaic formulas have been created, cf. 181, 223 χειμῶνος δὲ σφοδροῦ γενομένου, 69 χειμῶνος δὲ σφοδροῦ καταλαβόντος, 30 χειμῶνος δὲ σφοδροῦ γενομένου (γενομένου and καταλαβόντος are sometimes alternated in the recensions); from here derive yet other prosaic formulas, such as 6 χειμῶνος πολλοῦ γενομένου, 303 χειμῶνος δὲ γενομένου σκοτοειδοῦς, 86 χειμῶνος ἐνισταμένου, 107 σφοδροῦ κρύους γενομένου, 71 ἀνέμου δὲ γενομένου.

The heat or the summer may be indicated with a simple θέρους in 43, easy to adapt. But there is also a θέρους ὥρᾳ in 114, 185, metrical in certain positions. And there are other possibilities of expressing the moment in time in metrical terms. Such as 6, 107 τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ (made ametrical in 108, 214 by losing the δ'). And others, though sporadic: 178 μετὰ μικρόν, 155 τὸ τηνικαῦτ' ἀκούσας.

Expressions of space that may date back to ancient times are rare: they have normally been altered by the introduction of the indefinite pronoun. As in 29 ἐπί τινος οἰκίας, 81 ἔν τινι οἰκίᾳ, they regain the metrical form as soon as this indefinite is taken away, 88 ἔν τινι μυρσινῶνι; and other examples can be found. In the Anonymous Fables, however, the form with the indefinite has been most widely used, cf. the beginnings of, among other fables, 7, 52, 82, 83, 84,

86, 87, 117, 150, 163, 218, 219, 230, 245. These formulas are sometimes repeated, as in ἔν τινι ἐπαύλει, and others are extended; there is, for example: ἐπί τινος ὑψηλοῦ δένδρου (ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ δένδρου) in 219 III). In any event, the beginning of the system dates back to the Hellenistic metrical fables, we need only compare the beginnings ἐν ὁδῷ in Bab. 48, ἐν τῷ ποτ' οἴκῳ Bab. 51, etc.

d) *Formulas with "He Saw", "Seeing"*

Very frequently in the first part of the fable the mention of the protagonist or protagonists is followed by the indication "he saw", "seeing", which launches the action. Although less often, this also occurs in the second part of fables with ternary structures.

Formulas exist in particular with ἰδών occupying either the first or the second foot of the verse and being followed or preceded, respectively, by the name of the protagonist or else by a pronoun, sometimes in the nom., sometimes in the acc. The scheme subj. + ἰδών is very rare, cf. 190 καὶ ὁ ὄνος ἰδών, certainly from an older ὄνος δ' ἰδών; on the other hand, the same group is frequent, but with θεασάμενος, cf. for example 162 λύκος θεασάμενος, which may be ancient, although the substitution of ἰδών with θεασάμενος is common in the recensions. More common is compl. dir. + ἰδών, cf. for example 3 κάνθαρον ἰδών, 32, 135 λέοντ' ἰδών, 148 II ταῦτ' οὖν ἰδών, but I θεασάμενος, 198 III λύκον δ' ἰδών (I ὡς ἐθεάσατο λύκον).

More common, of course, is ἰδών forming the first foot (or part of same, in 273 III ὁ δ' ἰδὼν ἔφη): 117 III ἰδὼν δὲ κίχλαν (I, II θεασάμενος δὲ κίχλαν, 183 II ἰδὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος, 230 ἰδὼν δέ τιν' ὁδοιπόρον, 236 ἰδὼν ἅμαξαν, 270 ἰδὼν δ' ὁ βοῦς (ἐμειδίασε). Ametrical formulas have, of course, arisen: 283 III ἰδὼν τὸν μέγαν, 301 III δ ἰδὼν τὸν πανδοκέα, 248 ἰδὼν δ' αὐτόν, 265 Ib ἰδών τινα κόχλον, 253 ἰδὼν δέ τις αὐτόν.

The Antiquity of these and other formulas of the same type is confirmed by Babrius: 32 ἰδὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος, 42 ἰδὼν δ' ἔφευγε, 71 ἰδὼν γεωργόν, 92 ἰδὼν ἔφησε, 113 ὁ κύων δ' ἰδών, 117 ἰδών τις, 122 λύκον δ' ἰδών, etc.; some, as we see, identical.

The problem lies, then, in the antiquity of the formulas with θεασάμενος, θεασαμένη, ὡς ἐθεάσατο, very often repeated, which are totally absent from Babrius. They have proliferated a great deal, of course, and many are recent, specifically the very frequent ὡς ἐθεάσατο, ἐπειδὴ ἐθεάσατο. It cannot be ruled out that the type λύκος or λύκον θεασάμενος, καὶ δὴ θεασάμενος is sometimes ancient; we will see that

the choliamb of the metrical model of the Anonymous Fables sometimes has diaeresis (not that of Babrius, which would explain the disappearance of the formula). We note that in the Rylands Papyrus we find a metrical ἰδὼν τὸ συμβεβηκός replaced in the Augustana 113 by ἐθεάσατο τὸ γεγονός.

Although it performs another very different function (it opens certain direct speeches), we will mention here another formula of "to see", that is, ὁρῶ γάρ, 23 ὁρῶ γὰρ (αὐτοὺς οὐδέ), 65 ὁρῶ γὰρ ὅτι, metrical contexts, and 115 ὁρῶ γὰρ (καὶ τὸν αἴτιον), 148 ὁρῶ γὰρ παρασκευήν, ametrical contexts.

e) *Formulas of "To Say"*

Also very common in the first and second parts of fables. Of course, forms such as ἔλεγε, ἔφη, etc., may be introduced in very different combinations; let us look at some of the more frequent.

One of these is the group ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν (or else αὐτήν, etc.), with a structure ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓ which may go at the start of the verse (cf. an example in H. 40, p. 86) or begin the third foot. Ἔλεγεν, ἔφασαν may precede a frequent final πρὸς ἀλλήλους (at other times it goes after κοινωνίαν 154, 156, 203 altered): 185 ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 187 ἔφασαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

Groups of "to say" are common before the final closing statement. Thus, in the ending to verse 62, we have ἔλεγε δὲ θνήσκων and we probably need to discover parallel formulas in places where there is a change of word order: 78 III θνήσκουσα δ' ἔλεγε (for ἔλεγε δὲ θνήσκουσα) 84 III ὁ δὲ θνήσκων ἐβόα (for ἐβόα δὲ θνήσκων). But, particularly, there is a very large group of formulas with εἶπε ending the verse, preceded by various metrical segments.

There are certain passages in which simply establishing that εἶπε is followed by a choliamb makes it clear that this is a final verse formula: as in 9, 13, 36, etc. (followed, respectively, by: ἀλλ' εἰ τοσαύτας φρένας...; παυσώμεθ', ὦ ἑταῖροι; οὗτος, πέπαυσο...).

These are normally (not always) groups in which there precedes a participle, of the type ⏑ ⏑ – (18 ἁλιεὺς εἶπε, 271 ἐπάρασ' εἶπε); ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – (ὑποτυχὼν εἶπε, 10 ὑποτυχοῦσ' εἶπε, 23 ἀπολυθεὶς εἶπε, etc.), ⏑ – ⏑ – (9 ἀποστραφεῖσ' εἶπε, 225 ἀναστενάξας εἶπε). It is possible that parallel formulas with ἔφη are the result of alterations by the prosifiers: 20 ὑποτυχοῦσ' ἔφη, 191 καταπονηθεῖσ' ἔφη, 198 διατεθεὶς ἔφη.

Certainly, these are not all the possibilities of the use of εἶπε; we find it at the beginning of a verse (14, 51 ὁ δ' εἶπεν) and also, it

seems, before the final group] ⏓ – – ⏓, occupying the place between the penthemimeres and the hepthemimeres as in 14: πίθηκος ἐπιδείξας/ αὐτῇ τὰ μνήματ' εἶπε. But it is noteworthy that in Babrius the final εἶπε does not seem to be found, whereas it is very frequently located between penthemimeres and hepthemimeres, preceded by the name of an animal or a participle: cf. 2.13, 12.7, 14.3, 20.6, 29.3, 33.22, 36.9, 40.3, etc.

f) *Agonal Formulas and Others with Double Subject*

These are very common after the very beginning of the fable. We have already commented on them.

When a fable begins with a double subject (the name of two animals or a plural name, sometimes with δύο, etc.), it is frequently the case that there is an activity (expressed by a verb in pl.) between them. Among others, that of the fight or dispute, for which there exist:

a) Metrical formulas 14, 20 περὶ εὐγενείας ἤριζον, 12 περὶ κάλλους ἤριζον, 46, 132 περὶ δυνάμεως ἤριζον, 254 περὶ ὀξύτητος ἤριζον.

b) Ametrical formulas 233 περὶ εὐκαρπίας ἤριζον, 106 περὶ τοξικῆς ἤριζον, 71 ἤριζον περὶ ἰσχύος, 239 διὰ καρτερίαν καὶ ἰσχὺν . . . ἤριζον and others even more remote: 258 περὶ κάλλους ἐφιλονείκουν, 246 ἐφιλονείκουν, 53, 291 ἐστασίαζον, 250 πρὸς ἀλλήλας διεφέροντο, 73 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐμάχοντο, 152 περὶ τούτου ἐμάχοντο, 212 ἔν τινι οἰκίᾳ ἐμάχοντο (contaminated type).

These formulas are not found in Babrius, where the closest are 39 διεφέροντο φαλαίναις, 59 τούτοις ἤριζ' Ἀθηνᾶ, 64 ἤριζον ἐλάτη καὶ βάτος, 68 ὁ Ζεὺς . . . ἠρίδαινε τῷ Φοίβῳ, 18 λέγουσιν . . . ἔριν γενέσθαι and a few other examples; this gives the impression that the formulas not only of the Augustana, but, evidently, of its model, have been carefully avoided.

On the other hand, the above formulas from the Augustana and others are not isolated; they are part of a system. Very often there are beginnings with a double subject that finish the choliamb describing a common activity, which usually opens the way for the ἀγών. These endings are even sometimes partially choliambic (211 ἐν ταὐτῷ διέτριβον, 256 ἐν ταὐτῷ ἐνέμοντο, 64, 204 ἐν ταὐτῷ ὁδὸν ἐβάδιζον) or iambic (68, 294 ἐν ταὐτῷ ὡδοιπόρουν), or sometimes completely ametrical. There may be alterations, such as 256 τὸν αὐτὸν λειμῶν' ἐνέμοντο must come from τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνέμοντο λειμῶνα, 238 ἐν ταὐτῷ ἐνέμοντο is clearly innovated, just as 43 ἐνέμοντο ἐν λίμνῃ, perhaps

by ἐνέμοντο τῇ λίμνῃ. Also significant is the repeated (and already mentioned) κοινωνίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, followed by a verb at the beginning of the following verse; a type to which, in short, if our reconstruction is correct, 1 φιλίαν ἀλώπηξ κάετὸς πρὸς ἀλλήλους would belong.

We do not find these formulas in Babrius, although we do find other similar ones: 44 ἐνέμοντο μετ' ἀλλήλων, 31 . . . εἶχον . . . πρὸς ἀλλήλους/πόλεμον, 64 ἤριζον . . . πρὸς ἀλλήλας, 108 ἔθεντο κοινὸν τὸν βίον πρὸς ἀλλήλους (which fully give the impression of being a translation of formulas such as H. 1 φιλίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σπεισάμενοι, 154, 156 κοινωνίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σπεισάμενοι, 161 κοινωνίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους στειλάμενοι, 203 κοινωνίαν συνθέμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 39b φιλίαν συνθεμένους, 268 φιλίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιησάμενοι). It again seems, then, that there are conscious alterations to the system of formulas. In *PRyl.* 493, 1.22 we find a λειμῶνος ἐκοινώνουν which is perhaps another variant (cf. In Bab. 67 θήρης . . . ἐκοινώνουν).

g) *Various Formulas of Action*

Before going on to deal with the formulas that are characteristic of the "closing statement" and the conclusion generally, we will provide some information on a few formulas of action, generally corresponding to the second part (or to the first, in two-part fables). Here is a small selection.

1. ἐπειρᾶτο ending preceded by —◡— and other groups, which appears in 109 συλλαβεῖν (αὐτὸν) ἐπειρᾶτο, 73 διαλύειν ἐπειρᾶτο and other places. From here derive: with change of word order, 197 ἐπειρᾶτο μετάγειν, 274 ἐπειρᾶτο καθαίρειν; with preceding ametrical term, 186 θερμαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο, 209 συλλαμβάνειν ἐπειρᾶτο; with change of word order and ametrical term, 199 ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ ταύτην δεδίττεσθαι, 237 ἐπειρᾶτο ἑαυτὴν ἐκτείνειν; with replacement of the term ἐπειρᾶτο, 117 συλλαβεῖν ἐβουλήθη, ametrical, and frequent uses of ἐβουλήθη + inf.

These uses, metrical or ametrical, usually refer to the self-criticism of those who have acted badly, cf.; for example 118 ἀλλ' ἔγωγε δίκαια πέπονθα ὅτι θαλάσσιος ὢν χερσαῖος ἐβουλήθην γενέσθαι (for γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθην).

It is significant that in Babrius the formula does not exist with ἐπειρᾶτο, but it does with ἐβουλήθη (124 συλλαβεῖν ἐβουλήθη, cf. 48 μετασχεῖν . . . ἐβουλήθην).

2. μέλλουσ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι is another final formula that we find in 4, 76, 88, 182, and which surprisingly does not find the counterpart

of an expected μέλλων ἀναιρεῖσθαι; it is possible that it derives from ὡς δ' ἔμελλ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι. On the other hand, we do find, in 130 and 186, an ἀποθνῄσκειν μέλλων which must come from μέλλων ἀποθνῄσκειν (although the metrical viability is the same), in 133 an ἐπειδὴ ἀποθνῄσκειν ἔμελλε, which is likely to have come from ὡς δ' ἔμελλ' ἀποθνῄσκειν. There is evidence of the use of this position of ἔμελλε in 19, ἔμελλ' ὀλισθαίνειν. We must note, once again, the different use by Babrius: he does not have ἀναιρεῖσθαι "to die", nor does he construct ἀποθνῄσκειν with μέλλω; and this last verb tends to appear at the start of verse or else following an initial infinitive.

3. ἤλαυνεν εἰς ἄστυ appears in 189, 193 (mss. E A). Cf. Bab. 52 εἰς ἄστυ . . . εἷλκον.

But it is perhaps ametrical (diaeresis III and spondee IV, cf. below p. 569).

4. ἐμέμφετ' αὐτόν with variants appears in 9 III, 22 II, 26, 83 III, 178, 241. It is related to Cynic formulas studied above.

5. 28 δρομαῖος ἧκεν, 107 ἧκε δρομαῖος are the same formula, in the second case there is inversion, 170 ἀπῄει δρομαῖος is an ametrical derivative. Absent from Babrius.

6. The πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Δία of 44, 196 may be interpreted as the beginning of a verse with inversion, πρὸς τὸν Δία πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν cf. prosified 158 πάντες πρέσβεις. Cf. p. 548 on the Cynic character of these fables and on another formula characteristic of same. There is nothing comparable in Babrius.

7. A choliamb ending 117 ἐξῆλθεν εἰς ἄγραν, 154 ἐξῆλθον εἰς ἄγραν is clearly the model for 206 ἐξῆλθον ἐπ' ἄγραν, 21 ἐπ' ἄγραν ἐξελθόντες, 94 ἐξιὼν ἐπ' ἄγραν. The word does not appear in Babrius. Perhaps ametrical, cf. 3.

8. The group ᾐτίατ' αὐτόν (86, 150, 160, 214), ᾐτίατ' αὐτήν (19), ᾐτίατ' αὐτούς (92) is an exemplary choliamb ending. Absent from Babrius.

9. A group is common in which παρῄνει is preceded or followed by a pronoun in the dat. (αὐτῷ, τούτῳ, etc.). I think it is an initial group until the hepthemimeres: of the type 83 αὐτῷ λαβεῖν παρῄνει (mss. π. αὐ. λ.), 91 τούτῳ λέγειν παρῄνει (mss.), but also of a group until the penthemimeres conserved in 68 αὐτῷ παρῄνει μὴ λέγειν, cf. 17 αὐταῖς παρῄνει (mss.). Both groups are extended in 158 παρῄνει αὐτῷ ἑλέσθαι, 162 π. αὐ. κατωτέρω καταβῆναι, 198 π. αὐ. πρῶτον ἐξελεῖν. There is no trace of the verb in Babrius.

10. Also very significant are groups with a final ἐκοιμᾶτο (137 κύων . . . ἐκοιμᾶτο, 187 ναυαγὸς . . . ἐκοιμᾶτο, etc.).

h) *Formulas of Lament*

We begin here the exposition of some of the formulas of the third part of the fable (second of the two-part ones), insofar as they contain metrical elements. We will restrict ourselves to formulas of the "closing statement"; we have already referred to some prosaic concluding formulas (and we will return to these), of the type οὕτω δὲ συνέβη.

To begin with, in 117 there exists a beginning of verse ἄθλιος ἐγώ, ὅς (III δύστηνος). Although it only appears here, it is the start of prosaic modifications. On one hand, in 84 III there is ἄθλιος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀνόητος: an extended formula. On the other, by replacing ἄθλιος with declined forms of the same word and introducing, sometimes, changes in the word order, the result is prosaic formulas such as 202 ἄθλιοι ἡμεῖς, οἵ, 152 ἄθλιοι ἡμεῖς, εἰ; 76 II ἀθλία ἐγώ, ἥτις (I δειλαία (an innovation), 77 ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἀθλία, 141 ἀθλία ἔγωγέ εἰμι, ἥτις, 82 ἀθλίαι ἡμεῖς, αἵ, 221 III ἀθλίαι ἡμεῖς, αἵ (I εἴ γε). Seldom do we see the intervention of the prosifiers more clearly than here, deriving ametrical formulas. There is no trace of these formulas in Babrius, but there is in Par. Bodl. 151 Cr. ὢ ἀθλία ἐγώ. They translate the μεμψιμοιρία of the Cynics.[20]

The replacement of ἄθλιος with synonyms creates ametrical variants, as we have just seen. It is clear that 76 I δειλαία ἐγώ, ἥτις alters the semiprosified model, conserved in III ἀθλία ἐ., ἥ; it is also in 88 (only Ia). In contrast, in 152 ἄθλιοι ἡμεῖς . . . ὅτι of I corresponds in III to δείλαιοι ἡμεῖς, ὅτι; another derivative formula is 78 βαρυδαίμων ἐγώ, ἥτις. Now, I believe we find an original metrical formula with δείλαιος: a choliamb ending in 130 and 133 ἀλλ' ἔγωγε δείλαιος, followed by a ὅστις at the beginning of the following verse. 25 has a feminine variant (also metrical) ἀλλ' ἔγωγε δειλαία/ἥτις. Confirming the idea that it is original is the fact that in Babrius δείλαιος always goes at the end of a choliamb; our concrete formula is lacking, however. Once again this gives the impression that Babrius was familiar with the ancient formulas but tended to eliminate them.

i) *Formulas of Self-Reproach*

We refer to the formula δίκαια πάσχω, conserved at the beginning of a verse in 62 (δίκαια πάσχω τὸν πονηρὸν οἰκτείρας, complete chol.) and 79 and after οἴμοι in 198 III γ and (οἴμοι, δίκαια πάσχω).

[20] Cf. J. Geffcken, "Studien zur griechischen Satyre", *NJJb.* 1911, p. 407.

This formula has been prosified in the very widespread version ἀλλ' ἔγωγε δίκαια πέπονθα (118, 153, 165, 186, 198 I, 198, 219, 225), also 122 ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἄξια πέπονθα and simply 192 δίκαια πέπονθα and 265 δίκαια ἔγωγε πέπονθα.

We think that the formula δίκαια πάσχω and its variant οἴμοι δίκαια πάσχω come from the ancient Hellenistic collections in verse, since there is a trace of them in the Babrian tradition. Firstly, the entire verse is in Bab. 143 (ms. G); on the other hand, we must rule out of consideration Par. Bodl. 147b Cr., a mere transcription by Crusius of H. 62. Also, in Bab. 122.14 there is a οἴμοι . . . σὺν δίκῃ πάσχω which is an adaptation at the end of a verse of the same formula beginning with οἴμοι; this procedure is very typical of Babrius. Likewise, we think that the ἔτλην—ἔλεξεν—οἷα χρή με, δυσδαίμων of 129 is a re-elaboration of the same formula.[21]

But this is not all. Both in the fables of the Anonymous Collections that conserve the metrical formula and in those that present it modified in the way we have said, it is very often the case that:

a) The preceding verse closes with a formula of the type "he said", which we have studied above, p. 557. In 62 we have ἔλεγε δὲ θνῄσκων, in 79 ἔλεγε δὲ θνῄσκουσα, in 192 καταπονηθεῖσ' ἔφη (for εἶπε), in 198 διατεθεὶς ἔφη (same observation), in 225 ἀναστενάξας εἶπε, etc.

b) The continuation of the formula is frequently τί γάρ (122, 186, 198, 219, 225), also τί δήποτε γάρ (122), perfectly metrical.

The fact is that Babrius supports the antiquity of these metrical contexts. In 122 he makes τί γάρ follow οἴμοι . . . σὺν δίκῃ πάσχω, and the same occurs in 129 after ἔτλην οἷα χρή με. In these two places a verb "he said" precedes, except that Babrius introduces it in the middle of the speech of the one doing the self-reproaching (οἴμοι . . . εἶπε, σὺν δίκῃ πάσχω and ἔτλην, ἔλεξεν, οἷα χρή . . ., respectively).

The correspondence between the formulas of the Augustana, both the metrical ones and the derivative ones, and the Babrian imitations or remodellings proves exhaustively a fact that we have continuously observed, namely that the Anonymous Fables conserve remnants of an original verse that Babrius took as a source of inspiration, but made an effort to change, replacing the ancient formulas with other new ones that he had invented. Even so, a clear trace remains of his dependence on the ancient version.

[21] It must be pointed out that H. 62 represents a second version of H. 186 (where there is ἀλλ' ἔγωγε δίκαια πέπονθα· τί γάρ . . . within the Augustana.

j) *Formulas with an Exclamatory οὗτος*

In the "closing statement", these constitute a reproach towards the defeated character. There are various types that have been contaminated, but the fundamental facts are clear:

a) οὗτος, πέπαυσο: initial group, until the penthemimeres, that is in 36, 122 and, with a variant αὕτη, πέπαυσο, in 218. There is always a beginning ἀλλ' ὦ, coming from another type: if it were original here, the result would be ametrical. Note, also, that 112 is a complete choliamb, if we merely insert <σὴν>: οὗτος, πέπαυσο, τὴν <σὴν> οὐσίαν διαφθείρων.

b) ὦ οὗτος + vowel: also initial; there is above all the group followed by ἀλλά or ἀλλ', cf. 20 II ὦ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ κἂν σὺ μὴ εἴπῃς (complete chol.), 116 ὦ οὗτος, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν σ' ἔδει λέγειν ταῦτα (id.), 211 ὦ οὗτος, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν σ' ἔχρῃ ἁπλοῦν εἶναι (id.). Cf. also 33 ὦ οὗτος, εἰ, 161 ὦ οὗτος, οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς; 223 ὦ οὗτος, αὕτη. Sometimes there precedes anametrical ἀλλ'. Of course, by adding a word beginning with a consonant, the metre is destroyed: 170 ὦ οὗτος, σὺ τἀλλότρια. And the same in parallel, but derivative formulas, with ὦ αὕτη, ὦ οὗτοι, etc., cf. for example 17 ὦ αὕτη, ἀλλ'....

These formulas have evidently been eliminated by Babrius. In him there are, on one hand, beginnings of "closing statements" with ὦ and πελαργέ, τάλαν, τᾶν, etc.; on the other, one or two rare οὗτος, but initial only in Par. (outside of here, in Bab. 49.3, 133.3); nevertheless, an initial πέπαυσο (in 15.3) and παῦσε, παῦσαι, not initial (28.8, 16.2). The system was then dismantled.

k) *Formulas with εἰ + Unreal Circumstance*

In the "closing statements" there is frequent use, after exclamations with οὗτος or other words, of an unreal circumstance indicating the conditions in which the other character would have had to find himself to avoid the misfortune that befell him. This is an extensive and irregular group of formulas, characterized, in any case, by an εἰ + compl. dir. + imperfect verse ending. Some examples:

a) 201 τοσοῦτον ἐνταῦθ' εἰ χρόνον διέτριβες, complete chol. achieved by only changing the position of εἰ (mss. εἰ τ.).

b) Formulas with εἶχες: 22 εἰ τοῖς λόγοις ὅμοια τοὺς τρόπους εἶχες (complete chol., I eliminate an interpolation that varies according to the mss.), 126 φρένας εἰ εἶχες, 9 εἰ τοσαύτας φρένας εἶχες with a rare dactyl in the penultimate foot (if we need not correct φρένας εἰ εἶχες).

c) Formulas with ᾔδειν, etc.: 158 ὄνον ὄντ' εἰ μὴ ᾔδειν (mss. εἰ μ. ᾔ. ὄ. ὄ.), 169 εἰ μὴ ᾔδειμεν, 264 γλύφειν λέοντες... εἰ μὴ ᾔδεσαν (mss. εἰ μ. ᾔ. λ. γ., probably in ancient times ᾔδεισαν).

In Babrius I do not find an exact correspondence to these forms of the unreal, relating particularly to a lack of knowledge or talent on the part of the defeated character; but cf. Bab. 142.7.

l) *Formulas with συνέβη*

I think οὕτω τε συνέβη is ancient (31, 103, 107, 125, etc.), an initial formula until the penthemimeres. From here come ametrical formulas of the type συνέβη δὲ αὐτῷ (1), συνέβη δὲ αὐταῖς (55), συνέβη plus different ametrical elements such as 25 συνέβη τὴν θάλασσαν, etc., also 105 etc. ἐκ τούτου δὲ συνέβη, etc. These are completely absent from Babrius.

m) *Conclusion. Prosaic Formulas*

Thus, if all the fables—or most of them, at least—are full of metrical remnants, these are particularly concentrated in the formulas, which, in turn, are especially well conserved in the "closing statements". Sometimes these are small metrical schemes corresponding to two feet, with many replaceable elements; at others, with extensive formulas, of up to one complete choliamb. And the form in which the formulas are intertwined with each other can sometimes be seen. Our study exposes the system of formulas of the Anonymous Fables, but it does not enter into all its details nor into its operation. It is a system that clearly started from a remodelling of formulas that Demetrius had inherited from the Classical Age bearing a unitary stamp, in connection, as we have said, with the Cynic drafting of the fables. Their connection with the systems of Babrius and the other collections has been indicated in a series of points and is a theme to which we will return.

We have been able to see throughout this study that there has been a passage from metrical formulas to other prosaic ones, by expansion, changes in word order, substitution with synonyms, introduction of the feminine or the plural, combination of formulas that, being in themselves metrical, cannot be combined for reasons of prosody, etc. It is also easy to see in the material presented that the prosaic formulas that were introduced into the Anonymous Fables spread extensively, and were often repeated. This means that, if there is a unity in the versified draft (whether it is all by the same author

or there are various authors imitating each other), the same must be said of the later prosified edition or editions, since prosaic formulas are found even in the fables in which we at least have not been able to find traces of verse. The fact that formulas in verse were always prosified in the same way and that new prosaic formulas were created and became widespread means that there was either a single writer in prose, or a school of writers.

We have offered certain considerations above on these prosaic formulas, to which we must add all the points made in II 6 on the formulas of the epimythia, which are particularly long and widely used and, of course, without any trace of verse, whether they were created this way specially, or whether they imitate, as we have said, elements of the fable of Demetrius or that prior to him. We consider, then, that the theme has been sufficiently clarified. Nevertheless, we will offer some further data on ametrical formulas, bringing together some groups of these whose metrical precedents, if they exist, are not easy to work out:

a) There are a series of prosaic formulas that expand ἐπυνθάνετο. One type has it followed by αὐτοῦ (66, 147, 156, 214, 261, 299), αὐτῆς (108), αὐτῶν (7, 239), sometimes by the name of an animal; and it is continued with πῶς (πῶς ἔχοι, etc. 7, 96, 147), εἰ, τις... which at other times are added directly. But it is more significant that αὐτοῦ, etc. is often followed by τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἥν (48, 113, 121, 189); simply ἐπυνθάνετο τὴν αἰτίαν may also occur (24). There is a complete system of prosaic formulas, absent from Babrius (where there is no πυνθάνομαι): wherever ἐπυνθάνετ' αὐτοῦ etc. is located in the verse, it requires an even foot with anapest, which is rare or impossible (cf. p. 582), the group followed by τὴν αἰτίαν is even more uninterpretable.

b) Formulas with εὖ ἴσθι. These appear in "closing statements": 92 ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθι, ὦ οὗτος, 155 νῦν δ' εὖ ἴσθι, 156, 199 ἀλλὰ εὖ ἴσθι, 214 ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθι, 251 III ἀλλ'... ἴσθι (I γίνωσκε). Perhaps there is original metre in 134 ὦ οὗτος, ἴσθι. There are no parallels in Babrius.

c) Formulas "he climbed up a tree". We find 32, 66 ἀνέβη ἐπί τι δένδρον, cf. 224 ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀνέβη, 1 ἀνέβη ἐπί τι περίμηκες δένδρον (from where 81 ἀναβὰς ἐπί τινα πάσσαλον), 117 ἐπί τινος ὑψηλοῦ δένδρου καθημένην (cf. 219 and 245). We can follow how these formulas were engendered by each other, as they are all ametrical, as we can see. There is no trace in Babrius.

d) Here, finally, are a few often repeated ametrical phrases: θεασάμενος αὐτόν or ἐπειδὴ ἐθεάσατο (very common), ὦ κακὴ κεφαλή (38, 135, 193), ὦ κάκιστα ζῷα (11, 54, 74, 224), cf. *P.Ryl.* 493, 1.44 ὦ κάκιστα πρόβατα.

Ζεὺς ἀγανακτήσας, cf. above p. 549 (44, 102, 109, 119, 172, 175), from here δελφίς, οὗτος, λέων ἀγανακτήσας (75, 92, 154); ῥοπάλοις αὐτὸν παίων ἐξήλασε (145), from where ῥοπάλοις αὐτὴν παίοντα ἐξήλασαν (85), ἐξήλασαν αὐτόν (131) ἀνὴρ πένης νοσῶν (28, 34), νοσῶν τις (180), possibly from πένης (or ἀνήρ) ἐνόσει. Cf. perhaps also ἤλαυνεν εἰς ἄστυ and ἐξῆλθεν εἰς ἄγραν, above p. 560 and below p. 582.

These are a few examples from among the many that could be given. They simply demonstrate the custom of saying the same things with the same phrases and things related to each other with equally related phrases, which is characteristic of all the systems of formulas. The uniformity of the composition of the fables of the "Ancient Augustana" is thus proven. This uniformity was undoubtedly greater than that of the later Anonymous collections, as we see from the fact that it is sometimes one, sometimes the other that is closest to the ancient model.

II. *Metrical Characteristics and Collections*

The study that follows below attempts to place the metre of the Hellenistic fable within the metrical and prosodic history of the iambic trimetre and the choliamb. It is, in any case, a provisional study. On one hand, because it is based on reconstructions that must be taken further and further on each occasion, among other things because the establishment of a metrical doctrine such as the one we are attempting takes priority over these. On the other because, just as we have relied on important and detailed studies of the verse of the tragedy and the comedy, those regarding the iambographers and choliambographers of the Archaic and Classical Age and the Hellenistic Age have remained totally antiquated in view of the enormous increase in materials. Our comparisons are therefore provisional.

Even so, we think that a sufficiently clear picture emerges from the study of the metrical materials that can be salvaged from the prosifications of the Anonymous fables. The Hellenistic versifiers did not restrict themselves to putting the fables of Demetrius into a tra-

ditional verse, they put them into a verse with special characteristics, which they made evolve within certain well defined historical tendencies.

1. *Verse in the Hellenistic Fables*

a) *Presence of Iambic Trimetres alongside Choliambs*

We will attempt to define more closely the metrical and prosodic characteristics of the verse of the Hellenistic collections that were later prosified, of which we have presented numerous examples, preceded by others stated in Chapter I 2 and, before, in "La tradición fabulística".

To begin with, in said article and in our chapters cited, we showed with an abundance of data that the verses of the Hellenistic fables were very frequently choliambs, but also iambs. It is not necessary repeat the data here, but we will say that the presence of iambic trimetres in the fable is not exclusive to the model of the Anonymous Fables.

The semiprosified fable of the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus II 84 has clear trimetres:

νόμους φοβηθεὶς ἔφυγεν εἰς ἐρημίαν
κακοῦργος οὐδεὶς λανθάνει θεόν
ἄγει τὸ θεῖον τοὺς κακοὺς εἰς τὴν δίκην

I think, mixed with choliambs, cf. particularly ἀνῆλθεν εἰς δένδρον.

See also the fable of the lion and the mouse in T.Assend. 9 (= Hausrath, *Corpus*, II, p. 118) and in the very closely related version in the Ps.-Dositheus (id., p. 121). A series of verse endings that are clearly iambic are reconstructed:] ἀφήλατο,] ἐξύπνικεν,] ἐβούλετο,] ἐπαγγέλλετο; it is possible that there is also a choliamb ending in] ὑπισχνεῖτο. In another semiprosified fable of the Assendelft Tablets, number 20,[22] we find absolutely clear iambic trimetres.[23]

δηχθεὶς δ' ἔφη· δύσαγνε καὶ μιαιφόνε
ἔσωσα σ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἵνα με δειλὸν κτάνῃς;
] οὐ δεῖ κακοὺς εὐεργετεῖν

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[22] Cf. "La tradición . . .", p. 42.

[23] It is significant that this fable has versified the epimythium, as has that in the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus, something clearly recent and secondary.

And two fables in the collection of the ms. Mb are purely in iambic trimetres (together with 30 choliambics, of these 18 also in the Athous of Babrius), that is, those that Crusius publishes as *Iambs* 7 and 9; and one from the collection of ms. G (together with 30 choliambics, of these 27 in the Athous).[24] On other possible fables in trimetres independent of the tradition of the Anonymous Fables, cf. "La tradición . . .", p. 270.

The tradition of trimetres is, then, normal in the fable; if it is absent from Babrius, this is evidently due to one of the metrical innovations that this poet boasts of having introduced into the choliamb (cf. I 2, pp. 93 f.); it is a different and opposite solution to that of some of the fables mentioned and of Phaedrus, of generalizing the senarius following the ancient tradition of the fable in iambic trimetres. In the Hellenistic fable there is a definite mixture of trimetres and choliambs; but this mixture is not original to the fabulistic genre. It also appears in the Ps.-Callisthenes, whose verses we consider to be contemporary to the first draftings of the fable in verse. And it has precedents in Hipponax, as trimetres appear in his frs. 26, 28, 32, 36 and 39.[25]

Returning now to the fables, we have seen in our examples that, even if fables with single choliambs are common, a mixture exists in both the tradition of the Anonymous Collections and that of the Rylands Papyrus; it was, then, characteristic of all the ancient versions in verse, not only of the one that formed the basis of the Augustana.

If the examples of metre within some fables that we gave in I 2, pp. 77 ff. are re-examined, it will be seen that the following cases occur:

a) Fables in which only choliambs appear: 91, 125, 150. Of course, this does not mean that they could not also contain trimetres.

b) Fables with a mixture of choliambs and trimetres: 28, 79, 137, 139, 174.

c) Fables with only trimetres: 40, 44. Yet this last example is uncertain, as it only allows a verse ending to be reconstructed.

So fables with only trimetres occasionally existed. But they were rare, it seems certain. To H. 40 "The Astrologer", in "La tradición . . .", p. 258, we added H. 75, 146 and 153, but today we are doubtful about these.

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[24] Cf. "La tradición . . .", p. 257.

[25] I cite from my ed., *Líricos griegos* II, 2nd ed., Madrid 1990.

For 75 we cited an initial trimetre ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς πλέουσιν ἐπάγεσθαι κύνας, which is definite, but the other that we cited is a choliamb: σφοδρὸν γενέσθαι. Περιτραπείσης (δὲ) τῆς νηός (I mistakenly read νεώς). And there may be a further one,] πλεῖν μέλλων / πίθηκον συνανήνεγκε [,] τὸ γένος Ἀθηναῖος,] εἰ ἐπίσταται τὸν Πειραῖα.

H. 146 has two very clear trimetres, λέων ἀκούσας βατράχου κεκραγότος and μηδέν' ἀκοὴ ταραττέτω πρὸ τῆς θέας, but there is probably a choliamb ending] τῆς λίμνης ἐξελθόντα. H. 153 begins with a trimetre: λέων λαγωῷ περιτυχὼν κοιμωμένῳ, if we make two inversions of word order, but this does not prove sufficient to me. It is at least doubtful, and the same can be said of fables such as H. 164, where there is a trimetre κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπόλοισθε πάντες οἱ λύκοι, but perhaps a choliamb ending] πολεμεῖτ' ἡμᾶς; 252, with iambic endings] τοὺς ὀδόντας ἠκόνα,] οὖσι χρήσομαι, but this does not seem sufficient either. Only in 145, in addition to 40, do there seem to be only trimetres:

] τοὺς τ' ὀδόντας ἐξέλῃ / τοὺς τ' ὄνυχας ἐκτέμῃ (mss. καὶ τοὺς)
] τὴν κόρην δεδοικέναι (mss. δ. τ. κ.)
λέων ἐρασθεὶς [παιδὸς] ἐμνηστεύσατο

Cf. also in 179

] οὐ μάτην ὀδύρομαι
] λαμβάνων ἀφέξεται
(but perhaps chol.] ἤλαυνεν εἰς ἄστυ)·

It is very difficult, in fact, with our incomplete data, to obtain negative conclusions such as the one that a fable did not contain iambs or did not contain choliambs. It is very easy, on the other hand, to find fables with both. We will offer a little additional material to that recently mentioned from fables 40, 75, 145, 146, 153, 164, 252: some examples in which there appears either a complete iambic trimetre or a totally clear trimetre ending (in a final position in a fable or before the conserved beginning of the following verse) together with remnants of choliambs from the same fable. Some of this material has already been presented in I 2, but it is interesting to present it in this context, oriented towards demonstrating the thesis of the coexistence of iambs and choliambs:

H. 8.-Trim.: ἄχρηστος ὑμῶν ἡ τέχνη γενήσεται
Chol.:] τὰ πεδί' ἐξεγύμνωσεν

H. 9.-Trim.:	ἐὰν θελήσῃς τοὺς [⏑ – ⏑ –] πόδας
Chol.:	] εἰ τοσαύτας φρένας εἶχες
	] τὴν ἄνοδον ἐσκέψω
H. 28.-Trim.:	πένης νοσήσας καὶ κακῶς διακείμενος (cf. p. 575)
Chol.:	] ἀπέχετε τὴν εὐχήν / ὦ δαίμονες
	δρομαῖος ἧκεν ἐπ' ᾐόν'· ἔνθα δὴ λησταῖς
H. 79.-Trim.:	] ἀκοντίῳ βαλών / ἔτρωσεν αὐτήν [
Chol.:	μέλλουσα ⟨δὲ⟩ τελευτᾶν ἔφη στενάξασα
H. 91.-Trim.:	] βόας ἀπολήψομαι (ending)
Chol.:	ποτὲ μὲν ἄνω βλέπουσα (mss. -αν), ποτὲ δὲ κύπτουσα
H. 112.-Trim.:	] καὶ πένης γένῃ / ἐμ' αἰτιάσεις (ending)
Chol.:	ἥρωά τις κατ' οὐσίαν ἔχων, τούτῳ (mss. ἐπὶ τῆς)
	πέπαυσο τὴν ⟨σὴν⟩ οἰκίαν διαφθείρων
H. 137.-Trim.:	μέλλουσι δ' οἵ μου δεσπόται γάμους ἄγειν (mss.
	μου οἱ) πρὸ τῆς ἐπαύλεως ἴδῃς κοιμώμενον (mss. κ. ἴ.)
Chol.:	κύων . . . ἐκοιμᾶτο
	νῦν (μὲν) λεπτός εἰμι κἰσχνός [
H. 139.-Trim.:	κύων λαγωὸν συλλαβών (mss. κύων θηρευτικός)
	Παῦσαί με δάκνων ἢ [⏑–] φιλῶν, ἵνα (mss. καταφιλῶν)
Chol.:	γνῶ, πότερον ἐχθρὸς ἢ φίλος καθέστηκας
H. 140.-Trim.:	] ἐὰν ἀπέλθῃς, γνώσομαι (ending)
Chol.:	κώνωψ ἐπιστὰς κέρατι [– ⏑ –] ταύρου
H. 150.-Trim.:	] μὴ ἐμὲ μέμφου, ἀλλὰ τὴν φύσιν
Chol.:	ὁ μὲν [⏑ –] γὰρ τῶν θαλαττίων ζῴων / αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν [
	] ᾐτίατ' αὐτόν / ὁ λέων [
H. 165.-Trim.:	λύκος ἀκολουθῶν [– ⏑] οὐδὲν ἠδίκει
	] τὰ πρόβατ' ἀπηλλάγη
Chol.:	τί γὰρ λύκῳ [⏑ –] ⟨τὰ⟩ πρόβατ' ἐπίστευον;
H. 174.-Trim.:	αὐτοῖς συνῆψαν. Ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς μάχης
Chol.:	οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι εἰσελθεῖν
H. 177.-Trim.:	] εἰς χύτραν κρέως
	] οὐδέν μοι μέλει
Chol.:	βέβρωκα καὶ πέπωκα καὶ λέλουμαι ⟨δή⟩
H. 209.-Trim.:	ὀρνιθοθήρας ἡμέρων περιστερῶν (I eliminate πετάσας τὰ λίνα ἐκ τῶν)
Chol.:	] λαμβάνειν ἐπειρᾶτο
	ἡμῖν δ' ἄμεινον δεσπότας φυλάττεσθαι
H. 233.-Trim.:	πολλοῦ δὲ τοῦ νείκους ἀναφθέντος, βάτος
	ἀλλ', ὦ φίλαι, παυσώμεθά ποτε μαχόμεναι
Chol.:	formula altered with final] ἤριζον.

H. 245.-Trim.:] πτερὰ τέττιγος ἐθεασάμην
] ἀλώπεκας φυλάττομαι
] τηνικαῦτα φθέγγεται
Chol.:] ἄντικρυς στᾶσ' ἐθαύμαζεν

It can easily be observed that the presence of formulas—sometimes choliambic, sometimes iambic—forces the writers to mix both rhythms. The mixture of choliambs and trimetres is consequently the result of a common system of formulas, although the opposite may also be affirmed.

b) *Accent on the Penultimate Syllable*
Another difference between the metre of the Hellenistic fables and those of Babrius is that it is well-known that the choliamb of the latter always has the accent on the penultimate syllable; this is clearly another of his innovations, which is usually related to the disappearance in Greek prosody of the quantitative oppositions of vowels, whereby the metre also ceases to be quantitative. In Babrius there is, then, already an accentual metre (whether the accent is one of stress, or is musical, as is thought today), which is hidden because the penultimate syllable continues to be long. There is in fact, then, in him a quantitative written metre and a pronounced accentual metre.

In any event, we have already said above that the accent on the penultimate syllable was predominant in the Classical and Hellenistic choliambic poets: Babrius did no more than generalize this usage. And we have also said that the same was the case with the choliambs of the Ps.-Callisthenes, whom we have placed in the 3rd century BC: they are not comparable, then, to those of Babrius, nor can they be placed in his age, as Kuhlmann proposed.

If we now re-examine the choliambic endings given as examples on previous pages (only a small proportion of those that there are, as we have not given examples here other than of the fables that have trimetres at the same time), we see that the accent on the penultimate syllable is very common, but not in any exclusive way. See choliambic endings such as νηός, Πειραῖα, ἡμᾶς, ἐξεγύμνωσε, εὐχῆς, λησταῖς, στενάξασα, κίσχνός, etc. Of course, neither is there accentual regularity in the trimetres.

This is further proof—if any were needed—that the versification that underlies the prose of our fables is Hellenistic, not Byzantine, as Crusius and others have proposed in some isolated cases. It dates

from prior to the "reformation" of Babrius, who, as we have seen, sometimes relies precisely on that versification, modifying it. Clearly, although he wished to, Babrius could not help profoundly altering its model, whose metre and prosody only partially suited his, as we are seeing and will see. Besides the fact that he gives the impression that he consciously altered the model as much as possible, as, moreover, he himself allows to be understood. On the other hand, when, in the Byzantine Age, the political verse—very widely used in the fable—was created on the model of the Babrian choliamb, it regularly had the accent on the penultimate syllable.

c) *Caesuras and Diaeresis*

In contrast with what is the case in the two previous sections, in which the metre of the Hellenistic fables is comparable to that of the Ps.-Callisthenes, this is not always so with regard to the caesuras.

In this respect, the Ps.-Callisthenes follows the same guiding principles as the other iambic and choliambic poets: the penthemimeres predominates, in second place goes the hepthemimeres, and occasionally both appear in the same verse. When there is diaeresis after the first dipody, after the second or in the centre of the verse, it is accompanied by one of the caesuras.

In all this the Pseudo-Callisthenes follows, practically without exception,[26] the system used by the ancient iambographers and choliambographers and by those of the Hellenistic Age. In all these the three diaereses are frequent in various combinations with the two caesuras, but not without them. We must, however, draw attention to the fact that the form coming from the theatre writers is different. Verses appear in these without caesura, sometimes with central diaeresis (after the sixth half-foot) sometimes with one of the others; in the comedians, even, there are verses with two diaereses after the fourth and eighth half-foot (and, exceptionally, without either diaeresis or caesura).[27]

In the Hellenistic fables in verse there are usually one or two penthemimeres and hepthemimeres caesuras, either accompanied by diaeresis or not; that is to say, the customary system. And the same applies in the cases of trimetres and of choliambs. Here are a few examples, relating to complete verses:

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[26] We find one in Archilochus 120.2 A. σαυλούμενος κορωνιῶν τε κήρυλος which is clearly seeking an expressive effect.

[27] Cf. D. Korzeniewski, *Griechische Metrik*, Darmstadt 1968 pp. 38 ff.

Penthemimeres:

ἄχρηστος ὑμῶν ἡ τέχνη γενήσεται (8)
λέων ἀκούσας βατράχου κεκραγότος (146)
λέων λαγωῷ περιτυχὼν κοιμωμένῳ (153)
μέλλουσι δ' οἵ μου δεσπόται γάμους ἄγειν (137)
ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· σὺ βλέπειν τὰν οὐρανῷ (40)
ἥρωά τις κατ' οἰκίαν ἔχων, τούτῳ (112)
γνῶ, πότερον ἐχθρὸς ἢ φίλος καθέστηκας (139)
ὄζεις κακῶς καὶ ζῶσα καὶ τεθνηκυῖα (250 III)
δίκαια πάσχω τὸν πονηρὸν οἰκτείρας (62)
πέπαυσο τὴν σὴν οὐσίαν διαφθείρων (112)

Hepthemimeres:

κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπόλοισθε πάντες οἱ λύκοι (164)
παριών τις ὡς ἤκουσε τῶν στεναγμάτων (40)
ἔχεις, κόραξ, ἅπαντα, νοῦς δέ σοι λείπει (126 II)
ποτὲ μὲν ἄνω βλέπουσαν, ποτὲ δὲ κύπτουσαν (91)

Penthemimeres and hepthemimeres:

δρομαῖος ἧκεν ἐπ' ᾐόν' ἔνθα δὴ λῃσταῖς (28)
διόμνυται τὸν οὐρανόν τε καὶ τὴν γῆν (91)
μόνης δὲ τῆς χελώνης ὑστερησάσης (108)

However, neither these verses nor others that we could cite are the most demonstrative. Since the prosifiers consciously destroyed the verse and complete trimetres and choliambs rarely remain; furthermore, when we have found them, with very few exceptions, it has been at the price of some alterations, although they are as minor as the transformation of διόμνυται τόν τε οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν into διόμνυται τὸν οὐρανόν τε καὶ τὴν γῆν. On the other hand, there are countless metrical fragments, the most reliable ones formulaic, given their repetition, which occupy metrical spaces corresponding to these caesuras. Specifically:

⏒ – ⏑ – ⏒ (of the type ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν, λέων ἀκούσας)
]– ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏒ ⏒ (of the type συλλαβεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο, εὐγενείας ἤριζον)
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏒ – ⏑ (of the type κοιμωμένου λέοντος)
]– ⏑ – ⏒ ⏒ (of the type τοὺς τρόπους εἶχες, κάλλους ἤριζον)

We need only take a quick look at our section on the formulas to realize that these schemes (and particularly those of the first type)

are repeated countlessly, with variants replacing the long syllable with two short ones. Clearly, not all the formulas correspond to these. There are, for example, final types of three feet (μέλλων ἀναιρεῖσθαι for example) which can match with an initial penthemimeres group with the help of a monosyllable; just as there are initial groups of two feet that also link up with final groups with the help of a monosyllable, if they are not followed by a three-syllable word or group and this in turn by a final group after a hepthemimeres. This research can be taken further from the point in which I have left it.

Now, together with this system of caesuras, which, judging by the formulas, represents an overwhelming majority of cases, there occasionally seem to be some verses without caesura and with diaeresis after the fourth, sixth or eighth half-foot, with various combinations. This is a type of verse already begun in the theatre (although we do not find the verse without caesura or diaeresis of the comedy) and later abandoned, as far as we can see, by the Hellenistic iambographers and choliambographers, with the exceptions that we are studying.

This is clearly a difficult area of research, and this for two reasons: because it is exposed to the vicious circle of reconstructing verses on the basis of a metrical system set down a priori and then of establishing the metrical system starting from these; and because the diaereses proposed with an absence of penthemimeres and hepthemimeres caesuras can only be postulated with any certainty when we have metrical fragments at least four feet in length (the initial, central or final ones), which is something rather rare.

Let us look at the most definite cases, to then discuss some problem areas.

a) *Central Diaeresis*

H. 40 ἀστρολόγος ἐξιὼν ἑκάστοθ' ἑσπέρας
ἔθος εἶχε τοὺς ἀστέρας [
προσελθὼν καὶ μαθὼν τὰ συμβεβηκότα
H. 59] παντελῶς ἀπέβαλε τὴν γλῶτταν
H. 79 μέλλουσα ⟨δὲ⟩ τελευτᾶν ἔφη στενάξασα
H. 137 πρὸ τῆς ἐπαύλεως ἴδῃς κοιμώμενον
H. 139] ἐὰν δ' ἀπέλθῃς, γνώσομαι
H. 233 πολλοῦ δὲ τοῦ νείκους ἀναφθέντος, βάτος
H. 249 σὺ δ' οὐδὲν ἐν πτεροῖς φέρεις καλόν

b) *Diaeresis on the Fourth and Sixth (Central) Half-feet, Sometimes on the Eighth*

H. 88	] σωτηρίας στερίσκομαι
H. 100	] λύκον παριόντ' ἐλοιδόρει
H. 146	μηδέν' ἀκοὴ ταραττέτω πρὸ τῆς θέας
H. 147	] συλλαμβάνων κατήσθιε
passim	κοινωνίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους

We sometimes find the central diaeresis isolated, sometimes supported by another or others, but without caesuras.

This material is evidently scarce, but seems reliable. It was very probably the creation of new formulas parallel to the ancient ones, but with a somewhat different metrical scheme, that caused the phenomenon; if, for example, a λαμβάνων κατήσθιε is expanded to συλλαμβάνων κατήσθιε, the normal system of metrical pauses is automatically altered.

On the other hand, we must take into account that in the hands of the Hellenistic fabulists (as in the hands of the periegesis writers, for example), the iambic rhythm is a slightly more elevated equivalent of the prose, as the vocabulary and the syntax, as we have already said, are those characteristic of the literary prose, and hardly modify the patrimony of Demetrius. Hence the possibility of making the system of metrical pauses more flexible.

We emphasize, in any case, that the choliamb and the iambic trimetre without caesuras are exceptional. We have occasionally reconstructed some, but these are laid open to certain doubts:

H. 7 III	ὄρνις ποτ' ἠσθένει. Αἴλουρος δὲ προκύψας (apart from only being in III) has various inconvenient aspects: we would need to admit a hiatus, a spondee in the IV foot, a dactyl in the V.
H. 28 and 34	ἀνὴρ πένης νοσῶν κακῶς διακείμενος is the reconstruction that I proposed in "La tradición . . .", p. 247 for the text ἀνὴρ πένης νοσῶν καὶ κακῶς διακείμενος. But the syntax is anomalous and a penthemimeres group is destroyed: it is better to postulate πένης νοσήσας καὶ κακῶς διακείμενος (cf. λέων νοσήσας, κόραξ νοσήσας); the aorist, moreover, is preferable).
H. 139	We have proposed θηρευτικὸς κύων λαγωὸν συλλαβών, in the same place, for κύων θηρευτικός, etc.

The fable very probably said simply κύων λαγωὸν συλλαβών.

On the other hand, I cannot risk coming to a definitive decision on the following verses:

H. 174 ἡττώμενοι ἐπεὶ συνῆλθον εἰς ταὐτόν is a complete choliamb, without any modification of the text and with diaeresis after the fourth and sixth half-feet. A further difficulty, which is not insuperable, is the hiatus after the second foot (cf. below). But it is already an accumulation of anomalies.

H. 187 ὃ μηδὲν ἦν ἡμῖν μάτην προσεδεχόμεθα is a reconstruction of ours ("La tradición . . .", p. 309) on the basis of mss. B and Ba. Here the problem is that the verse contains a second irregularity in addition to that of the diaeresis: that is, the tribrach in the last foot of the choliamb. Cf. below.

H. 233 ἀλλ', ὦ φίλαι, παυσώμεθα ποτὲ μαχόμεναι is especially irregular because it only has a diaeresis after the second foot; there is later a caesura after the second short syllable of the IV tribrach (followed by another V tribrach).

For the reasons stated above, I shall not discuss metrical fragments of three feet or less, nor those mentioned so far, nor many others which exist.

Note that, for this reason, there is no decisive argument for postulating metrical pauses different from the penthemimeres and the hepthemimeres in the Rylands Papyrus: the only group of three feet that might suggest another interpretation, that is ἠσπάζεθ' Ἡρακλῆς, is not decisive.

d) *Prosodic Features*

We will now investigate whether some examples of prosodic licence that occur in the Ps.-Callisthenes exist or not in the fables, or whether there are other new ones. In the Ps.-Callisthenes, for example, apart from some minimal cases of hiatus after particles, conjunctions, prepositions, etc., which also occur in Babrius and in the ancient choliambographers (ὅτι ἐστίν, ὅτι οὐ, Bab. τί οὖν etc.), the occasional hiatus after the penthemimeres is significant.

In the Hellenistic fables the hiatus is habitually eliminated, either by elision of vowels, or with crasis which is sometimes even maintained in the manuscripts of the Anonymous Collections (of the type

κἀκεῖνος). We must reintroduce it a few times to restore the metre: 1 φιλίαν ἀλώπηξ κἀετός, 137 κἰσχνός, etc. And I cannot find synaloepha.

As we have said, the hiatus is rare, but it does sometimes occur. We may distinguish three types:

1. *Hiatus after particles, prepositions, etc.* Cf. for example 106 Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀπόλλων, 7 εἰ ἐπίσταται τὸν Πειραῖα, 41 ἂν μὴ ἀφῇς τἀρνίον, 20 ἀλλὰ κἂν σὺ μὴ εἴπῃς, 221 καὶ χάριν μοι οὐκ ἔχεις, 14, 20 περὶ εὐγενείας ἤριζον, 254 περὶ ὀξύτητος ἤριζον, frequently ὦ οὗτος, cf. for example, 116 ὦ οὗτος, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν σ' ἔδει λέγειν ταῦτα. It is a normal phenomenon, as we have said, which was perhaps accentuated with the expanding of the system of formulas: from περὶ κάλλους ἤριζον could come parallel formulas with hiatus such as those mentioned.

2. *Hiatus after caesura or diaeresis.* The same as in the ancient iambography, we find it on occasions in the Ps.-Callisthenes and in the dactylic poetry. Cf. 230 νῦν μοι βοήθει, ὕστερον δέ (after penthemimeres), 23 ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ αὐτῶν ἀπεχομένους (hepthemimeres), 305 κἀγὼ ἡδέως εἶχον (id.), 270 ἓν δ' οἶδα, ὡς ἐπειδάν (trithemimeres), 7 III ὄρνις ποτ' ἠσθένει. Αἴλουρος δὲ προκύψας (after central diaeresis). Cf. also perhaps after the fourth half-foot (but the verse has other difficulties, cf. p. 575) 174 ἡττώμενοι, ἐπεὶ συνῆλθον εἰς ταὐτόν and in the same fable after the eighth half-foot οἱ δὲ στρατηγοί, μὴ δυνάμενοι εἰσελθεῖν (but the verse does not inspire great certainty), id. 61 τούτῳ δ' ἐπιστᾶσ' ἡ τύχη· οὗτος, τί γῇ ... Cf. also perhaps the Rylands Papyrus ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν Ἡρακλῆ ὡς εἰς θεοὺς ἄξων.

3. *Hiatus with abbreviation of long vowel.* In some of the previous examples the quantity of the long syllable in the hiatus remains in doubt: whether it is maintained or abbreviated. This doubt is raised by some examples in which it seems certain that there is abbreviation; there are usually examples after a particle or in a metrical pause. As in the formula μὴ ἐμὲ μέμφου ἀλλὰ τὴν φύσιν, which requires an abbreviation of the ου of μέμφου before the hepthemimeres. Cf. also 168, likewise before the hepthemimeres: ἀλλ' αἱρετώτερόν μοί ἐστι, 285 πατήρ μού ἐστιν ἵππος; and, if the verse is correct, the already mentioned ἡττώμενοι, ἐπεὶ συνῆλθον εἰς ταὐτόν. These abbreviations seem to be a further case of the adoption of devices from dactylic poetry; they are not without exceptions, cf. ὦ οὗτος, ἂν μὴ ἀφῇς (with synaloepha or reverse elision, μὴ 'φῇς). Cf. *PRyl.* 493 ἵππος καὶ ὗς.

As we have said, it is difficult to be comprehensive on this theme,

on account of the risk of moving in a vicious circle. On the other hand, as we have already indicated, the modification of the system of formulas may bring about hiatuses, such as after περί, but also in a metrical pause, when adapting two formulas that finish and begin with a vowel. It is difficult to decide to what extent these hiatuses arose in the prose versions or were already introduced in the verse. Above, for example, we have supposed that around ἄθλιος ἐγώ, ὅς there arose forms such as ἀθλία ἐγώ, ἥ which we have described as prosaic; but if we accept that versification may allow the hiatus and the abbreviation, this formula could already enter fables in verse (not, for example, ἄθλιοι ἡμεῖς, οἵ).

In any case, the deviations are not major with respect to the traditional guiding principles of the hiatus. Nor are there other special prosodic particularities. For example, if the verse of 18 ἁλιεὺς καθεὶς τὸ δίκτυον ἀνήνεγκε is correct, we would have the final syllable of δίκτυον lengthened, as in some examples of the Ps.-Callisthenes.[28] But this fails to be certain. In the final analysis, it would be a further result of the combination of formulas. The problem is whether the metrical imbalances resulting from these combinations were already in the fables in verse (perhaps only in the most recent) or only in the prosifications. These could evidently freely combine formulas—either intact or altered—to which their authors were accustomed, since they constituted, so to speak, the characteristic style of the fable.

e) *Zeugmas*

As in the rest of iambic poetry, including the Ps.-Callisthenes, verses with final monosyllabic words are very rare: cf. H. 14] ἀναστὰς ἐξελέγξει σε, 177 βέβρωκα καὶ πέπωκα καὶ λέλουμαι δή, 287 γὰρ οὐδὲν ὠφέλησάς με.

On the other hand, there is a liberalization of certain zeugmas habitually respected by the iambographers and choliambographers of the Classical and Hellenistic Ages, although that of Porson was already very frequently broken in comedy (very rarely in tragedy) and that of Wilamowitz already met with exceptions in the theatre and in the Hellenistic iambographers and choliambographers, including the Ps.-Callisthenes. Cf. for this a) 15, breaking of Wilamowitz's zeugma (trimetre ending with two disyllabic words).

[28] Cf. Kuhlmann, chapter "De arte metrica".

There are very rare examples of the breaking of the laws of Porson and Wilamowitz in the Hellenistic fables. The examples are from the Augustana. An infringement of Porson's law:

H. 40] τἀπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐχ ὁρᾷς;

Of Wilamowitz's law:

H. 139 παῦσαί με δάκνων ἢ [⏑ –] φιλῶν, ἵνα

The fables have extended, then, the freedoms of the narrative iamb and choliamb, as the Ps.-Callisthenes also did.

The liberation from the law on the zeugmas of trimetres and choliambs that is characteristic of the era takes the Hellenistic fable, then, further than any contemporary author, except for the Ps.-Callisthenes; though a complete study would be required here. The significant point is that Babrius, who in other aspects moved the choliamb closer again to the strict discipline of ancient times, respected the Hellenistic innovations in this.

f) *Metrical Feet*

To gain a clearer idea of the treatment by the Hellenistic fable of the substitutions of metrical feet within the choliamb and the iambic trimetre, it is appropriate here to offer the following Tables, based on data by Kuhlmann:

a) Metrical feet in the iambographers and choliambographers.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
⏑ –	⏑ –	⏑ –	⏑ –	⏑ –	⏑ –2
– –	– –23	– –	– –23	– –	– –
⏑ ⏑ –1	⏑ ⏑ –13		⏑ ⏑ –23	⏑ ⏑ –23	
– ⏑ ⏑	– ⏑ ⏑3	– ⏑ ⏑			
⏑ ⏑ ⏑	⏑ ⏑ ⏑	⏑ ⏑ ⏑	⏑ ⏑ ⏑		
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑23[29]		⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑23			

1 Indivisible. 2 Rare (in the Ps.-Callisthenes IV ⏑ ⏑ – only with VI ⏑ –). 3 Only in the Ps.-Callisthenes.

[29] Doubtful in comedy, cf. H. J. Newiger, "Prokeleusmatiker im komischen Trimeter?", *Hermes* 89, 1961, pp. 175–184.

b) Combinations of resolved feet in the choliambographers, excluding the Ps.-Callisthenes.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
⏑⏑–	⏑⏑⏑				
⏑⏑–			⏑⏑⏑		
–⏑⏑		–⏑⏑			
	⏑⏑⏑	–⏑⏑			
	⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑			

c) Other combinations in the Ps.-Callisthenes.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
–⏑–	–⏑⏑				
	⏑⏑–	–⏑⏑			
⏑⏑⏑		⏑⏑⏑			
⏑⏑⏑⏑		–⏑⏑			
⏑⏑–	⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑			
	⏑⏑–	–⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑		

Now, to investigate the feet of the Hellenistic fables in verse using this information as a basis, it is appropriate to focus on the following points, summarized in four sections. It is a question of looking for the possible presence of:

a) Feet that are rare in the different places, that is

I	⏑⏑–	⏑⏑⏑⏑
II	––	⏑⏑⏑
III	⏑⏑⏑⏑	
IV	––	⏑⏑–
V	⏑⏑–	

b) Feet that are only found in the Ps.-Callisthenes (sometimes rare, as can be seen)

I	⏑⏑⏑⏑		
II	––	⏑⏑–	–⏑⏑
III	⏑⏑⏑⏑		
IV	––	⏑⏑–	
V	⏑⏑–		

c) Feet divided between words ("torn") which are not usually divisible:

I	⏑⏑–
II	⏑⏑–

d) Possible new feet, not found to date in these metres:

II ⏑⏑⏑⏑
III ⏑⏑–
IV –⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑⏑
V –⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑⏑
VI ⏑⏑⏑

It must be observed that this is a maximum objective, which we will not investigate here in detail, as it would require a prior edition of the metrical remnants of the fables, while running the usual risk of the vicious circle. We will go on, simply, to look within the definite or very reliable metrical fragments to find out to what extent the metre of the fables is more conservative than the Ps.-Callisthenes, or is closely related to it, or advances even further. It must be taken into account, on the other hand, that to make an in depth comparison we would need to update the metrical studies on iambic and choliambic poetry (new fragments of Archilochus, Hipponax, Callimachus; a new reconstruction of the Ps.-Callimachus, partially performed by Kroll and Knox after Kuhlmann, but leaving room for improvement). Of course, we cannot embark on this enterprise here. We think that the basis of comparison is, in any case, sufficient for what we are attempting, namely a general characterization of the metrics of the Hellenistic fables, to determine the date and environment of same. We will thereby be able, once again, to evaluate Babrius' procedure, whether he returns to a more conservative metre or maintains at least some of the gains of the new laxer choliamb. With regard to other points, we have seen that his procedure was not uniform; in some he followed the first tendency, in others the second.

Restricting ourselves, then, to the most essential elements, we will study three points in succession.

1. Rare feet in the iambographers and choliambographers generally

The spondee in the II and IV feet is avoided by the iambographers, with two exceptions in Hipponax[30] and four in Phoenix (three in their own names); it is rare in the comedy,[31] it rarely appears in the Ps.-Callisthenes, not in Babrius. In the fables we find possible spondees in the IV foot:

[30] Frs. 23 and 31 A.

[31] Cf. V. Cataudella, "Spondei in II e in IV nel trimetro giambico della commedia" *SIFC* 40, 1968, pp. 61–84.

H. 7	ὄρνις ποτ' ἠσθένει. Αἴλουρος δὲ προκύψας
81	ὡς πάλιν, ἐὰν τύχῃ, χειμῶνος ἐσομένου
117 etc.	] ἐξῆλθεν εἰς ἄγραν
189 etc.	] ἤλαυνεν εἰς ἄστυ
232	] βασανίζειν ἀπάλλαξον
235	] περισκάψειν τὰς ἀμπέλους
239	] οὗτος κατακλᾶται
305	] κἀγὼ ἡδέως εἶχον

Note that there are only two of these examples that have penthemimeres or hepthemimeres; the others have a central diaeresis or else one in IV and V. Either it is the case that in certain verses the irregularities accumulate or else we should consider that there is really no verse; this is a dilemma we have already encountered.

On the other hand, there is no doubt with regard to the V spondee, which is rare generally (rare in Babrius), and which is quite common here; examples can be seen in verses and metrical groups already presented.

2. Feet only appearing in the Pseudo-Callisthenes

Firstly, we rarely find anapests in feet II and IV:

H. 3	ὁ Ζεὺς ἀποσείσασθαι (II an.)
224	δρῦν παμμεγέθη μεστὴν βαλάνων, ὑποστρώσας (II, IV an.)
232	στραφεῖσ' ὑπόδειξον (II an.)
235	σφῆκές ποτε καὶ πέρδικες (II an.)
305	γυνή τις εἶχε θυγατέρα παρθένον μωράν (IV an.)

It is, as we can see, a limited crop and in part not entirely certain. Note that I cannot find V an. (one example in the Pseudo-Callisthenes), that II an. is maintained in Babrius and that we find "torn" anapests in I and II; those of I also occur, exceptionally, in Ps.-Callisthenes (they are common in Babrius). Those of II in Lucian. We have already given an example of the torn anapest II, this is from I:

H. 40	ἔθος εἶχε τοὺς ἀστέρας [
93	ὁ δ' ὄνος φθονήσας [
231	ποτ' ἀλώπεκες [

The normal occurrence, however, is that the initial anapest corresponds to a single word: 35 ἐκ ταὐτοῦ / στόματος τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐξιεῖς.

As we can see, as regards anapests, there are no major innovations with respect to the Ps.-Callisthenes, nor, sometimes, with Babrius. Nor do I see them in the tribrachs; I do not find the very rare tribrach II of said author, whereas there are tribrachs that do frequently occur, namely the III and, particularly, the IV. Nor do I encounter the other rarity of the Ps.-Callisthenes, the II dactyl.

3. Feet only appearing in the fables

What demonstrates that the metre of the fables, although related to that of the Ps.-Callisthenes, is independent (as we have already seen on the subject of the diaeresis and the abbreviations of a long vowel before a vowel), is that on occasions we find peculiar uses of the feet.

We find, firstly, dactyls IV and V:

H.	9	] τὴν ἄνοδον ἐσκέψω (IV dact.)
	30	] πάντες διενήχοντο (id.)
	136	κύων κρέας φέρουσα ποταμὸν διέβαινε (V dact.)
	9	] ἀλλ' εἰ τοσαύτας φρένας εἶχες (id.)

I would like at this point to emphasize that these two last examples offer considerable guarantees of accuracy. We have already discussed the last, formulaic one. The preceding one is a reconstruction which I believe to be correct and which is achieved by combining the ἔχουσα of I and the φέρων of II; the formula ποταμὸν διέβαινε is repeated in 191 (201 gives the derivative λίμνην διέβαινε). Although rare, the use of dactyls in these positions, particularly in V, seems confirmed.

And we must draw attention to tribrachs V and VI, which are new and the latter at least strange. We have:

H.	23	ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ αὐτῶν ἀπεχομένους (V tr.)
	233	ἀλλ', ὦ φίλαι, παυσώμεθά ποτε μαχόμεναι (IV, V tr.)
	81	ὡς πάλιν, ἐὰν τύχῃ, χειμῶνος ἐσομένου (V tr.)
	187	ὃ μηδὲν ἦν, ἡμεῖς μάτην προσεδεχόμεθα (V, VI tr.)
	82	διὰ βραχεῖαν ἡδονὴν ἀπολλύμεθα (VI tr.)

We have seen that some of these verses are suspicious for various reasons. But discarding that of 187, which is doubtful, we will not eliminate tribrach VI, of which there seems to be good evidence in 82. They are, in any case, exceptional cases, like all the other anomalies that we have studied. The customary and traditional use of the feet is far and away the predominant one.

g) *Conclusions*

There is, in our knowledge of the metrics of the Hellenistic fables, a margin of uncertainty that could clearly be reduced by further studies. On occasions we simply do not know whether we are dealing with given innovations or relaxations of the previous rules by the versifiers (perhaps by the most recent, see below) or already semiprosified versions.

In any case, it is clear that these fables in verse, inheriting a vocabulary, a syntax and some characteristic formulas of prose, extended the flexibility of the choliamb in a series of aspects, which we have pointed out. This metre fits within the lines of the Ps.-Callisthenes, particularly with regard to certain hiatuses and certain marginal uses of some feet; in turn, all this was the continuation of forms of licence that had gradually been introduced into Hellenistic poetry. The influence of the dactylic metre, on the other hand, was considerable.

The verse of the fables is of the same type, with extension of some of this licence, particularly with regard to diaeresis without caesura, abbreviations and certain new uses of feet.

It is appropriate to note here that the metre of the Hellenistic iambographers and choliambographers, at least that of the most known and best conserved, Callimachus and Herodas, is closely related to that of their models from the Archaic Age; the process of increasing metrical flexibility is more advanced, on the other hand, in the Pseudo-Callisthenes and, particularly, in our fables; also, though we would need to study the theme in detail, in poets with Cynic tendencies, such as Phoenix and Cercidas. That is to say, a new type of trimetre and choliamb was being created, undoubtedly through Cynic influence. And our idea is that its greater flexibility was initiated by the trimetre of the theatre and, within this, particularly, the comedy. This is clear with respect to metrical pauses and resolutions. There is nothing strange in this; the comedy was a precursor of the iambic fable and of the whole σπουδαιογέλοιον of the Cynics.[32] Neither is it strange that these, eclectic by nature in their literary tastes, were to take up prosodic elements whose origin we have located in dactylic poetry.

The innovations that Babrius boasts of having introduced into

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[32] For the derivation of Hellenistic didactic trimetres starting from the comedy, cf. T. Viljama, *Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the Early Byzantine Period*, Helsinki 1968, p. 86.

the choliamb (cf. I 2, pp. 103 f.), thereby disciplining it, refer to these aspects: elimination of trimetres; fixed accent on the penultimate; elimination of diaeresis without caesura, abbreviations, hiatuses and certain uses of feet. In any event, this was not a totally radical reformation, since we have found continuity, sometimes precisely in the use of the feet and in the breaking of the zeugmas. Babrius introduces a more "poetic" metre (and a vocabulary, etc.) than the one adapted to a more prosaic level, inherited from Demetrius, which is characteristic of the Hellenistic fable in verse. It clearly represents a step back.

2. *The Different Collections of the Hellenistic Age*

a) *General*

We have seen that there are strong grounds for attributing the versification of the fables of Demetrius and the addition of new versified fables to the Cynic school. The new genre is perfectly suited to their customs and literary and philosophical intentions; and it unites with a formal element characteristic of the school—the choliamb—elements of content, vocabulary, etc., that were also characteristic of it. We have seen that the alteration of certain structural schemes, the diffusion of others (the situation fable with final χρεία, specifically), are elements that must also be attributed to them.

The metrical study that we have just performed has confirmed that the verse used in the versification of the fables falls within currents characteristic of the 3rd century BC, to which, already in its own right, it was logical to attribute both the entrance of Cynic material and the versification of the fables. There was evidently a school of choliambic metrics peculiar to the Cynics; the correspondences of the metre of the fables with that of the Ps.-Callimachus is proof of this. It is a school characterized by both flexibility (closeness to prose, also in the vocabulary, syntax, etc.) and contamination with the resources of dactylic metre. There were differences within this school: the versifiers of the fables offered new features, together with correspondences with the Ps.-Callisthenes.

The metrical study, like that of the formulas, demonstrates, with some exceptions, a great formal uniformity, which, as we have said, is attributable to a single writer or school of writers. This uniformity is applied to material that we have described as heterogeneous in

terms of content and structure, though it all fits within the tendencies and objectives of the school.

And we have also seen, in this same chapter and in II 6, on the subject of the epimythia, that there is also a uniformity in the prosaic compositions that followed those in verse. These versions are characterized, among other things, by the addition (sometimes) of epimythia and, later, of promythia. Yet they are not different in the essential elements of the poetics nor as regards the structure nor the content.

It is also not easy to indicate, within the fables of a collection such as the Augustana, which of these must be attributed to the collections in verse, which only to the later prosaic ones. We have laid down a series of hypotheses regarding this in III 1, using reasons of structure, absence of metrical remnants and of formulas in particular to support the proposal of the recent character of a fable. We must advise, however, that this study must be taken further. Indeed, we have already observed that writers of fables in prose may have used the fabulistic style, with its formulas containing metrical features, and have introduced these without realizing it. The borderline between the two layers of fables is not easy to establish. But it is clear that there exist prosification and fables written in prose from the beginning in an essentially unitary fabulistic style.

Using particularly the fact that Phaedrus must necessarily have known a collection from the 1st century BC, prior to our Augustana and already endowed with epimythia to support our argument, we have postulated that this is the most recent date that can be attributed to the prosifications. This agrees with the fact that the Rylands Papyrus, which is from the 1st century AD and also semiprosified, inherits a tradition (partly different, furthermore) of semiprosified fables with promythia and epimythia. They are two traditions, moreover, which come from a common source. The *terminus ante quem* of same is the 1st century BC, as we have said, but it may be prior to this, from the 2nd century.

And this may not even be one collection, but various, as is deduced from the fact that the Augustana (our Augustana) on one hand has accumulated heterogeneous material (duplications, versions transmitted in independent groups of mss., etc.), on the other it is rather short of fables that were undoubtedly ancient. In the same way, it is likely that there were various collections in verse, with partial correspondences with each other.

We have already said that the attempt to reconstruct this ramification of the Hellenistic fables—going further than one or two proposals of fables from an especially rich tradition—must be perfected and that this can only be done after a detailed study of the fabulists of the Empire. Here, however, we will only consider this task in a preliminary manner, the essential elements of which we leave for Vol. II, by making some observations derived from the comparison of the metrical remnants in the various collections.

There are, in short, two different problems. The first, comparing the remnants of two or more metrical versions of certain fables in prose; if they are confirmed, the hypothesis of the single versified collection collapses. The second is comparing the tradition of the Augustana and the Babrian tradition in terms of their metrical correspondences and discrepancies, to find out whether this is of assistance in postulating the existence, again, of more than one ancient metrical version.

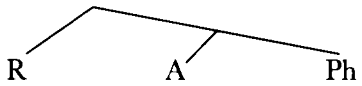
b) *The Fables of the Rylands Papyrus and Those of the Augustana*

The study that we conducted in "El papiro Rylands . . .", *cit.* on the relationship between the fables of this collection and the other versions that are known to us, even though the essential elements have to be maintained, acquired new possibilities with the discovery of metrical remnants in said papyrus. However, what we said in "La tradición . . .", *cit.*, pp. 43 ff. must be complemented with the review of the metrical remnants that we made above, in I 2, pp. 74 ff., and with a new study that we perform below.

Taking the metrical elements into account, this completed what had already been stated in I 2, pp. 71 f., where we discussed the fact that the "ancient Augustana", a collection from which our Augustana and Phaedrus come (Babrius too, in one case) is a different branch from that of the Rylands Papyrus. It is now a matter of studying the original relationship with this other branch.

A more detailed comparison of the four fables conserved in the Rylands Papyrus with the corresponding ones in the Augustana has convinced us that we must in fact form two different groups: in the first, the Augustana represents a further prosification of a text essentially conserved in the papyrus, and does not offer new metrical remnants; in the second, on the other hand, the Augustana offers not one but two different metrical drafts of the one partially conserved in the papyrus.

1. "Hercules and Plutus" = H. 113. The scheme that we proposed must be confirmed:



A and Ph substantially represent the same text, with some alterations due to Ph; and this text is essentially a modification of that of R (cf. p. 71), except that R introduced certain innovations later on. For example, the customary beginning in the nom. sing., conserved in R (ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν Ἡρακλῆ ὡς εἰς θεοὺς . . .) is inverted (A Ἡρακλῆς ἰσοθεωθείς). The point we were coming to: the metrical remnants of R, shown in I 2, pp. 55 ff., are conserved in A in an exceptionally reduced form (ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν, ἠσπάζοντο); there are correspondences which are ametrical, or impossible to insert into the metre, on account of their limited length (ἔγωγε, κύψας, θαυμάσαντος, θαυμάσας); in A there is no new metre different from that of R and there is, on the other hand, the introduction of prosaic formulas ἐπυνθάνετο αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἥν; the correspondences with Ph against R also do not have metre, but elements already in prose eliminated by R (A διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ὑποβλέπομαι, ὅτι, Ph. *odi, inquit, illum, quia . . .*).

The consequences are clear: there is a semiprosified version that R presented, with certain alterations; there is a second semiprosified version, derived from the previous one, which reduces the metrical remnants even further; and this last one is the model both for A and for Ph.

2. "The Shepherd and the Sheep" = H. 224. The consequences are identical, except that here we do not have Phaedrus. Of the metrical remnants indicated for R, in A there only remains τὰ δὲ πρόβατα and there is no new metre. But there are lexical correspondences: R θοἰμάτιον; καταβὰς δὲ / A ὁ δὲ ποιμὴν καταβάς, perhaps two derived from a καταβὰς δ' ὁ ποιμὴν still conserved in the first prosification. The formulas conserved in R are prosified in A, and the passage from ἰδὼν τὸ συμβεβηκός to ὡς ἐθεάσατο τὸ γεγονός is very typical, a common prosaic formula. Again, then, we have two prosifications introduced in different phases.

3. "The Horse, the Boar and the Hunter" = H. 238. Although only the beginning of R is preserved, there is no reason to vary the conclusions. Its remnants of verse have been eliminated in A, with the introduction once again of a prosaic formula already cited by us, that is, ἐν ταὐτῷ ἐνέμοντο; with the assistance of a gen. abs., it

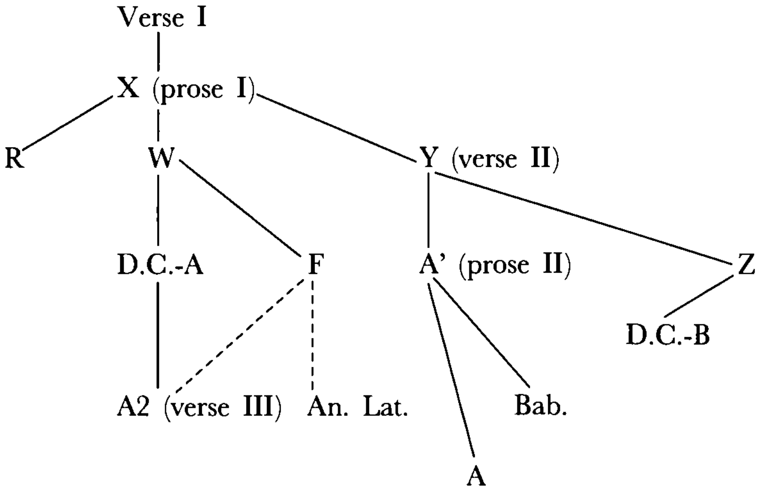
also destroys the second metrical phrase. And it is not possible to establish any relationship with the version in Par. Bodl. 166 Cr.

4. "The Owl and the Birds" = H. 39a and 39b "The Swallow and the Birds". The case of these fables is very different: it is the second case that we announced above. To begin with, we show the *stemma* of relationships between the versions that we published in "El papiro Rylands . . .", p. 376, in which D.C.-A and B are two versions of Dio Chrysostom; Bab. is Par. Bodl. 164 Cr.; A is H. 39a, A2 is H. 39b; F is a fable from the Phaedrian tradition, representing the discontinuous line of a remote, perhaps oral tradition.

We must observe that in this fable it is not only the main character that has been changed over time (the owl in R and D.C.-A and B, the swallow outside of there), but also the intention. And there is a different metre in R (cf. *loc. cit.*), in A (see "La tradición . . .", p. 248) and A2 (ibid., p. 313).

39a: ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑] συνεβούλευε
αὐτοῖς μάλιστα μὲν [⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏓
συλλαμβάνουσιν αὐτά [– ⏑ – – ⏓
σύνοικον αὐτοῖς προσελάβοντο [– – ⏓
μόνην δὲ τὴν χελιδόνα [⏑ – – ⏓
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑] ἀδεῶς νεοττοποιεῖσθαι

39b: κράτιστον εἶναι [– ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏓
τῶν δ' ὀρνέων τις [– ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏓
εἰ τοῦ λίνου τὸ σπέρμα [– ⏑ – – ⏓
μᾶλλον κατεσθίωμεν [– ⏑ – – ⏓



Since the three types of verse shown are not deducible from each other (on the other hand, in Bab.—that is to say, in the Paraphrase—there are lexical correspondences with A), we must postulate the existence not only of prosifications, but also of secondary versifications. These are due to the fact that the subject has changed significantly: the new versifiers wanted to make a new fable. The ramification, on the other hand, is very extensive, we cannot determine the details of versifications and prosifications.

In this regard, it is significant that after our article a Greek fable was published, in prose without remnants of verse, which seems to be a model of Phaedrus (if it is true that Romulus comes from Phaedrus), although our transmitting papyrus is from a later date, the 3rd century AD. I am referring to the fable published by G. M. Parássoglou, "An Aesop Fable", *Studia Papyrologica* 13, 1974, pp. 33–37, which agrees appreciably with the Phaedrian version (the swallow takes part and advises to make the seed disappear from the linen).

That is to say, in short: we must make the first prosification go back quite a long way to leave space for new versifications and prosifications. In this case, within the Augustana later some manuscripts kept with one version, others with another. It is also important to observe that the lines of evolution are different in the different fables; in simple terms, they are increasingly prosified, sometimes retaining a great deal of verse, sometimes splitting off, etc. On the other hand, the staggering over time of versifications and prosifications enables us to understand that some fables contain more metrical remnants than others. It may also, hypothetically, be thought that the most irregular part of the system of versification comes from the last versifiers; a hypothesis that should certainly be checked.

The theory of the single collection in verse, from the 3rd century, which was then prosified in the 1st century, is thus transformed into a number of mixed events. The prosifications were spread out at intervals and were possibly interrupted by versifications, which later may in turn have been prosified. And there were contaminations, such as the one we propose here for the Phaedrian tradition. This is the same as we indicated for the Byzantine Age, as we have shown in "La tradición . . .". The alternation of versifications and prosifications, with splits, modifications and contaminations, in fact began in the Classical Age and was never interrupted again. Indeed, each fable has its own history, though we cannot always write it. The history of the collections is another matter; they evidently brought together material that was sometimes heterogeneous.

Since the whole of the subsequent tradition depends on the first prosifications, we must suppose that the promythia already alternated with the epimythia in it and that sometimes both were absent or both existed; later each collection followed different lines of specialization. The relationship between the Rylands Papyrus and the rest of the tradition would not be understood otherwise. The second prosification did not generalize the epimythia yet, otherwise Phaedrus' procedure would not be understood.

c) *Duplications within the Anonymous Tradition*

In Chapter I 2 we stated at sufficient length, we think, the circumstances of fables of which a double version exists, sometimes in the complete Augustana, sometimes in groups of manuscripts of same, sometimes in the Vindobonensis. We followed mainly what we had stated previously in "La tradición . . .". Of course, the theme of the duplicated fables is very different from that of others in which the verse of the Hellenistic semiprosified fables reaches the various Byzantine collections in different proportions. This latter theme is sometimes interesting for the purposes of reconstructing the verse, sometimes for establishing the relationships between the collections. On the other hand, the theme of the duplicated fables is important in contributing some further clarifications to the question of the ramification of the Hellenistic collections.

We will study the duplicated fables to which we have referred, without concerning ourselves in this context with their distribution in the mss. or collections. What interests us now is to see whether these double versions date back to the Hellenistic Age and possibly give us the trail of various versifications or prosifications of the same fable, as in the previous section. This is exactly the case. We must work on the metrical remnants existing in the aforementioned fables or on the non-existence of same, themes on which we have advanced considerably from the date of publication of "La tradición . . .".

Furthermore, the duplicated versions are not a case that can be totally isolated from that of more or less related or derivative fables. This other case must be studied in connection with the study of the metrics, in order for us to date the derivations and imitations, if this is possible. Here we limit ourselves to double fables, which do of course present some difference in subject matter or main characters, but which quite clearly derive from the same model and are more in a situation of equality than of derivation of one fable starting from another.

It is a question, firstly, of seeing whether other examples exist to be added to H. 39a and b, two different versions in verse.

This is what occurs, we think, in H. 71 "The Oak and the Reed" and H. 239 "The Trees and the Reed": the plant changes and there is a change from a fable of action to one of debate. There is different verse. In H. 71 we can reconstruct δρῦς καὶ κάλαμος περὶ ἰσχύος ⟨ποτ'⟩ ἤριζον and there is an ending] κατηνέχθη that must come from the end of the last choliamb. A verse, on the other hand, that is completely uncertain, and there may be an imitation of formulas. Neither is the verse of H. 239 very clear, there is] κατακλᾶται and] ὄντες οὐδὲν πάσχουσι. We have two prosifications of two fables in verse of indefinite age, and the model for both (which leads to Sophocles) is very remote.

Remnants of different verse are also found in H. 198 "The Ass and the Wolf" and H. 257 "The Wild Ass and the Wolf", with certain differences in subject matter. Although in fact H. 198 ἀλλ' ἔγωγε δίκαια πέπονθα· τί γάρ . . . may be either a prosification or a prosaic formula introduced into a fable without verse. This is clearly the case in the previous part: λύκος δὲ βριαρὸς τὸν ὄνον συναντήσας / κατεσθίειν ἔμελλ' ἕτοιμον θήραμα. The date of both versions is indeterminable.

The same may be said of H. 87 "The Piglet and the Sheep" and 189 "The Piglet and the Fox", the same theme with two different written versions (in 189 a "survenant" C is introduced) which also have different metrical remnants.

At other times matters are different. In H, 62 "The Farmer and the Serpent" and H. 186 "The Walker and the Serpent" we find two different prosifications of a single model in verse or of an already semiprosified model. The metrical fragments of the first fable (ἔλεγε δὲ θνήσκων· / δίκαια πάσχω τὸν πονηρὸν οἰκτείρας) are not in any sense incompatible with those of H. 186 (ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχοῦς / συνέχετ' ἠρέμει, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐθερμάνθη) and there are literal correspondences. The ancient model is sometimes restored by combining the two fables: where H. 62 concludes δίκαια πάσχω τὸν πονηρὸν οἰκτείρας, H. 186 prosifies this phrase and then continues ἀλλ' ἔγωγε δίκαια πέπονθα· τί γὰρ τοῦτον ἀπολλύμενον ἔσῳζον, ὃν ἔδει καὶ ἐρρωμένον ἀναιρεῖν, there being remnants of the ancient version in the continuation. On the other hand, the first fable has literal correspondences with Bab. 143, which undoubtedly derives from the same model. The theme is handled in iambic trimetres independently in T.Assend. 10.

Yet another case is that of a fable dating back to the semiprosified model of another, making a second prosification, as in a previous case. Thus 28 "The Liar" is a fable in prose which nevertheless begins in the same way as the previous one with the same verse. It is clearly a derivation.

And the same must be said, I think (rectifying some proposals in "La tradición . . ."), of H. 114 I with regards to H. 114 Ib. The latter is the fable of the cicada and the ant, which has a great deal of verse that partly agrees with that of Babrius 140, and is partly different. Evidently, Babrius comes either from the same fable in verse or from its prosification, more probably from the former, since in the prose it is not so easy to find the metrical remnants; we will return to this theme. But H. 114 "The Ant and the Beetle" is a prosaic modification, as far as I can see, without a trace of verse; a second prosification, then.

On the other hand, H. 184 I and II, both have verse (I: ὦ οὗτος, εἴγε ἐπεπτώκεις / οὐκ ἂν σεαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ ᾐτίω; II ἐγγὺς φρέατος παῖς [– ⏑ –] ἐκοιμᾶτο and μήπως κάτωθεν τοῦ φρέατος πεσών), but both are derived from the same metrical model, cf. in I] παρά τι φρέαρ πεσὼν ἐκοιμᾶτο (with inversion). There are two slight variations on the same motif, with new versifications.

The material is minimal, because there has been a tendency to select it, leaving a single version of each fable. Thus, it is characteristic for the ms. G to have two versions, with numbers H. 110 and H. 173, of the fable that is H. 101 (= P. 99) and of which the editors offer an artificially unified text, a prosaic text. Now, other manuscripts select either the first or the second version. This way of proceeding by the authors of Byzantine manuscripts was already clearly that of the authors of collections of the Classical Age.

If we now summarize what has been stated previously, we can say that we cannot find even a single certain case in which two versions in different verse date back to the first Hellenistic Age. We do find, on the other hand, prosifications spread out at intervals, each time with less verse; we also find new versifications coming from those prosifications; and prosifications from these new versifications. The impression is given, in any event, that the creation of new versions, with modified subjects, whether prosaic or in verse form, must have been exceptional, characteristic, of course, of the second Hellenistic Age. And that, among them, each collection attempted to select just one. As was the case with the "ancient Augustana", whose semiprosified

model was practically the only one that the Byzantine collections had at their disposal. Although this theme, we repeat, remains pending resolution, since an in-depth study of the Imperial collections may shed more light upon it.

The discovery of the different phases of the drafts of the fables over the course of the Hellenistic Age opens up the possibility of studying its reflection on the characteristics of same. It is clear, for example, that there was a gradual decrease in the metrical remnants, as we see simply by comparing the fables of the Rylands Papyrus with their counterparts in the Augustana. Within the latter, in turn, there are fables with very different proportions of these remnants and there are also some, so it seems, without metrical remnants. This latter case, plus the shortage or absence of formulas, plus the anomalous structures, plus possibly the equally anomalous elements of content, serves to enable us to date the most recent strata of the Hellenistic fable. In the previous chapter and in various other places we have referred to these matters.

d) *Remnants of Ancient Verse in the Babrian Tradition*

This study must necessarily link up with what we anticipated in I 2 on Babrius and the Babrian tradition. There we presented some of the most salient examples of metrical correspondences between Babrius and the Anonymous Fables, generally the Augustana; these demonstrate without any room for doubt that both collections date back conclusively to the same metrical originals, in short, to Hellenistic originals. Evidently, these originals were considerably altered by Babrius, who boasts of having introduced a new choliambic style and whose treatment of the subjects, as Nøjgaard has shown, is frequently extremely original, representing a deviation from the more conservative line of the Augustana and Phaedrus.

We showed, however, that Nøjgaard's argument applies to the Babrius of the Athous, not to the Byzantine paraphrases; we saw that one of these, studied by us in connection with "The Swallow and the Birds", does in fact depend on an innovated line which is also in the Augustana and Phaedrus. Since there are metrical correspondences between H. 39a and this fable, it is clear that the metrical model to which it had access is what we have referred to as a second versification, not the first, of which a trace remains in the Rylands Papyrus. The problem is whether this is true for Babrius (we do not have a version by him of this fable) or only for some paraphrases, see below.

In fact, in "La tradición . . ." and in the introductory chapter to which we have referred, we distinguished two elements within the Babrian tradition: on one hand, the Babrius of the Athous, a choliambic collection in alphabetical order that has reached us incomplete; and on the other, remnants of another choliambic collection alphabetized in a different manner, of which the *disiecta membra* have reached us, partially, in the mss. G and Mb and in the paraphrases and fables in Byzantine dodecasyllables (sometimes with various editions).[33] The two collections have fables on common and other differing ones; but in neither of them did there appear two different drafts of the same fable, with only 4 exceptions in the second alphabetization (choliambic fables in G and paraphrases). Now, comparing the two collections, cases are found in which there are two different versions of a fable, which means that the paraphrases do not always come from the Babrius of the Athous; sometimes they do, sometimes not. Similarly, the fables of the Assendelft Tablets, which are sometimes identical to those of the Athous and others, may correspond to the lost part of same, but they occasionally represent an independent tradition, as in the cases of T.Assend. 8 ("The Old Lion") and T.Assend. 9 ("The Lion and the Mouse"). These last two are good examples of the proliferation of different versions of the same fables in the Imperial Age.

Returning to the paraphrases, there is a problem that interests us here, which can be touched upon without needing to enter into the complicated problems of these and the Babrian tradition generally. In our Chapter I 2 we indicated that, together with the general case of the paraphrases (and the dodecasyllables) derived from Babrius—the case that we symbolized as $d \rightarrow e$ (and f) in "La tradición . . ."[34]—at least two others occur: the case that we called b), in which the paraphrase is in the line of the Anonymous Fables, not of Babrius; and e), in which the paraphrase and Babrius show significant metrical correspondences, but the former does not derive from the latter and both versions clearly differ from that of the Anonymous Fables.

This question interests us here, not, we repeat, in connection with the problems of the Babrian collection, but with the hypothesis that we set down in "La tradición . . .", that in these cases there must necessarily have been two metrical drafts prior to Babrius. In case

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[33] But cf. p. 102. The matter remains pending further study.

[34] *a* = Augustana, *b* = Vindobonensis, *c* = Accursiana, *d* = Babrius, *e* = paraphrases, *f* = dodecasyllables, *g* = Assendelft Tablets.

b), Babrius would come from one, the version of the Anonymous Fables and that of the paraphrase (and/or the dodecasyllables) from the other; in case c), the version of the Anonymous Fables would come from one, that of Babrius and the paraphrase from the other. If this were the case, we would arrive at two Hellenistic metrical versions, which is possible after what we have seen above.

Now, I do not think that this hypothesis is necessary in the current state of our knowledge; it is easily replaceable with another in which Babrius derives from the Hellenistic metrical version, from which, at a later stage, there arose the Augustana and the paraphrase (case b); in case c) a derivation may be postulated of both the Augustana and Babrius starting from this Hellenistic metrical version, with the paraphrase showing contamination.

The truth is that the material at our disposal to enable us to claim the existence of a second metrical version, irrespective of what is at the basis of the Augustana, is insufficient. If we examine closely, case b) is reduced to two examples, H. 15a = Bab. 19 ("The Fox and the Grapes") and H. 177 = Bab. 60 ("The Fly"), since for Bab. 3 ("The Goat and the Goatherd") there is no version in the Anonymous Fables, so the different verse of the paraphrase may date back to the Hellenistic model and Babrius be an original deviation, as habitually happens. As regards case c), it contains a single example, H. 73 = Bab. 43 ("The Stag and the Lion"). One case d) that we indicated, that of H. 9 ("The Fox and the He-goat"), in which Babrius is absent and the paraphrase has a verse partially agreeing with that of the Anonymous Fables, partially not, may be explained without having recourse to intermediate versions.

It is clear, then, that the paraphrases and dodecasyllables on some occasions prosified Babrius, on others they depended on the "ancient Augustana" or, in any event, on precursors of the Anonymous Fables independent of the Babrian "deviation". Those ancient semiprosified versions were known in the Byzantine Age, since the Vindobonensis and the Accursiana took metrical elements from them that our Augustana had eliminated. The authors of paraphrases had those versions available, which they either reworked or contaminated with Babrius. The presence of the two traditions in the same manuscripts is, indeed, well established. To sum up, we have the impression that, once the fables of Babrius were paraphrased, there was a desire to go further, using the other line of the tradition for this purpose, that is, undoubtedly already semiprosified versions that were preserved,

since we do not know that the poetic collection of the early Hellenistic period had arrived in the Byzantine Age. There is no data to demonstrate this starting from the comparison of Anonymous Fables and paraphrases; on the contrary, their correspondences are frequently to be found in prosaic passages.

That is to say, as things stand we cannot postulate, on the basis of the Babrian tradition, the existence of two ancient versions in verse of the same fable. Although we know that they existed, at least in the recent Hellenistic Age, from where the basic collection used by Babrius undoubtedly comes (and by the paraphrases representing it when it has been lost, such as in "The Swallow and the Birds"). They were, in any case, from what we can judge, exceptional cases.

In short, the original Babrius—since he himself talks of his imitators, both when he is conserved and when only the paraphrases remain of him—comes, we think, from the Hellenistic collection in verse. Clearly, the metrical correspondences could perhaps be interpreted as coming from a derivation starting not from the collection in verse, but from one of the prosifications that preceded our Augustana, which we have described as formed "in different phases". Yet it is not surprising that the collection in verse reached Babrius, in about the year 100 AD, whereas evidently only the prosifications reached the Byzantine Age. Phaedrus must also have known of the existence of collections in verse, since he does not boast of this innovation; and we have already stated that for Quintilian the fable in verse was normal, and the first exercise advocated in schools was to prosify them, as, moreover, we have seen many times exemplified in practice.

On the other hand, we find that the hypothesis that Babrius did not know the collection in verse, but the prosified one, must be set aside on different grounds.

Firstly, in his second prologue Babrius talks of the new fables "that I deliver to a new muse, bridling the mythiamb with golden decorations";[35] by this he practically states that the mythiamb or fabulistic iamb existed before him, as he boasts of having simply "bridled" it, that is to say, restricted it with a stricter metre. The "free muse" that he attributes to Aesop in the first prologue undoubtedly refers to the freer metre of the fabulistic choliamb of the Hellenistic Age; it is not prose, as we have already said.

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[35] Cf. the literal quotation on p. 104.

Babrius does not boast at any point of having created the fabulistic genre in verse, neither does Phaedrus. They treat it as natural, in need of no mention. Babrius only introduced a reform, metrical and literary. If he had had only fables in prose in front of him, he would have had to justify his invention. This was not the case, Babrius was only a continuer of the tradition of the choliambic fable. And we cannot suppose a hiatus in which there were only fables in prose. It would have been difficult for him to obtain metrical elements from them (though we know that they are originals) to place in his choliambs.

The main line of argument, however, is not this, but that deriving from Babrius' knowledge of the formulas of the ancient choliambic fable; in general terms, it was not that the ancient formula was conserved in a given place, but that it was widely used. He knows them even when he consciously alters them; there is a clear desire to modify them, to create a new and different system. This presupposes a knowledge of the ancient choliambic fables, with no room for doubt. Let us summarize again the data offered above in relation to this theme.

We have seen that the system of formulas of the Augustana and others is firmly rooted in fables coming after Demetrius with a clear Cynic character; and that many of them possess that character, in terms of both their content and lexicon. On the other hand, Babrius starts from a moment in the tradition of the fable after Demetrius, into which this whole flood of new fables had already been introduced (sometimes, as we have seen, conserved in him or in Phaedrus and not in the Augustana). It would seem logical that the system of formulas to which we have been referring, which very considerably extends that inherited from Demetrius and from the Classical Age, left a clear trace in Babrius. These are our conclusions: firstly, Babrius knew that system; secondly, he modified it consciously, undoubtedly on account not only of incompatibilities of a metrical type, but also of his own search for an original style; thirdly, there is no indication that he knew the ametrical system of formulas that was developed during the course of the evolution of the Hellenistic fable.

These conclusions may easily be deduced from the materials that we have accumulated during the course of our study of the formulas of the Hellenistic fable in this same chapter.

We find a first instance—as in the formulas of the types from a) to d), that is, presentation of the main characters of the fable and circumstances of place and of time, of the type "he saw" for example—

in which Babrius may agree with the Augustana; there are initial formulas of two feet or of the metrical space up to the penthemimeres, very short therefore, in which it was difficult to vary the model. On the other hand, these formulas are rooted in the most ancient element of the fable, that least exposed to change. Whether they are re-encountered or not in the Augustana, these formulas are identical: κύων κρέας, λέων ἁλούς, ἐν ὁδῷ, λύκον δ' ἰδών, etc.

The fact remains that, as we have said, it was difficult to avoid these types of formulas, as they constituted, so to speak, a common basis for the fable, and in no way disrupted Babrius' purposes. But when they appear in longer and more characteristic fables, with word order or position in the metre that could not be accidental, "marking" the drafting of a fable as proper to the tradition of the Hellenistic fable, Babrius evidently tended to avoid them. Formulas such as πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν, εἰ ... εἶχες, μὴ ἐμὲ μέμφου, ἀλλὰ τὴν φύσιν, closely linked to certain fabulistic stories, are absent; as are the endings with ἐπειρᾶτο, ἐκοιμᾶτο or beginnings with παρῄνει, which were very typical and common. But this does not mean that Babrius did not know them.

This can be noted because modified remnants remain of other formulas. We have seen, for example, that formulas with a final ἤριζον, which were totally logical after a beginning of noun + καί + noun, which survives in Babrius, have been modified; that formulas with a final εἶπε (preceded by certain participles) are replaced with others introducing the verb "to say" in the middle of the direct speech; that if formulas with ἐπειρᾶτο are eliminated, there remain those with ἐβουλήθη, parallel and alternative to the first; that δίκαια πάσχω remains on only one occasion, but there is a clear trace of its ancient existence in different synonymous constructions located in exactly the same verbal contexts; that there remains a trace of ἄθλιος ἐγώ, almost always eliminated, and altered or dislocated fragments remain of the initial formulas ὦ οὗτος and οὗτος, πέπαυσο. There is a totally conscious and voluntary active attempt to dislocate the ancient system.

This system would have been unlikely to have been recognized and attacked so violently if it had only been known indirectly, through prosifications. Consider, on the other hand, that it would have been easy to versify some of those prosified or prosaic formulas, for example those at the basis of πέπονθα, ἐπυνθάνετο or ἐθεασάμην, which we have studied. Yet these forms (and the second and third verbs) do not even appear in Babrius' lexicon.

We think, then, in conclusion, that Babrius depends directly on the Hellenistic fables in verse. In general terms, on the oldest ones; but new metric versions had undoubtedly been incorporated in successive editions, in some cases, replacing the old ones. One of these subsequent editions is the one Babrius must have used. The case of two metrical versions represented in Babrius, on the other hand, does not seem to occur. And as regards the paraphrases and the dodecasyllables, when they do not come precisely from Babrius, they may come from semiprosified versions that are at the basis of the Augustana or may be contaminated with this.

One question, however, remains to be answered and we will do so briefly: that concerning the occasional presence of epimythia in Babrius. If Babrius comes from the Hellenistic collection, which lacked epimythia, it is strange that these sometimes appear (and also in T.Assend.).

The explanation may have two parts. On one hand, we have seen that Babrius comes, on occasions, from recent versified versions, which may occasionally have epimythia, like the versions in prose from which they derived. Hence the correspondence already seen between some of the epimythia of Babrius and Phaedrus. On the other, it is clear that, although Babrius attempted to differentiate himself from the central line of the fables, he could not fail to be influenced by this and to develop epimythia when he felt it necessary. On the other hand, we have already said that the epimythia were known through the fables "in the second grade" of Demetrius and the whole tradition of the exemplum-fable, which survived alongside the collections and influenced them, just as the opposite also occurred. Babrius, derived direct from the Hellenistic fables in verse, but with considerable differences as regards the verse and the content, did however allow himself to be influenced by the tradition of the epimythium. Phaedrus, on the other hand, we think, did no more than follow the procedure of the prosified fables from which he started.

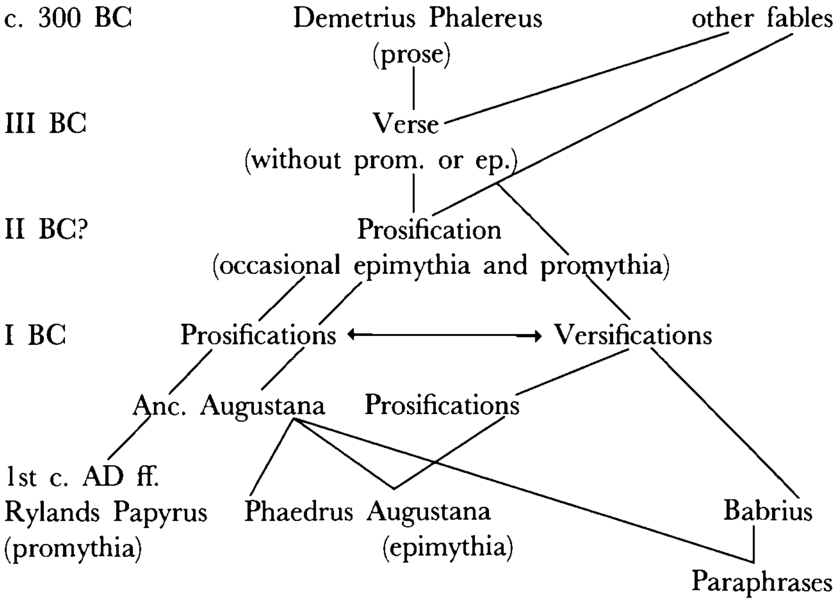
III. *Scheme of the Hellenistic Fable*

The following scheme, shown in the form of a *stemma*, is provisional, as has already been stated on occasions; the details of the ramifications of the Hellenistic fable demand a prior study of the relationships

between the collections of the Imperial Age. And it is not certain to what extent this can be obtained, since the conclusions (which, on the other hand, are sometimes problematic in their own right) on such and such a fable are hard to extend to whole collections, which selected, introduced various materials, etc.

The discovery that after the first prosification there are new versions in verse and in prose is what makes us tentatively propose the 2nd century BC for that first prosification and for its derivations, the 1st century: a rather schematic proposal, without any greater guarantee. In any event, an interval of time would be required for that evolution to take place.

Since we work on collections that include fables from various origins, it must come as no surprise that different lines of the *stemma* reach some of them. This gives an indication of the status of the fables as regards the absence or presence of promythia and epimythia.



Supplement

In order to complete this chapter I refer the reader to some aforementioned works (in previous Supplements) and to Vol. II, Chap. I 1. The present work was preceded by earlier publications of mine: "Prolegómenos al estudio de la fábula en época helenística", *Emerita* 46, 1978, pp. 1–81; and "Desiderata en la investigación de la fábula antigua", in *Actas del V Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos*, Madrid 1978, pp. 215–235. In 1982, before the appearance of Vol. II of the Spanish edition of this book, I presented a general exposition of the fable in certain *Entretiens* of the Hardt Foundation "Les collections de fables à l'époque hellénistique et romaine", in Adrados 1984, pp. 137–195). Cf. also "Die Fabel", *Spektrum der Wissenschaft* 121, 1981, pp. 23–35.

It must be said that this theory, based on the conservation of complete verses and on the parallelism of metrical irregularities in other Hellenistic verses, has been greeted with scepticism (as has the reconstruction of the pseudo-Callisthenes starting from the prosified versions, cf. L. Bergson, *Carmina praecipue choliambica apud Pseudo-Callisthenem reperta*, Stockholm 1989).

The objections of various authors and my responses can be seen in the volume cited:

On pp. 187 ff. M. L. West emphasizes the metrical irregularities: I respond that there are Hellenistic parallels and that the irregularities are exceptional, as there are numerous perfect verses. M. Nøjgaard attributes the metrical remnants to the formulaic language of the fable, which proves me right if those formulas are metrical (as indeed they are). F. Lasserre says (cf. pp. 97 and 188) that the whole of Greek prose is full of iambs: I answer that whole trimetres or choliambs are not found in Demosthenes, for example. I repeat that the process of prosification need not be surprising, as Phaedrus and Babrius were prosified, among others. The metrical remnants indicate, then, that the prose of the Anonymous Fables derives from metrical versions, from verse neither Byzantine nor Classical, but Hellenistic. But there is strong prejudice against this.

At other times this prejudice consists in attributing this verse to the Byzantine Age. As M. J. Luzzato does in an article already cited, to which I have responded ("La fecha de la Augustana y la tradición fabulística antigua y bizantina", *Prometheus* 18, 1992, pp. 139–199) and, in the volume cited, J. Vaio, "Babrius and the Byzantine Fable", pp. 197–224. The latter minimizes the presence of choliambs not from Babrius in the Paraphrases and Dodecasyllables (see Vol. II of this work); and when he cannot conceal the verse of the Anonymous Fables, he postulates that it is of Babrian origin. Even the Augustana would supposedly derive from Babrius, directly or through paraphrases (p. 219). On pp. 221 ff. I strongly criticize this idea: for example, in H. 62 there is verse independent of that of Babrius.

I think that the exposition of the metrical reconstructions in this book still holds water and that it is the only way (together with the study of the content) of reaching conclusions on the Hellenistic fable, such a neglected subject.

Here, finally, is a bibliography on the fable in this age:

C. CORBATO, "La funzione delle 'fabulae' in Callimaco" in *La struttura della fabulazione antica*, Genoa 1979, pp. 45–64.

C. W. MUELLER, "Ennius und Aesop", *MH* 33, 1976, pp. 193–218.

F. DELLA CORTE, "Orazio Favolista", *Cultura e Scuola* 25.100, 1986, pp. 87–93.

G. WARMUTH, *Autobiographische Tierbilder bei Horaz*, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York, Olms/Weidmann, 1992.

F. R. ADRADOS, "La fábula en Horacio y su poesía", *Myrtia* 9, 1994 (1996), pp. 131–151.

F. R. ADRADOS, "De la fábula griega a la fábula latina en dísticos elegiacos", in Catanzaro, G.–Santucci, F., *La favolistica latina in distici elegiaci.* Assisi 1991, pp. 27–43.

Cf. also VAN DIJK, *Ainoi.*

CHAPTER THREE

CONTENT AND INTENTION OF THE HELLENISTIC COLLECTIONS

I. *The Cynic Fable*

1. *General Remarks*

Here and there in the first parts of this book and in greater detail in the two previous chapters, we have sustained the thesis of the strong influence of Cynicism on the remodelling of the fables of Demetrius and on the composition of other new ones, versifying both and developing them later on in a series of successive steps. We have also referred to its influence on the development of certain structural types and, very specifically, on the "situation" fable with a final χρεία, on the introduction of new animal protagonists, on the diffusion of the fable derived from human anecdotes and from various related genres, and on the creation of various formulas.

The adoption of the fable by the Cynics, which is very different from the idea of there being an independent Cynic collection, later added to various materials—as has sometimes been proposed—has been explained from various perspectives. Literary perspectives, focusing on the adoption or creation of the *spoudaiogeloion*, or mixture of jokes and truths, and on the development of the iamb and choliamb as vehicles of poetry. And perspectives related to the content, which made certain characteristics of the ancient fable become assimilated to the doctrine of Cynicism and become a point of crystallization, so to speak, for the creation of fables that were properly Cynic. In the collections, then, there are ancient fables, which the Cynics clearly interpreted in their own way and sometimes penetrated with their vocabulary, their formulas, etc., and new fables, derived either from the ancient ones or from the related ancient genres, or else created by more or less free imitation.

This was what happened with the *Life of Aesop*, as we stated earlier and as we will clarify in greater detail in the next chapter. With respect to the fables, we have already suggested many points, showing that the derivations and imitations were made with certain intentions.

We have also indicated what the fundamental motifs of Cynic thought are, as expressed in the fable. This last point will be the theme of detailed discussion in this chapter. However, before this, we will emphasize the action of the Cynics in the evolution of the content of the collections. The Cynics consciously placed themselves within the tradition represented by the ancient iambic poets, scathing paupers; by the Aesop of the legend, piercing, witty and persecuted; by Socrates, poor and acting against the values of "normal" society. Using the iamb and the choliamb, continuing the cultivation of the fable, they saw themselves as continuers of that tradition in both their personal conduct and their literary preferences and intentions. Consider that already in Plato's view, Diogenes was a "crazy Socrates", that, as we have shown, anecdotes and themes of Diogenes and Aesop were contaminated and that Socrates and Diogenes appear to us as characters in fables. There is nothing strange, then, in the continuation of the Archaic and Classical fables, mainly iambic and Socratic respectively, in the Cynic fables, after the period of compilation and organization of materials by the peripatetic Demetrius.

Let us first discuss the Archaic and Classical fable. If in Archilochus (Ep. IV) the fox does not fall into the old lion's trap, it is clear that this fable, which entered the Augustana as H. 147, exemplifies from the Cynic standpoint both the immutability of nature and the superiority of wisdom. The fables of the monkey (*Ep.* IV = H. 83 and 85, VII = H. 14) now exemplify the vanity of power, of wealth and of noble blood, as well as the superiority of cunning. Ingenuity and cunning, even deception, are anti-values, marginal areas of Classical morality, which are now transformed into central ones. But the constancy of nature is not only seen in the monkey and the lion, but also in the snake that bites its benefactor (Theognis 602 = H. 62), which, at the same time, is an attack against ingratitude. On the other hand, for the Cynic fables such as that of the eagle and the fox (*Ep.* I = H. 1) or the eagle and the beetle (Semonides 12 = H. 3) could be an occasional reference to the victory of the weak (and dirty, the beetle was the object of new fables of Cynic orientation, cf. H. 86 and 114a) on the unjust powerful; in the first fable the Cynic interpretation eliminates the ancient theme, inherited from the Orient,[1] of divine punishment, conserved in Archilochus. And

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[1] Cf. "El tema del águila de la épica acadia a Esquilo", *Emerita* 32, 1965, pp. 267–82.

simple weakness or lightness of body saves the reed, in contrast with the oak or the trees, in one fable (H. 71 and 239) from Sophocles, which is later imitated in fables such as H. 260 "The Athlete and the Flea".

Or consider the theme, so dear to the Cynics, of usefulness, already present in "The Sheep and the Dog", by Xenophon, which undoubtedly inspired fables such as H. 272 III "The Ass and the Horse" and H. 158 "The Wolves and the Sheep". Or in Archilochus, *Ep.* V "The Fortune-teller", he makes fun of fortune-tellers; this crossed over to H. 170 and was imitated in numerous fables in this same collection (cf., for example, H. 227 "The Walkers and the Crow"), in Phaedrus, etc.

We could go on to recall what we have already said on certain lexical touchings-up and other alterations introduced by the Cynics. But we believe it is not necessary here.

This is not all there is to be said, however. When in III 1 we discussed fables derived from others (p. 510), we highlighted the Cynic features of those derivations; we refer the reader to that section. When in II 6, on the subject of Demetrius' collection, we investigated the possible date and character of the fabulizations of non-fabulistic Classical themes (cf. p. 488), we also encountered many with a Cynic character. This mixture of scorn for culture and the profound culture of their main figures, who use Classical literature as a source of inspiration, although in parody or in forced derivations, is characteristic of the Cynic movement.

And the same must be said of other fabulizations starting from proverbs, similes, stories of Natural History, etc., whose date we cannot establish. The fable H. 30 "The Shipwrecked Man" develops, as we have said, the proverb σὺν Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ χεῖρα κίνει; this is the Cynic eulogy of the πόνος. H. 108, also in Cercidas, develops the proverb οἶκος φίλος, οἶκος ἄριστος; what better symbol of the Cynics than the tortoise, who carries his house on his back? Or we may recall a story such as that of H. 120 "The Beaver", another Cynic symbol, expressing the idea that the preservation of life and freedom is the most important consideration.

All this stated in general terms and without looking in depth into the problems of stratification, which should be studied in relation to the formal criteria already mentioned on repeated occasions. It is clear, in any case, that there is a continuity. From Classical Athens and that of Demetrius, the fable crossed over to the whole Eastern Mediterranean, as we already know, there are numerous references

to Athens, Alexandria, Syria; then to Rome. The Cynic stratum, to which, however, we have attributed the elimination of certain themes of Demetrius (cf. pp. 485 f.) and which later received another subsequent one, Stoic and moralizing, was always kept alive. This was present from the first fables in verse to the last in prose, with partially different formal features. We are not going to attempt an internal analysis, a stratification, here. It is more important, for the moment, to offer an overall definition of Cynic themes, which have sufficient homogeneity, although we sometimes take the risk of exemplifying them with fables from Phaedrus or Babrius (particularly the former), which may be originals derived from these authors. Always, clearly, within the line of the tradition of the Hellenistic fable, which was for the most part Cynic until the end, although at the same time it presented an aggregate of ancient, Classical elements, and of other later, moralistic elements.

It is appropriate, however, to indicate in advance that these Cynic themes are frequently organized within types of fables that we call a series. We are not exactly referring to the structural types that we have already mentioned, as series and types may or may not correspond. What we are referring to here is the fact that, alongside both the agonal and the aetiological fables with the most common formulations, there are some special groups that achieved special diffusion among the Cynics. They usually had ancient roots, but later proliferated, serving very different Cynic themes.

A first series is that relating to the theme of the creation, an aetiological theme that we know was already included within the Aesopic fable, at least from Aristophanes and Plato. It was developed around the motif of Zeus the creator, sometimes accompanied, sometimes replaced by Prometheus; Momus, Hermes, etc., sometimes also appear in connection with this. The oldest model is certainly to be found in the myth of the creation of man in the Platonic *Protagoras*, from which derives Par. Bodl. 155 Cr.; later there are the fables of Momus in Aristotle, *PA* 662 a 35, Callimachus, *Iamb.* II on the gossipy nature of men, and of Dionysus and the vine (cf. p. 480), etc. Yet, as we have said, the theme was developed greatly in the hands of the Cynics, to serve various intentions, almost always revolving around the figure of Prometheus, the creator god according to a very widespread popular belief.[2]

[2] Cf. J. Duchemin, *Prométhée*, Paris 1974, pp. 83 ff.

Thus we have, within the Augustana, H. 102, which explains the expulsion of Momus from Olympus on account of his criticisms; H. 107, which explains why men's mood changes with age, making the old unbearable (there is perhaps an influence from Semonides and Mimnermus, judging by the epithet of ὀλιγοχρόνιος given to man and by the criticism of old age); H. 110, which explains why tall men are θηριώδεις, bestial[3] (the Cynic aversion to athletes and others); H. 111, which gives the reason why men who take up prostitution are shameless (Cynic aversion to homosexuality); H. 228, the explanation why some men are θηριώδεις. Fables must be added in which Hermes, as messenger of Zeus, plays a role in the creation or in the apportionment of good or bad qualities, such as H. 104, on the mortality of men, 105, on the lies of craftsmen. The series is sometimes only represented outside of the Augustana, cf. Phaedrus IV 15, on the unchaste language of women, IV 16 (creation of homosexuals and lesbians), *App.* 5–6 (on truth and lies), Themistius, *Or.* 32 (man was modelled with blood and tears, an undoubtedly ancient theme, cf. Suetonius, *Tib.* 57); etc.

More or less connected to this series is another in which the created beings address Zeus with criticisms and receive the appropriate punishment; they sometimes appear before him directly, they sometimes send a deputation, sometimes they address another god. Just as the previous series serves various motifs, it is almost always the Cynic theme that we must follow our own nature that dominates here; although others may be added, such as that of the lecherousness of women. This series involves characteristic formulas already referred to by us, such as πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Δία and ὁ Ζεὺς ἀγανακτήσας. It does not seem to have ancient roots, but rather to derive from the previous series.

Thus, in H. 119 Zeus punishes the camel who complains about not having horns by giving him small ears; in H. 172 he punishes the bees, who want to kill with their sting, by making them die if they stick it in; in H. 44 the frogs, who complain about Zeus for having received a log as a king from him, next receive a snake that devours them; in H. 196 the asses wish to avoid bearing loads, but the only thing they obtain is that they start to urinate when they see others doing so (a scatological aetiology very characteristic of the

[3] On the Cynics and the βίος θηριώδης, cf. Gerhard, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 and 49.

Cynics). The series, in either traditional or new versions, is also found outside the Augustana: Babrius (ms. G) 142 "The Oaks to Zeus" (they are the cause of their own misfortune), Phaedrus III 18 (the turkey complains to Juno about its voice), Ph. IV 19 (deputation to Zeus by the dogs, with explanation of why they smell each other's behinds); Ph. IV 17 (although Zeus gave beards to the goats, they are still weak).

This series has variants. One of these is the test which Zeus (or another god) makes an animal undergo, from which it is deduced that nature is constant; cf. 109 "Zeus and the Fox", H. 50 "The Weasel and Aphrodite". There are other deputations that also attempt in vain to have their nature changed, cf., for example, H. 158 "The Wolves and the Sheep".

The theme of the animal, disguised in some way, that attempts to find a place among others, by whom he is rejected, to then sometimes be rejected by his own, already merits a category as an independent series; the theme may also be contaminated with that of the animal that attempts to be declared king, also based on disguise and lies. Evidently, in the final analysis here we have derivatives from the monkey by Archilochus; and we have a more or less exact parallel in derivative fables ranging from the cat disguised as a doctor (H. 7) to the ass with a lionskin (H. 199) and, in the final analysis, to the wolf with a lamb's skin, already Byzantine (in Nicephorus Basilacas, P. 451). But the most definitive type of this series is represented, for example, by 131 "The Crow and the Pigeons", H. 125 "The Rook and the Crows", Bab. 101 "The Wolf and the Lion", cf. Phaedrus I 3, "The Proud Rook and the Turkey", a contaminated fable.

We do not wish to repeat the various other series here, to which we have already referred and to which we will return later, such as that of the "dispute" between two animals, or two main characters in general, with origins in Sophocles and Callimachus and characterized by special formulas; these disputes sometimes end in a debate, a presentation of reasons by both parties arguing in favour of their own superiority. These fables are linked with others of debate, such as that of the wolf and the lamb in Phaedrus, which we have already discussed. Or the series of the animal or character who suffers a misfortune through their own fault and who ends up complaining with very formulaic expressions. Or the series consisting of erotic novelettes, and so on.

As we have said, these series partly serve a predominant theme, partly various themes. We will find them again repeatedly when studying the main themes of the Cynic fable below.

2. *The Theme of Nature*

We have said that, from its very beginnings, the fable emphasized the fixed and unalterable nature of animals, which serves as a symbol for that of men. Archaic aristocratic poetry used animal and vegetable symbols to establish the different sectors of a hierarchically structured society;[4] Hesiod, Archilochus, etc., proceed no differently, in short, in setting the weak against the strong, except that the former shows that there is a new strength consisting of cunning and deception that sometimes prevails; Herodotus also uses this theme a great deal.[5] In fact, the animal has been used in various societies, on account of this typified and fixed character that it has, to symbolize stable differences within human matters.[6] The animal similes of Homer, which include those animals that will later be used in the fable, such as the lion, the eagle, the snake, the ass, etc., have this same function.

It is clear that in Greece, among the Sophists and the Socratics, the opposite theory was developed, that of the importance of education and, also, of habit and custom. The theme of habit appears in the Cynic fable (we have seen some examples), as does that of ignorance (ἄνοια), which causes disasters. But the theme of φύσις, nature, dominates, a theme that is common to the Cynics and the Stoics.

This is one of the reasons why the Cynics used the animal fable, as well as the animal simile and proverb. The ancients were very conscious of the great physical capacities of animals, greater than those of man. The theme already appears in the myth of the *Protagoras* and is recalled later by various ancient authors associated with the fable.[7] The theme is repeated in fables such as that of Phaedrus III 18, in association with the petition made by the peacock to Juno to have a beautiful song.

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[4] Cf. *Ilustración y política en la Grecia clásica*, Madrid 1964, pp. 47 ff.

[5] Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 330 ff.

[6] Cf. C. Lévi-Strauss, *La Pensée Sauvage*, Sp. transl., Mexico 1964, pp. 201 ff.

[7] Cf. S. Josifović, *loc. cit.*, col. 25 ff. with data and reference to the Cynicism of the theme.

Now, in the ancient fable this theme of the fixed capacities of animals, meaning that the lion is always a true lion although it is a puppy or is already old in the cave, the monkey is a true monkey although dressed as a king, habitually appears in connection with a dramatic and amusing action. These fables have been conserved in the collections, as we have stated, but others have arisen alongside them that touch the theme of nature in its own right, although it is sometimes in connection with other themes, such as the criticism of false beauty and deceit, the brutality of power, etc.

An interesting group of fables that we have mentioned above is that in which an animal species or an animal representing it goes before Zeus (the turkey before Hera, in the fable we have just mentioned) to ask him for some capacity that they lack; it all finishes in the anger of the god and in disaster for the animal. These are aetiological fables, which explain the capacities of certain animals, and possess fixed formulas, as we have already said. They are often connected with the theme of Prometheus, also referred to by us; sometimes it is to him that the complaints are directed (H. 292 III "The Lion, the Elephant and Prometheus"). It seems clear that, starting from an ancient theme, the attribution of different qualities to beings by the creator god had special developments like this, of animals who complain or want to change their qualities.

H. 109 (Ia) "The Vixen and Zeus" and H. 50 (I) "The Weasel and Aphrodite", referred to above, are related to the theme. In the first it is Zeus who, admiring the intelligence of the vixen (τὸ συνετὸν τῶν φρενῶν), makes her queen of the irrational animals; but, wishing to know if with fortune (τύχη) her avidity has changed (γλισχρότης), he sets loose a beetle, which the vixen goes after. Here a series of Cynic themes is contrasted with the ancient theme of the φύσις, with imitation of "The Fox and the Monkey", by Archilochus. In the second fable it is the weasel that, in love with a youth, asks Aphrodite to change her into a woman, which is done. But Aphrodite conducts a similar test to the previous one, letting loose a mouse, which the weasel runs after. In both cases the result is as expected: each animal returns to its previous situation.[8]

Another very common scheme, as we have already said, is that

[8] Cf. a contrasting aetiology in H. 175 (I): the ant is a greedy man transformed by Zeus into an animal.

of the *agon* or debate between two animals to decide who possesses the same quality to the greater degree. Here too fixed formulas exist of the type of H. 12 ἀλώπηξ καὶ πάρδαλις περὶ κάλλους ἤριζον, and other related ones already cited by us. The fox and the monkey challenge each other over their beauty (H. 14), the fox and the crocodile over their nobility (H. 20), Boreas and Helios over their strength (H. 46), the oak and the reed, also over strength (H. 71), Zeus and Apollo over skill with the bow (H. 106), the pomegranate tree and the apple tree over their fecundity (H. 233), the sow and the dog over their ability to give birth (H. 251), the tortoise and the hare over their speed (H. 254), the fir and the bramble over primacy among the trees (Bab. 64), etc.

This is an ancient theme of the fable,[9] in fact a specialization of the *agon* or confrontation that is always intrinsic to it. We have said above that "The Oak and the Reed" (and another twin fable) derives from Sophocles. Later, in the Hellenistic Age, this direct setting-up of the confrontation of two animals or plants frequently leads to a pure dialectic debate, as is the case in the collections (including Phaedrus and Babrius) and, outside of these, in the well-known fable by Callimachus "The Laurel and the Olive" (*Iamb* IV), whose theme, the rejection of a lesser mediator by both contenders, appears in the Augustana (H. 73: the gudgeon attempts to mediate in the dispute between the dolphins and the whales). It is significant that the confrontation, in fact, of the trees and the torrent in Sophocles, provides two derivatives in the Hellenistic fable: a "dispute" which, however, is resolved in action (H. 71) and a debate (H. 239). The confrontations between the characters of the fable, sometimes in terms of deeds, sometimes verbal (for example, in "The Sheep and the Dog", by Xenophon), have now been formalized in these two ways, among others.

What we are interested in indicating here is the fact that the theme of the nature of the characters which always prevails is central in all these fables. Apollo cannot contend with Zeus, for example. Specific Cynic themes intervene, however: it is the beauty of the soul of the fox, not the corporal beauty of the leopard, that matters; the animal that makes an effort, that applies πόνος, defeats the unconcerned and boastful (the tortoise against the hare);

[9] Cf. S. Josifović, *loc. cit.*, col. 28 f.: Nøjgaard I, p. 440.

the light and flexible defeats the strong and brutal (the reed against the oak), etc.

Many variants on these schemes exist. One is that of the sea animal that dies or suffers a misfortune through wanting to be a land animal, or vice versa, such as the halcyon in H. 25, the crab in H. 118, the gull in H. 144. Another, that of the animal that goes off with those of another species, only to be bitterly criticized (the wolf in Bab. 101, the fox talks of τῦφος) or be rejected by the other species and by his own, as in the case of the rook that goes off with the crows (H. 125) or with the pigeons (H. 131) or the peacocks (Phaedrus I 3). In other cases disguise is just as useless, such as in H. 103 "The Rook and the Birds", as it is in these. These birds remove the rook's feathers, which he had put on so uselessly to pretend he was royal (recalling the monkey in Archilochus). The cat as a false doctor in H. 7 is uncovered and rejected no less easily, as is the rook that imitates the eagle and is hunted (H. 2).

Friendship is impossible between animals of different natures (the lion and the dolphin, H. 150), and men of different occupations (the fuller and the coal merchant, H. 29); we may recall what was said above on the gardener and the potter. Major disasters await those who attempt to act παρὰ φύσιν, as is said in H. 291 (Ib) of the tail and the limbs; the crow that, seduced by the flatteries of the fox, attempts to sing beautifully, loses his prey (H. 126); the ass that eats dew like the cicada starves to death (H. 195); the kid escapes from the wolf that becomes a flute-player (H. 99) and the wolf that becomes a doctor receives a kick from the ass (H. 198, 257); the ass that wants to play like a dog receives a thrashing with sticks (H. 93. cf. Bab. 125). Nature does not change: the Ethiopian will continue to be black no matter how much he is washed (H. 274 III). Nor can anyone be asked for something contrary to their nature: the shepherd that relies on the wolf meets with disaster (H. 165, 276 II); the sheep that make a pact with the wolves perish (H. 158 and *Vita Aesopi* 97), whereas the sheep that distrusts the wolf survives (H. 166); there is no reason to complain that the bramble pricks (H. 19) or the stag is cowardly (H. 275 III) and we must know that any snake that is born will bite (H. 206); the swan sings before dying and nowhere else (H. 247, 277 III), the sea always wishes for shipwrecks (H. 223), the rook that is waiting for the wild figs to become figs is deceived (H. 128). Everything returns to its old nature (H. 280 III), there is no possibility of learning (H. 234); and it is a

bad sign if something behaves against it (Bab. 40). Praise of nature is offered directly in H. 121, which is also in the *Life of Aesop* (W 37) as the answer given by the fabulist: wild plants are more vigorous than cultivated ones because the earth is mother to them, not stepmother.

These fables—we have offered a selection here—present, then, the theme of nature, often mentioned expressly, and are used to expound it directly, generally in brief form and without dramatic ups and downs. They sometimes link it with very clear Cynic themes: the scorn for false beauty, for boasting, ambition, etc.

3. *The Theme of Fortune*

We have already made reference to this; let us offer some further considerations.

Simple fables have been constructed to exemplify the power of fortune and its versatility, such as that of the accidental catching of a large tuna (H. 21: "what skill did not obtain, fortune decided"); see this in H. 13, also on the subject of fishing, the theme of the alternatives of fortune. In H. 61 it is Fortune herself who appears to a farmer and accuses him of greed, for burying what she has delivered to him; a doubly Cynic theme, then. The shipwrecked men that have survived in H. 80 receive the reminder from the captain that there may be a storm again nevertheless ἐὰν τύχῃ. At other times the fables relating to the theme of fortune are more dramatic, for example, the stag that saves itself from the hunters falls into the clutches of the lion (H. 78); the oxherd who has offered to sacrifice a kid to Zeus if he finds the lost calf and comes across a lion, who makes him offer a bull if he escapes (H. 49); the swindler who tries to defraud the gods of an oath and finds a treasure—with some bandits who sell him for a thousand drachmas! (H. 28). Fortune transforms everything, the gods are nothing without her. There is even talk in H. 243 of a θεία τύχη that is perhaps already Stoic. On the other hand, Fortune appears to the walker in H. 184 to complain that if she falls in the well together with someone who has fallen asleep, they will certainly accuse her of it. And the eunuch in Phaedrus III 11 complains that he is accused for something that has depended on Fortune alone.

4. *Criticism of Wealth and Greed, of Power and False and Useless Beauty, of the Search for Pleasure*

Again and again, in various contexts, we have already encountered fables attacking adherence to the traditional values of wealth, power, beauty, pleasure, as well as that of the nobility of origin; they also attack boasting and presumption in general, τῦφος. Of course, wealth and unjust power have been attacked from ancient times and the Socratics emphasized this theme, as well as that of pleasure. Now, however, the attacks are more radical, in the style of the Cynics. Wealth is the cause of ruin and disaster, the strong tend to abuse their power and there is no way of making deals with him, beauty is associated with vanity and falsehood, pleasure is the cause of misfortune.

In H. 113 we find Wealth himself (Plutus), who, according to the version in Phaedrus IV 12, is the daughter of Fortune. It must be said that the presence of personifications is characteristic of the Cynic fable; they inherit them, we believe, from the fables of the Socratics; consider, for example, Pleasure and Pain in the fable by Socrates already mentioned, Poros and Penia in Plato, *Symposium*. Now, in the fable mentioned Plutus is opposed to Heracles himself, the paradigm of virtue in the myth of Prodicus, a myth from which a passage of the *Life of Aesop* is derived (94). Heracles, we may recall, is one of the paradigms of the Cynic ideal.[10] This fable, which is also in the Rylands Papyrus (although with a somewhat modified ending[11]) is therefore central; in it Heracles, deified, refuses to greet Plutus because he always deals with the wicked.

This fable, which Thiele has described as Cynic, provides the tone for many more. As the ass says in Phaedrus V 4, lucre is dangerous and must be avoided; this is the moral of many fables. By eating too much, the fox's stomach inflates in such a way that he cannot escape from the hole in the tree into which he had climbed when thin (H. 24, cf. the variant in Horace, *Epist.* I 7.29 ff.). The stag eats up the leaves of the vine that hid him and is discovered and chased (H. 79); the snake, greedier still, loses its tongue through committing the foolish act of licking the file (H. 95), cf. H. 59, even a grain of wheat brings death to the lark (H. 271 III). The greedy suffer

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[10] Cf. R. Höistad, *Cynic Hero and Cynic King*, Upsala 1948, pp. 23 ff.

[11] Cf. *Emerita* 20, 1952, p. 351.

the consequences; such as the woman who feeds her hen more in order to have more eggs and is left without a hen (H. 58) or the other woman who kills the goose that lays the golden eggs (H. 89). Zeus himself punishes these abuses: he transforms a greedy man into an ant (H. 175). Yet worst of all is the greed condemned in the fable already mentioned of the farmer and Fortune, in the meanness of the miser (H. 253), in very eloquent fables by Phaedrus (I 27, IV 21). However resentfully, the fabulists do recognize the power of money: the paid mourners cry more than the relatives of the dead, because they have been paid for it (H. 221).

Alongside the theme of wealth is that of power. The fabulists console themselves by developing the themes from Archilochus of cunning and intelligence prevailing over the animal endowed simply with brute force and cruelty. Yet they frequently introduce the opposite theme: the strong prevail and pay no attention to arguments, tricks or recourses. We have already seen that the fable from Hesiod of the nightingale and the hawk is modified in this direction in the Augustana (H. 4). The wolf will eat the lamb, whatever the latter says (H. 160); and there are many similar examples.[12] Just as the wolf will present as a favour the fact that he lets the heron, who has taken out a bone from his throat, pull out his head intact (H. 164). Abuse is always expected from the strong, and we have already shown examples of this; there is no one prepared to make an alliance with the weak against him (H. 169). It is therefore quite normal behaviour for the wolf to be mistrusted by the goat and by the lamb in H. 162, etc. Yet, in turn, the strong nevertheless have to surrender before others that are even stronger (H. 281 III "The Archer and the Lion"). The strong animal laughs at the boastings of the weak: the lion, at those of the ass (H. 199, H. 84 in which the ass is devoured), at those of the mouse (H. 151); the bull at those of the mosquito (H. 140), at those of the wild goats (H. 242: "they are not the ones I fear, but the lion"); etc. It is, however, on the theme of "leonine society" (H. 154) that the theme of the abuse of the powerful is dealt with most clearly. It is in Phaedrus—although we cite here the versions of the Augustana—that these harsh themes are touched with the greatest rhetorical emphasis.

To these examples of distrust of power we must add others in

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[12] Cf. H. 16, 18, 137, etc.

which some present power is accepted rather than a future one that will undoubtedly be worse; these themes are already to be found in Aristotle ("The Fox and the Hedgehog", "The Stag, the Horse and the Man", by Stesichorus) and are particularly developed in H. 55 "The Frogs Asking for a King" and also in Bab. 21. This same distrust corresponds to another theme, which is absent from the Augustana, that of "The Wedding of the Sun" (Bab. 24, Ph. I 6). If the Sun marries and has children, there is a great risk that the pond will end up drying up! The frogs represent the plain and defenceless people, the Cynics even, as we will see. It is a political ideal similar to that of the Epicureans that is proclaimed here: we see, through the fable, the theme of the Cynic scholar facing the great conquerors such as Alexander, Croesus or Cyrus (Hadrian in the *Life of Secundus*). There is a great distance from the political interventionism of the Platonics and Stoics, who tried to impose justice on the earth.

As regards beauty, sometimes there is scorn for false beauty, as with the rook that puts on the peacock's feathers. At others it is shown that beauty by itself is not sufficient, as in "The Turkey to Juno", from Phaedrus (III 18). It is often the case, for example, that beauty is set in opposition to virtue; we have already discussed H. 12 (the spiritual beauty of the fox compared with the corporal beauty of the leopard), which is comparable to H. 249 "The Peacock and the Crane". In a fable by Phaedrus (III 8), Plutarch (*Mor.* 141d), and other authors, the beauty of a brother and the virtue of a sister are contrasted: the father begs the former not to corrupt his beauty with vice, the latter to overcome her ugliness with virtue.

At other times the theme is different; beauty is set against usefulness, a very Cynic theme: how can the peacock be king of the animals, if he is incapable of defending them? (H. 244). The stag is saved by the nimbleness of his feet, not by his beautiful horns of which he is so proud and which mean that he is hunted in the end (H. 76); however beautiful the plumage of the swallow is, that of the crow is preferable, as it protects it from winter (H. 258); the tragic mask is beautiful, but the fox rightly protests of its lack of usefulness as it has no brain (H. 272 III, theme of the νοῦς; and, particularly, it is true that the fisherman muddles the river, but it is no less so that if he does not act that way, he does not eat (H. 26). The theme of usefulness sometimes appears, in any case, without a connection with that of beauty, such as in Phaedrus III 17, where

Minerva chooses the olive as her own tree rather than those that do not bear fruit; and in Phaedrus IV 25, in which the ant triumphs over the fly, and in H. 114a and b over the beetle and the cicada, because the former's activity is more useful.

We must observe that this separation between beauty, conduct and usefulness is characteristic of the Hellenistic Age, of the Cynics specifically. For traditional thought "beautiful" referred at the same time both to the body and the conduct of a nobleman, who hoped to be so in both senses and to combine power and wealth. The most that Archilochus does is unmask those who fake a beauty or a power that are not their own; he does not set an ugly and virtuous or wise animal in opposition to another beautiful and wicked one. In Platonism a split begins, but it is not nearly so radical. On the other hand, the central theme of the Cynics was to be that of the ugly or modest appearance of a Diogenes, an Aesop or a Menippus, which nevertheless conceals their greatness of spirit; and, on the contrary, that of the vanity of the beauty of Helen or Nireus, not to mention Alexander. In the *Life* of Aesop, in the *Dialogues of the Dead* by Lucian, etc., all this can easily be exemplified.

Later, pleasure appears in connection with the theme already dealt with of avidity. For a brief pleasure the flies allow themselves to be trapped in the honey (H. 82) or the thrush (H. 88) or the thirsty pigeon (H. 217) allow themselves to be hunted. These are completely new themes for fables, of Cynic invention. The Cynic is frugal with his food, practices a life of πόνος; if he allows himself sexual relief, it is to rid himself of desire.[13] There is rejection of the hedonist culture of "consumption", created by a society they reject.

5. *Against Selfishness, Ingratitude and Falsehood*

At other times the morals of the fable agree with the central line of the morals borne of Socrates; these are themes in which the Cynics agree with all the Socratic schools. Very often what they do is emphasize guiding principles and traditional ideas, rationalizing them (emphasis on ἄνοια, a theme that frequently acts as a cover for those of boasting, avarice, avidity, etc.). We must point out that these fables rarely come from the Ionic, pre-Socratic tradition; they are usually

[13] Cf. Roca, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

later creations. On the other hand, it is difficult to decide when they have a Cynic root or when they must be attributed to Stoicism or to the moralizing *koinē* of the 2nd century BC and later, or even from a later date (innovations of the various collections). What must indeed be emphasized is that Cynicism, in spite of what it might appear, is just as intellectual a sect as any other; the theme of rational conduct, of the critique of ἄνοια, is omnipresent in it. We have already presented examples, but we will offer some more here of this set of ideas.

Despite what we have just said, in the aristocratic age the theme of friendship, and specifically of betrayed friendship, was common; for example, in Archilochus, Theognis, Alcaeus. Divine punishment is presented, or at least it is requested, in various poems by these authors, particularly in the case of the violated oath. Our collections have retained a trace of this, such as in "The Fox and the Eagle"; there is undoubtedly an imitation in a series of fables showing the friendship or alliance of two animals, sometimes with characteristic formulas κοινωνίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, etc.

In these and other fables we occasionally find the theme of the traitor punished, either inherited from ancient times or by the intervention of a recent moralism. More curious, however, from our current standpoint, is another series of fables in which the frequency of this lack of fidelity to a friend is simply placed on record: it is criticized, purely and simply. This behaviour fits within the not very religious tendency of the Cynic fable. Of course, in certain fables, such as that of "The Farmer and the Serpent" this is ancient; but it is more common, generally, in short fables with the appearance of *ad hoc* creation. Such as in H. 22 "The Fox and the Woodcutter", which adds the motif of falsehood; H. 66 "The Walkers and the Bear", on a motif of "Natural History"; H. 68 "The Walkers" (who show different appreciations of the facts when finding an axe and losing it); H. 74 "The Beekeeper" (indignant because the bees sting him and not the thief of his beehives); H. 185 "The Walker and the Banana Tree" (displeased that it is described as useless although it gives shade). The theme is connected with that of hatred, by anecdotes demonstrating the point the enmity between two men or animals can reach (H. 69 "The Enemies", H. 115 "The Tuna and the Dolphin", etc.). Far away friends must not expect good treatment, when even the closest receive bad treatment (H. 52 "The Farmer and the Dogs"); and what chance is there of the borrowed

hair not abandoning the bald man, when he had even lost his own! (H. 282 III).

This is a pessimistic vision of the world which in no way conflicts with the equally pessimistic consideration of power, wealth and beauty. Added to this picture is the depiction of the ambiguous positions of those whose conduct is uncertain or does not match their words ("The Old Woman and the Wolf", H. 163; "The Hyenas", H. 240; "The Shorn Sheep", H. 232), an already ancient theme, from Euripides; and that of the inconveniences of telling the truth. Aesop himself suffers harm on account of his sincerity, Phaedrus tells us, *App.* 17; cf. also Phaedrus, *App.* 5–6 and 27, in the first of whose fables *Veritas* herself appears, whereas the last refers to Socrates, the image of the sage.

6. *Boasting and Ignorance* (ἄνοια)

Nevertheless, selfishness, inasmuch as it is ἄνοια, frequently receives punishment. The greedy, the miserly, the ambitious, whom we have discussed above, are ruined by this defect. At other times it is connected with the theme of boasting. Now, the optimism that can be deduced from this is relative; what the fable does is show us an image of the world that is full of foolish people, who often fail. Yet not all the strong and violent are foolish, that is why they often prevail. As regards the sage, the prototype for him continues, as in the time of Archilochus, to be the figure of the fox (sometimes the model for the animals of various fables); the most he achieves is to survive, on occasions, the traps of the wicked, and not always. In short, power is in their hands, however much ἄνοια they may have, however much τῦφος. But ἄνοια and τῦφος are not always connected with the theme of power; sometimes it is precisely the weak who attempt to break the natural order. They are omnipresent. Here we will only offer some examples, as they have been seen more in other sections.

The theme of ἄνοια is most frequently connected with that of nature; those who compare themselves with others, attributing a force or beauty to themselves that are not real, suffer mockery or damage. In fact the *agones* and debates to which we have already referred (including those in which a weaker third party foolishly attempts to mediate) belong to this section.

The result of the boasting of the foolish is occasionally simple mockery; we have already seen this in the case of the lion with

respect to the mouse and the ass, in that of the bull with respect to the mosquito and the wild goats. Likewise in others such as that of the ass that carries a statue and believes he is the object of adoration (H. 193), in that of the ass that claims to be equal to the ox (Bab. 28). But at other times the matter does not remain in words: the frog that wants to be transformed into an ox (Bab. 55, Phaedrus I 24, Horace, *Sat.* II 3.314 ff.) and the worm that wants to be transformed into a snake (H. 237) both burst; the crow loses its prey, when its vanity is gratified by the fox (H. 126); the cock that is too satisfied over his victory over another is devoured by the eagle (H. 266 Ib), and the wolf who, deceived by his shadow, believes he can challenge anyone, is eaten by the lion (P. 260, coming from manuscript Mb). In this latter case, the epimythium blames the οἴησις: οἴησις ἡμῖν πημάτων παραιτία.[14] Yet we need not find two characters in the fable, one is sufficient. Such as the zither player who, believing his own delusions, presents himself at the theatre, and is thrown out (H. 123).

In the fable of the crow, as well as in others mentioned, failure based on not being resigned to one's own nature and allowing oneself to be led astray by pride or vanity is attributed to a lack of νοῦς by the animal that gives the final retort. This is all the more apparent when it is not a question of nature, but wisdom; imperfect knowledge or judgement based on ἄνοια causes disaster or ridicule. The following may be used as examples: the case of the frog, who wants to move to a well without thinking of what might happen if it dries up (H. 43); that of the one-eyed stag, who directs his healthy eye to the earth thinking it is there that danger lies and dies from being attacked from the sea (H. 77); that of the hungry dogs that, to eat an animal skin that is floating in the river, attempt to drink it and burst (H. 138); that of the ass that sees that his load of salt loses weight on entering the river and does the same with a load of sponges. (H. 191, cf. a similar theme in the *Ass* of Appuleius and Lucian, a contrasting one in *Vita Aesopi* 18–19); that of the monkey that imitates the fishermen and is caught in the net (H. 219; that of the dog that eats a snail mistaking it for an egg (H. 265 Ib); that of the owner of the Ethiopian slave, who attempts to whiten him

[14] This recalls the maxim οἴησις ἱερὴ νοῦσος, attributed by Diogenes Laertius IX 7 to Heraclitus and by the *Gnom. Vat.* 753, no. 294 to Epicurus. M. Marcovich, *Heraclitus*, Mérida, Venezuela, 1967, p. 575, thinks that it is in fact a Stoic maxim.

by washing him (H. 274 III); that of the ass that eats thorns (Bab. 133); that of the foolish daughter who believes the stories of the man who takes advantage of her and to whom her mother tells that, far from acquiring νοῦς, she has lost the little she had (H. 305 III); that of the man who attempts to set fire to a fox and only succeeds in setting his fields on fire (Bab. 11: there is mention of the intervention of a god); that of the false doctor (Phaedrus I 14); and, particularly, that of the ass and the lyre (Phaedrus, *App.* 14) and that of the chicken that found a pearl and did not know what to do with it (Phaedrus III 12). In these cases, the theme of ἄνοια is separate from that of boasting, but both have in common a reference to the inadequacies and defects of men, to the distance between their opinions and the real facts. It is the τῦφος of which the Cynics speak and to which we have already referred; it is expressly mentioned in the epimythium of H. 199. Thus the σοφός or *sapiens* is set in opposition to the ἄνοια or *stultus*, that is to say, the Cynic or Stoic philosopher against the vulgar man, the victim of illusions and ignorance.

7. *Death and the Addiction to Life*

The theme of the vanity of a life that leads to death, where differences based on power, wealth and beauty disappear, is a very well-known Cynic theme, developed especially by Menippus and Lucian. The fictionalized biography and the fable are not, within Cynic literature, the most appropriate places to develop it. H. 104 can be interpreted with this meaning, we believe. It is a creation myth: Zeus has given form to men and has sent Hermes to lead them to the earth and teach them where to dig a cave. The Earth (*Ge*) first objects, then gives in, saying that they can dig what they want, since they must give back the earth amid groans and tears. If we understand correctly, the fabulist is referring to the fact that men, on dying, will return the earth—their body—to the earth. The author of the epimythium, which was added later, unaware of the dramatic theme of death in the Cynic thought, did not understand; he thought that the fable refers to the fact that those who take out a loan must return it.

Therefore the Cynic fable, when considering the subject of the creation of man and animals, also deals with their death, which belongs to their own φύσις. If there were other examples, they have been eliminated from the collections. However, the one relating to

the love for life as the supreme good of man has remained; a theme related to that of scorn for all that is "added"—money, power, etc.—to the human person, to which we will return. The sage who travels alone without material goods is the one that survives, as does Simonides in Phaedrus, in moments of danger.

The Cynic does not criticize, but justifies the φιλοζωΐα of men. It is the immortality the Indian Gymnosophists request from Alexander, which he cannot give them.[15] In the *Vita Aesopi* Aesop saves his master's life more than once with his subtle deceptions, and fights hard, with the help of his fables, to save his own from the Delphians, though in vain. The theme is repeated various times in the fables. We find it in "The Old Man and Death" (H. 60), a fable that was possibly created freely (the old woodcutter who has summoned Death tells him that what he wants is that he helps him to carry his bundle of firewood) starting from the φιλοζωΐα of Admetus and Pheres in *Alcestis* by Euripides. Nobody wants to die; even the hares, who want to commit suicide, change their minds when they see that the frogs are even more wretched (H. 143), just as the lion is penitent, embarrassed about his fear of the cock, on seeing that the elephant, larger than he is, trembles before the mosquito (H. 292 III δ, related to the theme of Prometheus). It is logical that the piglet groans when the herdsman takes him and the sheep do not groan: what he wants from him is his life, and only wool from the sheep (H. 87, also in the *Vita Aesopi* 48; H. 189 is practically a copy). And the fabulist obviously places himself on the side of the boy who bathes and is about to drown, who is reprehended by a walker: "help me now, quarrel with me when you have saved me", he says (H. 230).

8. *Misogyny, Homosexuality, Doctors, Athletes and Fortune-tellers*

Misogyny has a long tradition in Greek literature: Hesiod, Archilochus, Semonides, Hipponax, etc. Their themes come to a large extent from the ritual *agones* in which men and women challenged each other.[16] Starting from here polemics arise that constitute the central core of works such as *Lysistrata* by Aristophanes or *Medea* and *Hippolytus* by Euripides.

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[15] Cf. Ps.-Callisth. III 7.

[16] Mercedes Vílchez, "Sobre el enfrentamiento hombre/mujer de los rituales a la literatura", *Emerita* 42, 1974, pp. 375–407.

The theme is touched upon to a certain extent within Socratic philosophy, although not completely; if Plato, in his *Republic*, aims to put women on a par with men on the Spartan model, Aristotle makes that famous declaration, among others, that women have rational capacity (τὸ βουλευτικόν) but it is incomplete.[17] There exists later, in the life of Socrates, the figure of Xanthippe, although it is likely that her deformation was mainly due to the Cynics.

These works disseminate the popular misogyny; a case such as that of Hipparchia, Crates' wife, is the exception that confirms the rule. In general terms, they consider women as a nuisance for the life of the sage, a heap of inconveniences; they require attention, money, a sedentary life; they have children and worry about things that are extraneous to the wise ἀπερίεργος (or ἀμελιταῖος, as Diogenes says), who is prepared to stop worrying about everyday life completely.

It is not at all strange, then, that Cynic literature contains all kinds of anti-female proverbs, some brutal. We may recall that of Diogenes when, on seeing a woman hanged from a tree, he says that he wishes all bore similar fruits.[18] Yet the Cynics favoured the diffusion of novelettes in which the old accusations of infidelity, sexual avidity, etc. are made against women. They undoubtedly made use of erotic tales which, in turn, descended (among other sources) from the popular erotic lyric.[19] In the *Life of Aesop* there are a few, which we will consider in the next chapter; the introduction to the *Life of Secundus* is a tale of this type in which Secundus becomes a philosopher precisely on discovering from the example of his mother that all women sell themselves; the *Satyricon* contains the story of the widow of Ephesus, also in the *Vita Aesopi*, and some further ones of that sort; not to mention those of the *Ass*.

As we might expect, the collections of fables also contain this category of material, which at other times undoubtedly went into special collections of *Fabulae Milesiae* (Aristides, translated by Sisenna). The Anonymous Fables, although expurgated if we compare them with Phaedrus and Babrius, contain various of them. We have mentioned that of the "foolish daughter"; from the Accursiana, taken from the *Vita Aesopi*, "The Woman and the Farmer" (H. 299), a

[17] *Politica* 1260 a 13.
[18] Cf. Diogenes Laertius VI 51.
[19] Elvira Gangutia, "Poesía griega de amigo y poesía arábico-española", *Emerita* 40, 1972, pp. 339–396.

moralized version of "The Widow of Ephesus" in which, while the widow and the farmer go to bed together, somebody steals the latter's oxen (the version without moralizing is in Phaedrus, *App.* 15). We must also mention, in the Augustana, H. 31, in which the old woman and the youth make the middle-aged man bald; and in the Accursiana, H. 300: "The Adulterer and the Woman". It must be pointed out that some of these novelettes reached the Accursiana through the *Vita Aesopi*, cf. III 4, p. 650.

To these fables of the anonymous collections we must add some from Phaedrus: *App.* 11 "Juno, Venus and the Hen", an invented story about the sexual avidity of women; *App.* 29 "The Prostitute and the Youth", on their infidelity; *App.* 4 "Mercury and Two Women", on their foolish desires; *App.* 17 "Aesop and His Mistress", on their desire to decorate themselves (a theme that also appears in other fables). Only *App.* 16 "Two Pretenders", is a novelette in which the poor man, helped by Venus, manages to marry the woman he desires, to the detriment of the rich man. There is no misogyny in this story; it has undoubtedly been encouraged by the other erotic fables. When we find these novelettes in Babrius (10 and 116), there is no shortage of misogynous features.

The misogyny that appears in these fables (which is no obstacle to the normal presentation of family relationships in many other fables) is doubled with the attack on sexual deviations, as contrary to φύσις. We might mention the condemnation of incest (304 III) and recall that of masculine homosexuality, together with the accusation of shamelessness. This is a strange accusation within Cynic literature; it is explained by the aversion to homosexuality, which we discussed and which we re-encounter in H. 241 (Ia) "The Hyena and the Fox" and in the *Life of Aesop* 67. Only in Bab. 116, which we have just cited, is the homosexual theme touched upon as a mere joke; the theme of homosexuals and lesbians is dealt with aetiologically in Phaedrus IV 16 with the story of the drunk Prometheus. The *Satyricon*, an only partially Cynic work, is another exception.

Together with foolish, unfaithful and lustful women and homosexuals, the other "bêtes-noires" of Cynic literature—apart from those already mentioned, such as the tyrant, the man of science, the rich, etc.—are the doctor, the athlete and the fortune-teller.

The theme of the doctor comes from a remote source, undoubtedly from Solon 1, 57 ff.; the doctor who does not know how to cure himself is, like the fortune-teller in similar circumstances, the object

of criticism. In the Cynics this criticism is accentuated by their general aversion to science and by attribution of ἄνοια to anybody who fails on account of his ignorance. Evidently, the τῦφος of the pretentious scholar who later fails bothers them; they prefer to place their trust in nature.[20] Hence the anecdotes on doctors which are found in our collections of fables and which reveal a popular character.

We have already touched upon the theme of the false doctor, an old shoemaker, from Phaedrus I 14, who is exposed and made the object of mockery. In H. 287 III we have that of the lame doctor whom the fox asks why he does not cure himself, a parallel theme to the one often repeated on the subject of fortune-tellers and, in fact, anticipated by Solon. There is, in H. 75, the thieving doctor whom the old lady rightly does not want to pay. And there are tales, which were undoubtedly popular, on doctors. The sick person whom the doctor continually tells that all is well, answers that he is dying from goodness (H. 180); in reply to the doctor at the funeral of a relative, who says that if he had abstained from wine and injected enemas he would not have died, he is asked why he did not say so before (H. 116). The funniest story is the one in Babrius 75. A sick person declared past hope of recovery who gets well nonetheless is asked by his doctor, who meets him, how Plutus and Persephone are. The sick old man answers that they are threatening doctors, since they do not allow the sick to die, but that he has nothing to fear, since he has reassured them by saying that his doctor is not a true doctor.

Athletes are treated no better. We must recall the hostility against them of many intellectuals, such as Xenophanes and Euripides, who did not understand the honours that cities have awarded them. Man dedicated to thought is, according to them, much more useful for the city. This hostility is continued by the Cynics, in spite of their admiration for Heracles, conqueror of monsters and follower of the path of virtue; for the Cynics strength and large stature are usually a sign of brutality. The attack against the athlete is therefore part of the attack against the strong and against the ἄνους. We have already seen how an aetiological fable describes very large men as θηριώδεις, bestial. As regards the agonal fables in which animals,

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[20] On the Cynics and medicine, cf. Rock, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 ff., on the subject of the two tragic parodies of Lucian.

plants, personifications play a part, often the large and tough either impose themselves brutally or are defeated by a more intelligent rival (Boreas by Helios, the oak by the reed, the lion by the mosquito in H. 267 Ib, etc.). Later we will discuss the predilection of the fabulists for the small animal with respect to the large and monstrous. However, as well as through symbolism, athletes themselves are attacked directly, particularly for their boasting, which the facts sometimes do not justify. The winner in the pentathlon who boasts of the great jump that he made in Rhodes, is challenged to repeat it: "here are Rhodes and the jump", an expression that has remained in proverbs (H. 33). Another athlete is defeated by a flea (H. 260). And in Phaedrus, *App.* 15 the fabulist Aesop says to another athlete, who boasts of being stronger than the rival he has defeated, that there would have been merit in defeating a stronger man by skill. The athlete is described as *stultus*: this is a symbol of the membership of all these to the group of bestial, not philosophical men.

Finally, we have already referred to the hostility of the Cynics towards all kinds of fortune-tellers.[21] In this too they were inheriting from a popular tradition, which has left traces in the lyric; we have already said that H. 170 "The Fortune-teller" comes from Archilochus, who in fact transformed the Homeric theme of the fortune-teller who sees bad things coming to others, but not to himself into grounds for mockery.[22] We may recall the echoes later, in tragedies such as *Oedipus Rex* and in comedies such as *Knights*, of popular criticism against prophecy; criticism that also came from the learning of Sophists and philosophers.[23]

Cultured and popular criticism are thus re-encountered, in the Cynics, after the parenthesis imposed by the pious position of a Socrates or a Plato. There is the joke about the warrior who prefers not to run risks and to stay at home at the appearance of a crow (H. 290 III δ). And of the blind crow that did not guess its own misfortune (H. 227). The sorceress who has lived from promising assistance against calamities sent by the gods and is condemned to death, encounters the mockery of those who ask why she is not at least capable of convincing men (H. 56). In fact here we already find the introduction of the theme of criticism of superstition, such

[21] See also Rock, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
[22] *Il.* II 858 ff.
[23] Cf. *Ilustración y política en la grecia clásica*, Madrid 1964, pp. 253 ff.

as in H. 112 "The Hero" (in which not even the person that worships it believes in it very much). Yet it is in Phaedrus that we most frequently find criticism against soothsayers. In III 3 it is Aesop himself who makes fun of the marvel of the semi-human monsters that are born from sheep, which he attributes to the need that shepherds have for women; the story reminds us of the hornless ram, which Anaxagoras explained as a natural phenomenon. In *App.* 8 Phaedrus dares to attack even the oracle of Delphi, not for its doctrine, but for its lack of usefulness, as nobody pays attention to it.

In fact, all these fables against fortune-tellers, portents, etc., fit within a line, midway between the popular and the cultured, battling against a certain superstitious conception or, in any event, a too easy conception of religion, on the part of those who think everything that happens has been ordained by the gods; with the right, indeed, to complain if things do not turn out as they would like. This current is not in the *Life of Aesop*, which maintains one of its ancient components, that is, the theme of Aesop as a fortune-teller, interpreter of portents, protected by the gods.[24] It is in the collections, however. Nøjgaard has dealt with this theme.[25] It is in contrast with strictly religious fables, which we attribute to a layer subsequent to the Cynic one, which we will consider later. To be precise, we have proposed that some mythical or religious fables which Demetrius collected and sometimes crossed over to the *Life*, were eliminated by the Cynic drafters of fables.

Certainly, the fable inherited a certain freedom in the treatment of religious themes, which was found before in the comedy, in poets such as Hipponax and, dating back to the origins, in some religious festivals.[26] Certain fables in which Prometheus or Hermes take part are no more disrespectful than scenes from comedies in which Prometheus, Heracles and other gods are involved. The criticism goes further, however. The Cynics, in favour of πόνος, enthusiastically adopted the motto "with Athena, move your hand" (H. 30, cf. page 206). Bab. 20 has the same sense; in this Hercules says to the cart driver whose cart has fallen into the ravine that, before praying, he should apply himself to pushing the wheels and spur on the oxen. The theme of the person who wants to fix everything with prayer

[24] Cf. "The Life of Aesop", *cit.*
[25] *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 525 ff., 536 ff., II, pp. 170, 358, etc.
[26] Cf. *Fiesta, Comedia y Tragedia*, Barcelona 1972, pp. 464 ff.

and then refuses to fulfil his own vows is repeated with some monotony; although there are usually "moralizations" on those who are punished. This appears to be the case with the sculptor of images who does not particularly believe in them (H. 101) or the person who makes vows in order to be cured knowing that no god is going to heal him (H. 14) or the man who is only able to obtain help from an image when, enraged because it does not listen to his pleas, he breaks it and finds it is full of money (H. 284 III).

It is in Babrius that the most audacious stories are to be found. If the gods have to announce a reward to see if they can recover their stolen property, how can we believe the oath that the suspects of another robbery are obliged to make? This is the conclusion of Bab. 2; the Hermes of Bab. 48 is satisfied with the fact that his worshipper does not drink the oil or urinate on him; and so on.

Gods such as Hermes, Prometheus and Heracles, on the other hand, are treated in a free and easy manner. Others appear in totally conventional roles, such as Zeus, Aphrodite or Juno. The true god is Fortune and, with her, the personifications that occasionally appear, such as Truth, Death, etc.

Man is alone in the world of the fable; prophecy, portents, sacrifice, prayer, are not taken too much into account or else are the object of irony. It is work and a life following nature and virtue that the Cynics recommend. Avoiding wealth and power can help; the use of intelligence too. But there is no optimism, as the strong normally prevail, fortune may bring misfortune, of which many weak animals and, obviously, the sheep and the lamb and also the ass are symbols.

9. *Freedom of Speech and Shamelessness*

Παρρησία or freedom of speech and shamelessness in sexual matters and regarding physical needs are characteristic of the Cynics, a fact too well known to need to be explained in detail.

The basis of this attitude—which continues, once again, that of the religious festival, the iamb, the comedy[27]—lies in the fact that the Cynic plans thereby to follow the dictates of nature. Physical needs, including those of sex, must be satisfied freely, without concealment; and one may speak freely about them. This is a further

[27] Cf. II 3.

part of the requirement of sincerity, in fact, although the Cynics know that on occasions it will bring pain, as to the Aesop of Phaedrus, *App.* 17. On the other hand, the erotic or scatological novelettes and aetiologies undoubtedly serve the need of human nature to give itself a breathing space, to relax. There is a fable in Phaedrus, the III 14, which explains this with the image of the bow that cannot be permanently taut. Once again, the fable corresponds to the iamb and the comedy. And it brings together erotic material that undoubtedly entered the collections at a date subsequent to Demetrius. It is included in the sector of Cynic literature to which we have referred above with the name of *spoudaiogeloion.*

Outside of the collections of fables, we find crudely sexual and scatological erotic elements that are part of Cynicism in many anecdotes and χρεῖαι regarding Diogenes and other Cynics, whose naturalness and shamelessness in performing sexual and physiological activities is very well-known.[28] If we move over to the literature, we can refer, for example, to meliamb III of Cercidas, which recommends venal love, to avoid complications. Yet we must also recall the erotic and obscene stories that appear in the *Life of Aesop*, as well as—very significantly—in the *Ass*, by Lucius of Patras, known through Lucian and Appuleius; there are also erotic stories, as has been stated, in the *Satyricon.* And we must of course again mention the one that begins the *Life of Secundus.* Neither are scatological themes lacking in this literature. In the *Life of Aesop* we find the scene in which Aesop's master begins to urinate in the road and the comments on this, based on "nature" (28); the aetiology of why men have the habit of looking at their own excrement (67); and the recommendations by Xanthus to his wife (32).

Of the collections of fables, it is the Anonymous Fables that cultivate these themes least, undoubtedly due to a process of selection and censure by their drafter; the same is the case as with irreligious themes, as Nøjgaard has noted. They do not go beyond the spicy stories already mentioned, of which the only truly obscene one is H. 305 (III δ) "The Foolish Daughter". This tale and that of the widow of Ephesus (which is presented in 299 III, as we have already said, in moralized form), are also in the *Life of Aesop* and come from there. The Augustana in turn "moralizes" the theme from Archilochus

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[28] Cf., for example, Rock, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff.

of the monkey in H. 83, as we have already shown, and that of the mole and his mother in H. 234, as Nøjgaard has shown;[29] now it is a speck of incense and not his mother's parts that the mole smells.

As regards the scatological themes, what we find in the Augustana is the fable of the two beetles (H. 86) and the aetiology of why asses urinate when they see others doing so (H. 196).

The case of Phaedrus is different. Surprisingly, this fabulist, who emphasizes religious themes, is not only the one that uses the most cutting words, but also the one that most delights in obscenity and salacious themes. He does not hesitate to use sexual terms; Nøjgaard[30] discusses this at length. He deals with the origins of homosexuals and lesbians, with the bestialism of shepherds, the sexual avidity of women and other themes of this sort continually in numerous tales; we have already given the most significant examples. Nor does he reject the scatological; in this area, the most famous fable is the aetiology of why dogs smell each other's rears, present in the traditional Cynic form of the "deputation to Zeus" (IV 19).

Also in Babrius, finally, we find similar themes. We have already mentioned the salacious anecdote of 18 and the scatological one of 48, about a statue of Hermes. There are some others, such as that of the camel (40). On the other hand, this series of motifs is characteristic of all the collections, not only the oldest, constantly mentioned by us. We would like to draw attention to the erotic-obscene novelette in Syntipas 54; it is known that these fables, although they are a translation from the Syriac, come, originally, from the Greek tradition. We find comparable material later in Byzantium and the Latin Middle Ages. In short, we must look for the origin of the Western romance from the 14th century onwards, and even before, both in the tradition of the fable and in that of the fictionalized *Lives*, both profoundly influenced by the Cynics. Such a study is, at the present time, yet to be conducted in depth.

10. *The Cynic's Ideal*

The last section has already dealt with the Cynic's positive ideal, namely freedom and παρρησία together with the concept of "nature".

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[29] I, p. 524.
[30] I, pp. 68 ff.

In the previous sections, in any event, the positive ideal may also be deduced by seeking the reverse of the vices attacked. The Cynics follow nature and adapt to fortune; they do not seek power, wealth, beauty nor νόμος or convention in general. They are without any pride or τῦφος; they seek the truth and sincerity, although they know that, lacking in power and protection as they are, this may bring them trouble. Included in this sincerity and truth is upright conduct, which does not separate itself from the fulfilment of duty, although it imposes sacrifices, and always works according to reason. The Cynic is, in short, a déclassé who lives separated from society, poor and free, satisfies his passions easily and does not grow attached to anything. He counts on neither men nor the gods. And he gives lessons to everybody, preferring to use the joke, irony and sarcasm.

Now, in the fables it is possible to see this ideal developed directly, here and there, not only in negative form. Animals can also be found that represent the Cynics, to accompany the fox of Archilochus who now, thanks to his intelligence (τὸ συνετὸν τῶν φρενῶν) has also been transformed into a Cynic symbol. Clearly, the fable does not present as much the Cynic as the ideal man advocated by the school, but it amounts to the same. From being an illustration of the wisdom of a life that does not exclude deception of a society that it subjects to criticism, as in Archilochus, the fable of the collections was transformed into a general lesson, a mixture of jokes and truth; not an example for a concrete case, but an exposition of human life as it is and as the sage shows, in spite of everything. The epimythia leave no room for doubt about this.

Compared with the rich man, subject to many difficulties and dangers, the ideal man is one that, like Simonides in Phaedrus IV 23, can say *mecum mea sunt cuncta* and survive in the shipwreck by being free of weight. He is like the dog (a very well-known Cynic symbol) that in Babrius 110 says to his master who is urging him to prepare his luggage for the journey: "I already have everything. You are the one who is late". In Phaedrus III 5 an individual stops throwing stones at Aesop, who can only give him a copper, and starts throwing at a rich man; in V 4 the ass refuses to be given the barley that is left by the pig that has been sacrificed, and prefers to be hungry and safe and sound; in II 7 the thieves kill the mule loaded with coins and respect the one carrying barley. The theme is repeated in the Augustana: once the hunters have arrived, the cranes, who are thin, survive, while the fat geese are hunted (H. 256); this is no

more and no less than when the fox that has grown fat must slim down to escape from the hole in the tree into which he has climbed (cf. p. 615) or when the beaver cuts off its testicles to save its life (H. 120). In Babrius the small fish escapes from the net and the large one is caught (Bab. 4), in the *Life of Aesop* 99 (and in H. 298 III) the grasshopper succeeds in gaining the boy's respect, on the grounds that it is so small; Aesop achieves the same from Croesus by telling this fable. The poverty of the Cynic is therefore set in relation to his φιλοζωΐα. Of course, sometimes the themes they develop are of ancient origin, as in the fable of the oak and the reed, already mentioned.

The creature that is weak and small, yet sometimes has a greater capacity for resistance than the large one, is the symbol of the Cynics. The reed, of course, must adapt and not seek the impossible, as is the case in fables such as Phaedrus, *App.* 20, in which Aesop announces to a fugitive slave that he is going to attract greater evils; or H. 133 "The Fugitive Rook"; or H. 149, in which the farmer that irritates the lion is criticized. Other symbols of theirs are the flea, with which the athlete cannot compete (H. 260); the mouse who escapes from the bull (Bab. 112); the mosquito who defeats the lion (H. 267, Ib) and the elephant (H. 292, III). These animals sting, irritate, like the Cynic with his mockery. They are like the frog, another symbol of the Cynics, whose alliance with the snake is by using the voice, not the hands (H. 92); it is the theme of freedom of speech and truth, with which we are already familiar.

These small animals have their value, therefore. They are able to help out of gratitude, as does the mouse to the lion (H. 155), the ant to the pigeon (H. 176). This is a theme contrary to that of the ingratitude of men. Smallness also has another consolation, that of seeing that there is still somebody who is more unfortunate: in H. 143 the hares abandon the idea of committing suicide on seeing that the frogs are even more apprehensive. The theme of those who weep when there is someone even worse off is repeated in various fables (for example, H. 201).

The Cynic is like the tortoise, who carries his house on his back; this is another symbol of theirs, as we have seen. He moves around from one place to another and does not put down roots anywhere; his symbol, in the fables, is the walker, who appears very often, sometimes accompanied by his ass and carrying his πήρα or knapsack, like the nomadic Cynics. He is cosmopolitan—the word is an

invention of the school—as he has no homeland, something that is said literally, in a fable from Phaedrus, of the ass, another symbol of the Cynics (I 15). He practises ataraxia, not being scared on seeing, as he says, using precisely the verb ταράττειν, the lion that had been scared by the croaks of the frogs (H. 146, cf. also 187). He accepts his fortune and uses opportunity, which is discussed in Phaedrus V 8, in H. 48, in H. 116, etc., always in connection with the theme—also Cynic—of usefulness. He learns from misfortune (H. 154). But there is another theme that we have not yet touched apart from in mentions in passing, one that is essential, that of πόνος or work.

Compared with τρυφή or the relaxation of the rich, satirized in Cynic literature in the cases of Sardanapalus, of Ninus, of Alexander drinking wine from his golden goblet, of Croesus, the Cynic eulogizes πόνος, the effort and simplicity of life. The Aesop of the *Life* cultivates the field, drinks water, eats vegetables. Again and again the fables present to us the theme of the farmer and that of work in general; digging the field is the best thing that the farmer who is going to die can advise his children (H. 42), plough is what the wolf should do (H. 38), those that attempt to shirk work make things worse (H. 55), work more than prayer is the way of getting out of difficulties (cf. p. 629), to give light instead of boasting is what the lamp must do so as not to go out (Bab. 114), the tortoise wins the race against the hare with steadfastness (H. 254). The fabulists are on the side of the ant against the beetle or the cicada (H. 114) or the fly (Phaedrus IV 25), of the bees against the drones (Phaedrus III 13); let us not forget that usefulness is a Cynic theme. And they make fun of those who moan while others do the work, as in the fable of the oxen and the axle (H. 45), in that of the calf and the ox (H. 270 II–III).

The walker, the knapsack, the farmer, the mosquito, the mouse, the flea, the ant, the pigeon, the bee, the ox, the frog, the ass are the new symbols of the Cynic fable; only sometimes, however, since the ass may be the model not of suffering, but of ignorance, the ant not of work, but of avarice, etc. They are humble creatures, who travel or work or suffer, but who also sting and yell. They are found together with the wise fox, the reed, the beetle, in a series of narrations which are almost always new creations, sometimes adaptations of other ancient ones. It is very clear that under the inspiration of the Cynics of the 3rd century BC, who expanded and versified

the fable, and of the later ones who expanded it even more and prosified it again, the fable took on a new character and meaning. Certainly, without losing continuity with its previous form in many respects, the fable of the Archaic and Classical Age, brought together in Demetrius' collection and conserved and assimilated by the Cynics.

II. *Stoic and Moralizing Strata in the Collections of Fables*

We have already indicated at various times that, in addition to the ancient and Cynic strata, the collections of fables also have a third, of the moralizing type, which is undoubtedly partly Stoic. We have already indicated that, as a result of the use of the fable by the philosophers as a resource for propaganda and instruction, starting from our era, approximately, the genre found a new function; it was used in the teaching of writing and composition and then in the teaching of students at the schools of rhetoric, who prosified the fables, reduced or lengthened them, included *topoi* and various modifications in them, such as writing new epimythia. This could not be done, however, without eliminating the more incisive and explosive aspects of Cynic doctrine.

It was the Stoics who were first responsible for altering the content of the fable; but its moralization cannot be attributed to them exclusively. Not only the academic and peripatetic schools, but the widespread morality coming from all the schools with Socratic roots undoubtedly influenced this new landscape that the fable presented when it entered the collections of the Imperial Age. And not only this, a series of fables of religious character, which vindicated prophecy, sacrifices, the divine punishment of the bad, belong to a tradition with ancient roots that allied itself with the morality of the Socratic schools and tended to be transformed into something characteristic of the conservative and cultivated classes. The fable received this influence before going on to become the material for teaching children and youngsters.

It is not at all easy to separate these strata from each other, as sometimes there was not even a break in continuity between the Cynic tradition and the previous one. There are many elements that the Cynics and Stoics have in common, such as the doctrine of φύσις and τύχη, the radical separation of good and evil, the scorn for the wealth and honours of the world. There are also numerous common

points between Stoicism and the rest of the moralism of the Hellenistic and Roman Ages, namely a desire to participate in political and social organization, a religiosity of a theistic and moralist type, etc. In short, it is sufficient to recall that the oldest Stoics were extensively influenced by Cynicism and that later, in Rome, in authors such as Cicero, a synthesis of Stoicism and other ancient philosophies took place.

Yet there is another issue, which is the following. We have established that Demetrius' collection was versified in a collection that tinged it with Cynicism, expanding it and modifying it; that this collection was later prosified and received even more Cynic material; that there were, later, further draftings in prose and in verse; and that finally, starting from here, what the collections that have reached us did was, fundamentally, to select, file down certain edges, stress others. That is to say, that the fundamental part of the Cynicization of the fable was carried out before arriving at the collections of the Imperial Age; but also the subsequent stratum, which moralized and introduced religiosity into the fable, exercising a kind of censure over the most polemical and repellent aspects of Cynicism, began to be introduced into the last of the Hellenistic collections and later acquired its own characteristics, in the different collections of the Imperial Age.

We must take into account that it was not felt that a radical schism existed between the Cynicism and the moralist philosophies to which we are referring, as they were, partly, similar movements with Socratic roots. Yet Cynicism neither transcended nor sought to transcend the stage of a movement of protest, divorced from the dominant classes, whereas Stoicism and the moralist movements were well received in this dominant society, they even provided it with a model. The ancient Cynic fable was not swept away, just as this one had not swept away the previous fable; but it had to undergo touching-up and additions. Now, as this last stage is the most recent and the least homogeneous, it is partly proper to each collection, and is less systematic and radical than that of Cynicism. There are, specifically, many aspects of Stoicism that are hardly represented in the fables.

There is not a great deal of truly Stoic philosophy in the fables of our collections, apart from elements in common with the Cynics, such as the doctrine of φύσις, τύχη, *ataraxia*. The lark that perishes (H. 271 III) on account of a mere grain of wheat—"I have not stolen gold, nor silver, nor any other valuable thing", he says—is possibly an illustration of the Stoic principle that the small fault and

the large one are the same; θεία τύχη, or "divine destiny", which makes the son of the monkeys that is cared for by them die and the neglected one live (H. 243), seems to present a Stoic principle, religious and divine, and not mere chance; in other fables the same thing occurs.[31] These are, in any case, exceptional cases. The fable was undoubtedly not an appropriate place to expound the Stoic idea of nature or divinity or the human order in its theoretical and transcendental aspects. It is not at all easy, moreover, to separate these strata; we have already said that we would need to have recourse to formal criteria, but taking into account that in the last strata of the collections, insofar as they can be separated with formal criteria that we have indicated, there is undoubtedly a continuation of the Cynic tradition, in addition to the entrance of the new one. They were not generally felt to be radically different elements.

From the literary standpoint, however, Stoic literature, together with the peripatetic and academic, are very different from Cynic literature, with its variety of genres and its cultivation of *spoudaiogeloion.* They are centred in the treatise and there is no place in them for the fable. There is no Stoic or moralist fable as such, what we do find is a touching-up in a rather moralist and traditional sense of the collections of fables with a Cynic flavour.

Particularly significant is the theme of good and evil, so extraneous to the tradition of the ancient fable, which is connected rather with the theme from Hesiod of the two roads (which has crossed over into the *Life of Aesop*, G 94), with Prodicus and Socratic-Platonic moralism. The radical separation already occurs, evidently, in Cynicism, but even more in Stoicism, and it is found in the fables. The bad not only appear in isolation, as the bad represented by the snake that bites his benefactor. They form a social group, so to speak. The bad always seek the company of the bad (H. 98, 200). When the bad form alliances, such as the eagle and the crow against the tortoise in Phaedrus II 6, nature can do nothing against them. The hostility between the good and the bad is insuperable; for example, Zeus does not even want the rose from the serpent (H. 248), there is no possible reconciliation between the farmer and the serpent that has killed his son (H. 51), the fox prefers his tail to be dragged through the mud and thorns rather than lend it to the monkey to

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[31] See, for example, Phaedrus, *App.* 21.

cover his behind (Phaedrus, *App.* I, curiously a derivation from Archilochus). The wick bear the signs of their wickedness, so to speak (Bab. 104), evil actions cry out and cannot be disguised (Bab. 3). It is pointless and counterproductive to do favours for the bad (H. 64), it is useless to attempt to cure them (H. 278 III); the most brutal extremes are justified against them (Bab. 27). In disputes between the bad it is useless to pronounce judgement, as neither are right (Phaedrus I 10). The only feature of humanity is when the fabulist concedes that we see our own vices more easily than we do others' (H. 229, the theme of the two knapsacks). Cf. p. 267, another fable on the evil, the most assiduous companions of men, and the good.

Virtue is more effective than degrees of kinship: *facit parentes bonitas, non necessitas*, is said in Phaedrus III 15; cf. in H. 216 the criticism of the mother who did not teach her son virtue and now sees him on the path of torment.

A series of fables complain of the victory not only of the bad, but, very specifically, of injustice. The wolf complains in H. 202 that people restrict themselves to laughing about the wickedness of the crow, while they pursue him; there is another parallel fable in Plutarch, P. 453. A particularly significant fable is that of the swallow, evidently one of the different developments starting from H. 39: in H. 255 the swallow that has made its nest in a court of justice and has its young stolen, complains not so much about this as about the fact that it suffers injustice where justice is done to others.

In Phaedrus particularly, the moral strictness, which culminates in the attack against the tyrant in fables to which we have referred or in lessons such as that given by Socrates in *App.* 27 ("you please whom you do not owe, but not with impunity, because you do not please those whom you owe"), recall the severe rigour of a Helvidius Priscus, a Thrasea, a Musonius or a Seneca. It was the Stoics, indeed, who headed the senatorial opposition against the Empire. And the difficulties of Phaedrus with Sejanus, the favourite of Tiberius, are well-known, and he himself discusses them in the prologue to book III; the punishment he says he met with is thought to consist of the prohibition of his first two books. In that prologue and in others Phaedrus makes very clear his desire to teach and to reproach, as well as the reason for his use of the fable: being able to mock the *servitus obnoxia*, who did not dare to say what he wanted. In a parallel manner, according to him (I 2), the fable of "The Frogs Asking for a King" was told by Aesop to the Athenians when in

the time of Pisistratus "they bewailed their sorrowful slavery".

It is true that in Archilochus and Stesichorus, in Aristotle, later among the Cynics, the fable had a political intention, among others, and always attacked the powerful. Yet in Phaedrus the identification of the powerful and the unjust is radical, the hostility undisguised. There seems no doubt that his position was radicalized by Stoicism and the opposition against the Empire, which amounted to the same thing. It is not likely, on the other hand, that hidden in his fables are direct and concrete allusions to events of the Rome of Tiberius and Sejanus.[32] There seems no doubt, in any case, that in Phaedrus the Stoic elements of the fable greatly exceed those of his model collection.

Now, not only in Phaedrus, but also in all the collections, the theme appears of the punishment of the unjust man, which contrasts so much with that of other fables. Complete fables are devoted to it, while others sometimes appear altered to serve this new idea, and in others the theme is at least artificially made to enter the epimythia. This moralistic idea, in favour of providence, of the punishment of the bad, must be attributed to both the religious tradition (sometimes it is already found in the oldest fables, such as "The Eagle and the Fox", by Archilochus) and the moralism in support of providence of the Stoics and other schools. It occurs in connection sometimes with the theme of the abuse of power, sometimes with that of infidelity, the non-fulfilment of a vow, lust, etc. That is to say, it comes partly from a religious and transcendent sanction in connection with Cynic themes, partly from its reversal.

The punishment of the unjust man is connected with the Cynic theme of the negative consequences of not following nature, of greed, boasting, ignorance, τρυφή ("The Cicada and the Ant", H. 114 b). Now, however, it is a true punishment in which we see operating not a concatenation of facts due to unwise behaviour, but the intervention of a higher, religious and transcendent principle. And this sometimes involves the intervention of the gods, sometimes not.

In fables such as H. 117 "The Hunter with Birdlime and the Snake", the truth is exemplified that those who plot evil will themselves suffer it; H. 157 shows that the slanderer is punished. The perjurer is punished in H. 214, while in H. 67 the butcher hopes

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[32] Cf. A. Hausrath, "Zur Arbeitsweise des Phaedrus", *Hermes* 41, 1936, pp. 77 ff.

that the perjurious youngsters are, likewise, punished. Those who make traps to avoid work attract double work in a fable that have already mentioned, "The Woman and the Workwomen", H. 55. And there is no way of preventing portents from being fulfilled; this we see in both H. 171 "The Boy and the Crow" and H. 279 III, "The Father, the Son and the Painted Lion", two fables that recall the ancient theme of Danaë confined by her father in vain to prevent the portent being fulfilled.

Curiously, religious and mythical themes, which we saw had sometimes been eliminated by the Cynics through not taking them from Demetrius' collection, are now introduced into the collections.

In a general theoretical manner the inexorability of the culprit receiving punishment sooner or later is preached in a fable from Babrius, no. 127, in tones that recall Solon 1, 25 ff. Another fable by Babrius himself, no. 117, touches the theme of the inscrutable nature of divine justice. Somebody complains that a ship sinks with its righteous passengers, by the fault of only one unjust one; the theme of Amphiaraus in *Septem*, by Aeschylus, 597 ff. And Hermes—at other times the object of many jokes in the fable—is raised to the status of a theologian to say, commenting on the fact that the critic bitten by an ant has stepped on a whole ant's nest: "and are you not going to suffer when the gods are your judges as you are of the ants?".

At other times the opposite theme appears, that of the prize granted to justice, a theme very extraneous to the general sense of the fable. The just man, who has recognized before Hermes that it is neither the golden axe nor the silver one that the god has presented to him that he has lost, but an iron one, is rewarded by him (H. 183, a fable with an anomalous structure). We must compare the fable in Phaedrus IV 23 "Simonides a diis servatus", which tells how the gods saved him when the roof collapsed at a banquet. In contrast, the sick crow who asks his mother to pray to the gods for his health is told by her that no god is going to save him, since he has robbed all their altars (H. 288).

We have said above that, on occasions, the moralizing tendency had been introduced as a second consideration in a given collection, sometimes only in the epimythium: cf. II 6, p. 457. A good example of this is the story of the widow of Ephesus, which in the Anonymous Fables has the punishment of the widow's lover as its ending (H. 299 III), clearly an addition.

Indeed, we must establish some differences between the collections. Although all present all the elements stated so far, it is clear that the Augustana and other anonymous collections introduce a moralizing shade, whether by elimination of certain fables or by modification of others; and that in Phaedrus there exists a special emphasis on the theme of justice and there are a series of strictly religious fables. Babrius is more neutral; his intention, as he himself says, is literary and does not force the eclectic tone of the ancient collections in either one direction or another. This is where, possibly, the moralist reformation of the fable has made less headway.

However, we are not going to consider this theme in detail here, partly because it is more appropriate for the study in our Volume II of those collections mentioned and partly because we have already discussed some elements of it. For the theme of the moralization of the Augustana, we refer the reader to Nøjgaard, I, pp. 519 ff.; for Phaedrus, also to Nøjgaard, II, page 171 ff., as well as Hausrath, art. *Phaedrus* in *RE* (although he does not distinguish this layer of Cynic moralization clearly) and to the study by Giordana Pisi.[33] The points we made in I 2 should also be borne in mind.

III. *Conclusion*

The general lines of the history of the fable are now clear, we believe. The "Ionic" fable, the exemplum-fable that belonged to the critical and festival literature linked to the iambic genre, including the comedy, was followed by the use of this exemplum-fable, now prosaic, in Socratic literature. Then followed the collecting of fables, in prose, by Demetrius Phalereus, as one of the Hellenistic anthological genres.

In the 3rd century BC, however, there was a radical evolution; the Cynics took possession of the genre, respecting many of its elements and its tradition, partly in common with their own, but in turn adding a series of their own elements, in the same way as they did with the *Life of Aesop*. In the case of the fables, however, the major novelty is that they versified them in choliambs and iambic trimetres.

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[33] *Fedro traduttore di Esopo*, Florence, 1977.

One second stratum is that of the fable that we have called Stoic and moralizing, religious also. A less profound stratum; the essential elements of the previous fables were conserved, with certain rectifications, certain additions. Now these were versions that were prosified or simply in prose, which in turn generated others in prose or in verse.

It was now and not before that the fable was prepared for use in teaching, not in the proselytism of a school, the Cynic school, but in general. The data we have cited on the use of the fable in elementary teaching and in the schools of rhetoric, which is abundant, is all from the Imperial Age. It is, on one hand, the "moral" and didactic character of the fable, on the other, its simplicity of language and style, that made it suitable for a function that it was not to lose during the course of its history.

Yet, simultaneously, the fable continued to be used as an exemplum by poets of the iambic type and by prose writers who followed the Socratic tradition in this, not without there being a series of reciprocal influences between collections and indirect tradition. And, starting from the 1st century AD, the literary collections arose, which did not prevent the continuation of the ancient collections, sometimes poetic, sometimes prosified; on the contrary, these proliferated, giving rise to our collections of anonymous fables. The ones we have called literary, personal, are those of Phaedrus, Babrius and the other authors that we have mentioned; each one had his own peculiar intention and style.

Now, the Greek fable is no more than a part of the universal fable, one of the most uniform and cohesive traditions in the History of Literature. The programme of its study is continued, inevitably, with a consideration of the innovations that this study contributes, both the influences of the Oriental fable on the Greek (a theme dealt with in our Chapter II 4), and of the Greek on the Oriental (the theme of III 4) and of the influences of the Greek and Latin fable on the Middle and Modern Ages (the theme of our Vol. II).

Today, the discovery of the Sumerian, Akkadian and Babylonian fable enables a study to be conducted—begun in our chapter already mentioned—of the degree of originality of the Greek fable and of the Indian fable, as well as of their possible relationships. On the other hand, the Byzantine fable and the Medieval Latin fable, with their derivations in modern literatures, require a study that is more extensive than that on the relationships with the ancient collections;

not only on the line of derivation, but also the content. The Cynic, Stoic and moralizing fable was succeeded in our Middle Ages by a Christian fable that is a further step in the same direction. And it is interesting that some aspects of the oldest fable are reproduced, such as the use of the fable as an exemplum in debates such as those in the *Libro de buen amor*; the development of a burlesque fabulistic epic, such as that of the *Roman de Renard*; the fable as an expression of realism and satire, as a critique of nobility and its ideals, the creation of a realistic romance starting from *Lazarillo de Tormes* as a parallel to the biography of Cynic type such as the *Life of Aesop* and not unrelated to it. Cf. our study "La Vida de Esopo y la Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes", *RFE* 78, 1976 [1978], pp. 35–45. In the tradition of the 15th and 16th centuries, Aesop was a sage who gave moral lessons; Aesop and Menippus were the names of Philip IV's two jesters painted by Velazquez.

All this is a tradition that is connected with the ancient tradition of the fable in a manner that needs to be studied in detail; this was in fact not possible as long as the history of the fable in Antiquity—the collections and their dates, their origin, successive influences intervening on them—remained in such a confused state, as was the case for a long time. Of course, another essential theme is that of the link between this whole tradition in the Middle Ages with the other tradition, the Indian one, which arrived in the West through the Persians and the Arabs; and how, in the Europe of the 15th century, the Greek and the Latin traditions converged. Related to this theme is another essential one in literary History: that of the origins of the romance generally, in whose development there intervenes—besides the fabulistic and biographic-fabulistic traditions that come, definitively, from Greece and India—the ancient romance as such, that of the idealizing school.

Yet another theme is the use of the fable in the teaching of the ancient languages during the course of the Middle and Modern Ages and beyond; and not only in the teaching of languages, but in their ancient moralizing function. This theme converges with that of the history of the new collections, of the literary type, which, starting from La Fontaine, arose in Europe through imitation of the ancient collections.

The fable, more universal and durable than the myth, represents a phenomenon of literary continuity and thought without parallel in History. Due to its variable and flowing character, its open tradition,

its frequently anonymous authorship, it presents very serious difficulties for study. But it is not a lesser nor a minor genre; it soon served to express ideas and social sectors that were not very well-known, and that were of great influence in the long run; it met with the impact of the various ideological movements that succeeded each other; it was used as the basis for the creation of literary genres of transcending importance. Following this thread, from the second millennium BC, we could connect peoples, ideas and literary genres. A series of phenomena thus make themselves more comprehensible, losing their isolation.

Now, the central moment in the evolution of the fable is that of Graeco-Latin Antiquity. In it there converge threads that come from Mesopotamia and merge with those of properly Greek origin; from it derive others that lead to the subsequent fable. From the same Antiquity, in which it is subject to the influence of the great philosophies, the fable, without losing its playful, popular and critical character, is transformed into an important literary and educational factor.

We have attempted to establish here, continuing previous works, some general lines of this highly important theme, one so neglected in the expositions of the ancient literatures: the evolution of the fable in Greece from the origins until the end of the Hellenistic period. Its further evolution in the collections of the Imperial Age remains to be studied; we have in fact already anticipated many elements on this, which will contribute, for its part, new information on the collections of the Hellenistic Age. And, after this, the history of the fable in the Medieval Age, to which we have just referred, also remains to be studied. These are the themes to which we will devote the second and last volumes of this work.

Supplement

The main contribution of this chapter consists in its highlighting of the Cynic elements of the Hellenistic fables, which develop the position of the fable as one between realism, the popular and social criticism generally; and which later evolved in the direction of a moralism that increasingly invaded the fable starting from the Roman Age.

Cynicism was already detected in the *Life of Aesop* in an article by H. Zeitz, "Der Aesoproman und seine Geschichte", *Aegyptus* 16, 1936, pp. 225–255. Personally, I have studied these Cynic elements, not only here, but throughout the "realist romance" (*Satyricon, The Ass* by Appuleius and Lucian), in the *Life of Secundus* and in the *Dialogue of Alexander and the Gymnosophists* in a work that appeared just before this book ("Elementos cínicos en las Vidas de Esopo y Secundo y en el Diálogo de Alejandro y los Gimnosofistas", in *Homenaje a Eleuterio Elorduy*, Bilbao 1978, pp. 309–328. In another work, contemporary to this ("The Life of Aesop and the Origins of the Novel in Antiquity", *QUCC* n. s. 1, 1979, pp. 93–112), I linked this type of literature with the development of the *Life of Aesop* starting from the legend of same and from the *Ahikar.*

All this is already present in the Spanish edition of this book, where the theory of Cynicism (followed by Stoic and moralizing features) is already applied to the fables themselves. It is the theme of this chapter and I believe there are few points to add. The connection between Cynic content and Hellenistic metrical versions is a very tangible one.

Here is an indication of other works that I have published subsequently on the Cynicism of the fable, works that contribute more data in this direction:

Filosofía cínica en las fábulas esópicas, Buenos Aires, Centro de Estudios Filosóficos, 1986.

"Política cínica en las fábulas esópicas", in *Studi della Corte*, I, 1987, pp. 413–426.

"El cuento erótico. De los cínicos al final de la Edad Media", *Argos* 12, 1990–91 (92), pp. 185–194.

El cuento erótico griego, latino e indio. Madrid, Ediciones del Orto, 1993. Wide-ranging study in the introduction.

"Literatura sapiencial antigua en la Haggadah y Pedro Alfonso", *ICS* 18, 1993, pp. 229–236.

"Las ranas pidiendo rey: origen y evolución de una fábula política", *Emerita* 52, 1984, pp. 25–32. + H. 44.

This bibliography complements and adds further depth to the analysis in this chapter. Some of the Cynic features, on the other hand, are collected (without attributing this quality to them) in the bibliography on the content of the fable that follows the first chapter of this volume. They are fundamental in understanding the expansion of the Greek fable to India (where the Gymnosophists and other marginal groups were Cynics in the Greeks' view) and to the Middle Ages, through Judaism and Christianity, which absorbed these ideas to a large extent.

It is significant that scholars of the fable generally, such as S. Jedrkiewicz and N. Holzberg, among others, pay no attention to this important aspect of the Hellenistic fable and its derivation in later times. Yet the truth is that excellent philologists who have concerned themselves with the fable (and the *Life of Aesop*), such as A. Hausrath and B. E. Perry, have remained blind to the theme of the philosophical influences. This continues to be true even today. Not only as regards form, but also content, the Hellenistic fable continues to be the great unknown. Recent books on Cynicism also do not concern themselves with the fable: the theme eludes them.

For the subsequent moralization of the fable, see:

M. NØJGAARD, “La moralisation de la fable: d’ Esope à Romulus”, in F. R. ADRADOS 1984, pp. 225–251.

G. U. THITE, “Indian Fable”, in F. R. ADRADOS 1984, pp. 33–60. The Indian fable as a useful moral lesson (he does not relate it to the Greek fable).

Cf. also my new article “Nuevos testimonios papiráceos de fábulas esópicas”, *Emerita* 67, 1999.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE "LIFE OF AESOP"

I. *From the Legend of Aesop to the "Life"*

1. *The "Life" of Aesop*

In Chapters I 1, II 1 and, particularly, in II 3 (pp. 272 ff.) we discussed the character Aesop, to whom was attributed, starting from the 5th century, the telling of at least some of the traditional fables, known from much earlier; and whose name, starting from then and also later, particularly starting from Demetrius, was used to characterize the fabulistic genre more strictly, separating it from others. The figure was—we summarize here—an old *pharmakos* from a Delphic ritual, a character killed treacherously by the Delphians, who later came back to life, with aspects of the scapegoat and the saviour god at the same time, who argued using fables, jokes, etc. The character became so famous that at other festivals stories of this type were claimed to be his words, although they were of older origin. He also became associated with the theme of the Oriental sage, the narrator of fables and proverbs, also a victim of a conspiracy, yet who was saved: Ahikar. The Greek tradition of the narrator of fables, not essentially different from certain iambic poets, but already with a mythical character, and the more or less parallel Oriental tradition, merged into the Thracian or Phrygian Aesop, the slave and scholar, narrator of fables, solver of enigmas, protected by Apollo yet unjustly killed.

We have shown that this character, like the fables, enigmas, similes, jokes, etc. that he narrated, fits into the line of ancient iambic poetry, with its satirical, anticourtly, yet in a certain sense religious qualities. We have supposed that in the *Life* that we will be discussing features of this type are conserved, which we have illustrated more in detail, and which undoubtedly belonged to the ancient legend. And we have also made it clear, we think, that there is not the slightest information to enable us to believe that the legend was already fixed in written form from the 5th century onwards, as is

proposed by Nøjgaard; we have also made it clear that it is highly unlikely that the later collections of fables, or some of them at least, come from the collection of fables in this *Life*, as Hausrath proposed at one point. In the Classical Age then, we have, on one hand, exemplum-fables that tend to be described as Aesopic and be attributed to Aesop, and on the other, a legend of Aesop, which includes the story of some—few—of those fables.

A *Life of Aesop* has reached us, to which we have referred frequently, which is conserved, apart from on papyrus remnants, in two Byzantine recensions whose common prototype Perry places in Egypt between the years 30 BC and 100 AD. His argument to support this[1] is the presence of some Latin words. We think, however, that, just as our Augustana contains words that could have been used in it until the 4th or 5th centuries AD, but its fundamental stratum is from the Hellenistic Age, the same is the case with the *Life of Aesop*; this is the reason why we are looking at it here. It is a question, then, of seeing how this *Life* written starting from the legend arose and of following, if this is possible, the successive stages of its evolution; that is to say, doing the same as with the fables.

That is why beforehand we must very briefly explain the condition in which the *Life* has reached us. As well as fragmentary papyrus texts from the Roman Age, Byzantine recensions, the G (which precedes the fables of the Augustana in ms. G,[1] the Cryptoferratensis, ms. 397 from the Morgan Library in New York, called Cr by Hausrath, from the 10th century) have reached us; and the W, the Westermann, which precedes the mss. of the fables of the Vindobonensis and others and whose Byzantine archetype is from the 11th century. This is the well-known case of popular literature—fables of Aesop, *Life of Alexander* from the Ps.-Callisthenes, etc.—in which various recensions or versions exist with their own characteristics. And this from ancient times; Perry has established that the W recension is essentially ancient, from a little later than the G recension.

Therefore, these *Lives* were copied in the Byzantine mss. preceding the fables, in the way that it was customary for editions of Euripides or Thucydides to be copied, preceded by a *Life* of these authors. G, from the Augustana, is preceded by the *Life* G; the Vindobonensis, by the *Life* W; and the Accursiana, by the *Life* drafted by Planudes, clearly derived from the previous one.

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[1] Cf. *Aesopica*, *cit.*, p. 16.

The assigning of the *Lives* G and W to each one of the two oldest collections is purely accidental, since no intrinsic relationship exists between these *Lives* that is comparable to the one between the fables of I and II; on the other hand, we know that the *Life* W was part of the recension of the Augustana (cf. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 363). Just as it is accidental, undoubtedly, that the *Life* G has only been conserved at the front of this manuscript, by far the oldest of those of the Augustana. The manuscript in question, formerly in the Abbey of Grottaferrata, passed on to the Morgan Library of New York and remained unknown until 1929, receiving little attention from the critics. Not only did Hausrath underestimate its importance in establishing the text of the Augustana (cf. I 2, p. 63), but the *Life* was not published until Perry did so, in his *Aesopica* of 1952. The ignorance of this version not only prevented us from knowing some of the oldest elements of the *Life*, but also from establishing the antiquity of the recension W. And since any text of the *Life* more or less comparable to that which preceded the other two collections is absent from the Augustana, a rare asymmetry occurred that hindered the research into the whole problem of the *Lives*.

We say all this because we know, on one hand, that there was a legend of Aesop that we must date back to the 5th century BC (if not to the 6th) and on the other, that the Byzantine *Lives* in fact date back to certain origins that Perry places in the 1st century AD. This as a consequence both of the comparison of the recensions and of the absolute date of the papyri, starting from the 2nd century AD. Now, in these circumstances we are presented with the problem of how the transition from the legend to the written *Life* occurred: to a *Life* that provided the precedent for the recensions that we possess, more or less complete, more or less altered, which date back to Roman times; a *Life* close, although not identical, to the Life G.[2]

Now, we think that this prototype of our *Lives* must have been from Hellenistic times and not from the 1st century AD, as Perry believes. And we will offer our reasons, which are fundamentally based on the fact that the Life belongs to the genre of the novellesque biography of realistic type, strongly influenced by Cynicism. Neither on account of its content, nor of its extension, nor of its popular language and style, does the *Life* agree with the characteristics

[2] Cf. B. E. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f.

that we have attributed to the collection of fables by Demetrius. It only agrees to a certain extent with those of the collection of fables with Cynic tendencies into which that of Demetrius derived; only to a certain extent, since the style, syntax and lexicon of that collection, judging by the Augustana, which derived from it, were much more literary and traditional.

We say this because a hypothesis that is very attractive to the intellect is one whereby Demetrius, when he made his collection of fables, placed a *Life* at the front, and ours derive from this *Life*. Now, if there is a derivation, it is remote, as the *Life* G (and W) is substantially different. And it is clearly lengthier. The *Lives* that Alexandrian philologists such as Demetrius placed at the start of their editions of ancient texts were written in scholastic and erudite style, not popular and novellesque; they were rather short, sometimes very short. Examples can be given such as the *Lives* of Euripides and Thucydides, which appear before their works in various manuscripts; there are two of the latter, the longer one attributed to a certain Marcellinus (we know a relatively lengthy *Life* of Euripides, by Satyrus, in fragmentary form, from papyri).

Now, the very existence of the model whereby an edition of an ancient literary text was preceded by the author's *Life* allows us to suppose that this was also the case of Aesop. And that in the same way as the fables of Demetrius, throughout a series of vicissitudes and with a multiplication of their number by three or four, gave rise to the "Ancient Augustana", likewise the *Life* of Aesop by Demetrius produced something very different, the Hellenistic *Life*, which has reached us in altered form in various recensions. In short, both in the case of the fables and in that of the *Life* the essence of the phenomenon is the same: the profound influence of the Cynic movement. For the fables we have seen this, for the *Life* we will see it. In the detailed analysis, however, things are much more complex. And one last problem remains; even supposing that we offer a convincing argument that a) Demetrius put a *Life* of Aesop at the start of his fables and b) that *Life* gave rise, through a series of profound alterations, to the Hellenistic *Life*, this does not in any way prove that in Antiquity the fables were published preceded by that *Life*. Rather, it seems this was not the case, as we have already said that the assigning of the recensions of the *Life* to the Byzantine collections occurred at a secondary stage. Fables and *Life*, in spite of their common Cynic character, are, we repeat, very different. And in Antiquity

the transmission of the two in the papyri was always independent and there is no evidence that in any circumstances it was otherwise.

Yet, in spite of everything, if the Byzantines placed the derivative of the Hellenistic *Life* at the beginning of the fables, there must have been some model for this. Perhaps the simple custom of copying Life + Works, but perhaps something more specific.

We think that there are some grounds for supporting the idea proposed by Perry,[3] that it was Demetrius who put a *Life* of Aesop at the start of his fables for the first time, but we believe that this was a small *Life*, comparable to those that the other Alexandrian writers put at the start of their editions. And that the Hellenistic *Life*, for the reasons mentioned, represents something practically new (the same as the *Life* of Homer, for example) and, until the Byzantine Age, was never linked to the fables again in any edition, although it conclusively came from an edition of the fables.

On reaching this point we must grasp the fact that we have traces of the existence in Antiquity not only of the Hellenistic *Life* (through its recensions of the Roman and Byzantine Ages), but of a type of *Life* on a much more reduced scale, approximately the same as the standard type of biography that precedes the edition; the Hellenistic *Life* is much more than this, it belongs to an independent genre that we must discuss.

Indeed, various codices of the Augustana were preceded not by the *Life* G, but by a small *Life* attributed unjustifiably to Aphthonius, which coexisted in some of these with the *Life* W; according to Perry, pp. 303, 309, the minor *Life* comes from the recension Ia. There are another two minor *Lives* in different manuscripts; all three are published by Perry, *Aesopica*, pp. 211 ff.

Although these minor *Lives* are full of a rhetorical and doctrinal hotchpotch and contain minimal biographical features, they do provide clear evidence, alternating in the Augustana with the features derived from the Hellenistic *Life* (G and W), that from ancient times it was the custom to precede the fables with a *Life*; and a brief *Life*, from the tradition of the scholarly publishers. The best argument, in my opinion, for this being the case, is that not even Phaedrus and Babrius begin their collections of fables without comparable biographical or historical introductions. Indeed, they place them at the start of each

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[3] "Demetrius of Phalerum . . .", *cit.* pp. 332 ff.

book (consider that Demetrius' collection consisted of only one).

Clearly, these authors, who boast of the originality of their fables, justify their behaviour in those prologues and make autobiographical observations. But they do not fail, at the same time, to make reference to Aesop and to his intention in writing fables, at the same time as to the history of the fable in particular. The behaviour of the so-called Romulus, in his prologue, is similar. It is to be supposed that these prologues have precedents in Demetrius; in a small biography of Aesop, parallel to those of other literary authors at the start of their edition, as we have said, and perhaps accompanied by observations on the fabulistic genre. The existence of this prologue—which we think inevitable when a totally new genre, a collection of fables, was begun—is revealed both in the prologues of Phaedrus and Babrius and in the short *Lives* of the anonymous tradition. On this basis, at a given moment the Hellenistic long *Life* was placed at the start of the collections in certain recensions; yet this did not mean that the short *Life* was no longer inserted. That is to say, the Hellenistic *Life*, arising from the short *Life* of Demetrius and soon becoming independent, returned to its place of origin. But it is significant that the Accursiana derives a new short *Life*, the so-called Planudean, from the *Life* W. It is this model that was definitively imposed.

2. *Demetrius and the "Life" of Aesop*

If we now compare the legend of Aesop, as we have characterized it in the 5th century BC, with the Hellenistic *Life*, we will see a series of new elements present in it. Some, as we have already said, are from the height of the Hellenistic Age. But others already appeared in the 4th century BC, before the *Life* was established in writing or at the moment when it was in the process of being established.

I refer to the episode of the *Life* that associates Aesop with King Croesus of Lydia, whom he convinces with a fable to respect the independence of Samos. Herodotus already connects Aesop with Samos, perhaps taking his material from Eugaton or Eugaion of Samos, from whom the story by Aristotle on the intervention of Aesop in the judgement of the Samian demagogue with the fable of the fox and the hedgehog supposedly also came.[4] Until the 4th century,

[4] Cf. II 3, p. 32.

however, we have no evidence of the relationship of Aesop with Croesus, nor with Solon, nor even his Phrygian origin. The relationship between Aesop and Croesus was not expressly mentioned until Plutarch,[5] but it can undoubtedly be assumed from the report on Aesop and Solon in the comedy writer Alexis, in the 5th century.[6] The core of the legend is undoubtedly to be found in the dialogue between Solon and Croesus, on Sardis, in Herodotus. Ephorus, also in the 4th century, discusses the meeting of the Seven Sages on Sardis, with Croesus.[7] Later, the relationship between Aesop and the Seven Sages is documented not only in Plutarch and, before, in Diodorus,[8] but even from the very time of Demetrius, an epigram by Agathias in *AP* XVI 332 documents the existence of a sculptured group by Lysippus in which Aesop and the Seven Sages were represented.[9] Evidently, the relationship between Aesop and these characters is a development starting from his relationship with Croesus, from the dialogue between Solon and Croesus by Herodotus, and from the location of the legend of Aesop on Samos, an island close to Lydia.

On the model of Solon, Aesop was now transformed into an opponent and adviser of Croesus; and this paved the way for a whole further evolution of the theme.

In the 4th century Aesop then appeared for the first time as adviser to King Croesus; an episode, moreover, parallel to that of his debate with the Delphians in the ancient legend, which also facilitated his being made adviser to king Lycurgus of Babylon, as was done in the *Life*, clearly imitating the *Ahikar*. In a certain sense, the development of the legend of Aesop in the 4th century was a preliminary step before the Hellenistic *Life*. The Aesop in this, the adviser to kings and philosophers and superior to them, is only explained with these precedents. It then appears that there is a direct path between the legend of the 4th century (which already included the Phrygian homeland of Aesop, we are explicitly informed) and the Hellenistic *Life*. It is logical, therefore, after all the aforementioned, that what Perry proposes is true, namely that, prior to his fables,

[5] Plu., *Vit. Sol.* 28, *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 150 ff.
[6] Cf. B. E. Perry, *Aesopica*, p. 223.
[7] Ephorus, fr. 101.
[8] D.S. IX 28.
[9] Cf. B. E. Perry, "Demetrius...", p. 308.

Demetrius already disseminated in writing the Lydian episode of the life of Aesop in a first *Life*.

Of course, this first *Life*, we repeat, must have been much shorter and of a very different character from the Hellenistic *Life*. However, there is yet another argument to lead us to believe that it is a precedent or embryonic core of same.

And that is that there are grounds for thinking that many of the fables included in the Hellenistic *Life* come from Demetrius. Not only, as we have already said (II 6, pp. 485 ff.) are there fables from the Classical Age absent from the collections in the *Life*, which we think reached it through Demetrius; the fact is, the tradition of the fables of the *Life* generally is independent from that of the other fabulists, and shows no trace of having passed through the Hellenistic versification that has affected our collections.

3. *The Fables in the "Life" of Aesop*

Fables appear in the *Life* in the traditional function of the exemplum-fable. In certain situations, Aesop gives advice or offers criticisms or explains facts using them. These are parallel functions to those of many other elements that appear in the *Life*: maxims, anecdotes, jokes, similes, interpretations of oracles and enigmas, almost always paraenetic or satirical in content, or both at the same time. In short, the *Life* therefore conserves the tradition with which we are already familiar and which attributed all this to Aesop. However, the collections of fables tended to highlight certain elements more than others, such as reducing the religious, including the χρεῖαι and other elements into fables. And the *Life*, for its part, introduced all kinds of elements of various origins, Cynic and others into the categories in question.

With regard to the fables as such, we have expressed the opinion that they are not influenced by the tradition that begins with the Hellenistic versification of the 3rd century. And this both as regards ancient fables, of which there are sometimes versions in the collections, sometimes not, and as regards Cynic fables, which are usually absent from the collections, although they were sometimes included at a secondary stage in certain manuscripts of the Accursiana (III particularly) which evidently had access to the *Life*; Hausrath has taken the fables from these to edit them (H. 298, 299, 302, 303, 304, 305).

Let us begin with the inherited fables, of ancient origin, sometimes present in the collections and sometimes not. It is interesting, in any event, that their presentation is in the traditional manner of the exemplum-fable, conserving ancient formulas; that they lack verse and the formulas connected with same; that their structure is traditional; that when a fable appears at the same time in the *Life* and the collections, the versions are different and it is the collections that have abbreviated or modified the original scheme. It is unlikely that this can be interpreted in any other way than as a direct connection of the *Life* with the previous tradition, without passing through the collections in verse and their continuers. The path undoubtedly passed through Demetrius and it is the collections that consciously eliminated some of these fables, considered less characteristic of their conception of the fabulistic genre.

Let us begin with an inventory of the "ancient" fables of the *Life*; I will not repeat the argument, already stated, concerning the age of those that are not in the collections, or that were only introduced at a secondary stage.

Life G 33	"True and False Dreams", fabulization of Euripides (not in collections).
68	"Dionysus and the Vine", from Panyasis and others (not in collections).
94	"The Two Roads", from Hesiod and Prodicus (not in collections).
133	"The Mouse and the Frog", from the *Batrachomyomachia* (included at a secondary stage in the Accursiana).
48	"The Pig and the Sheep" (allusion to H. 87).
97	"The Wolves and the Sheep" (in collections H. 158).
125	"The Log" (allusion to H. 44, etc., "The Frogs Asking for a King").
135	"The Beetle and Zeus" (in collections).

These are the fables from the *Life* that are clearly ancient, either because they are documented as from the Classical Age, or because they appear in the Augustana and others. Other fables, which lack these two requirements, may in any case be ancient, generally coming from the Cynic fable; although clearly from a line that is not that of the collections, which matches the fact that the three last fables referred to, Classical ones, also did not reach the author of the *Life* from the collections. He clearly did not know them, which confirms

that fables and Hellenistic *Life* are two different things, with a different tradition, although the *Life* conclusively starts out, as do the fables, from the same point, from the Classical Age and from Demetrius. Starting from here there was evidently a separation that was only bridged in the Byzantine Age, when the recensions derived from the Hellenistic *Life* were placed at the start of the collections of fables and the latter allowed entry to some of the fables from the former.

Now studying the versions in the *Life* of the eight fables mentioned in greater detail, we find the following features, which we have already stated earlier:

a) Traditional presentation, with their formulas. Promythia exist, sometimes only de facto (G 33 οὐ γὰρ πάντες ἀληθεῖς εἰσιν οἱ ὄνειροι), sometimes also with indication of the fable that follows: 68 ὁ δὲ Αἴσωπος . . . λέγει; 94 γνώμην μὲν οὐ δώσω, λόγον δὲ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν; 97 ὁ δὲ . . . λέγει· ἄνδρες Σάμιοι . . . θέλω δὲ εἰπεῖν ὑμῖν ἕνα λόγον . . .; 133 λόγον ἀκούσατε . . . ὁ δὲ Αἴσωπός φησι; 125 ἔφη· ὦ ἄνδρες Δέλφιοι . . .; 136 εἶπεν· ἄνδρες Δέλφιοι. . . . We have met these formulas as ancient, including the ἄνδρες Σάμιοι (in the Aristotelian fable of the fox and the hedgehog), ἄνδρες Δέλφιοι; this is also found in the fables not documented as ancient, whether they are so or not: cf. for example 140 ἀκούσατέ μοι τόνδε τὸν λόγον.

After this preface we find, in animalistic fables, a formula ὅτε ἦν τὰ ζῷα ὁμόφωνα (133), καθ' ὃν γὰρ καιρὸν ὁμόφωνα ἦν τὰ ζῷα (97, also in the fable of the grasshopper, 99): an identical formula to that in Xenophon, *Mem.* II 7.13, fable of the sheep and the dog that we have considered (cf. p. 402) as a possible source of "The Wolves and the Sheep", in *Life* 97 specifically. After this formula (or at the very beginning, if the formula is not there), our fables usually follow the customary schemes of putting the protagonist in the nom. (sometimes with part. and its complement), as in 33, 68, 133, 136, or else in gen. abs. (94) or in acc., the subject of an infinitive dependent on λέγω (97). Also significant is ποτε: 94 τοῦ Διὸς κελεύσαντός ποτε, cf. 67 κατὰ τοὺς πάλαι χρόνους, the fable of the man who defecated his brain. And the continuative οὕτως, which no longer occurs in the Augustana: G 33 καὶ οὕτως ὀνείρους ἑτέρους ἔπλασε, 135 οὕτως ὁ λαός . . . and the conclusive 133 οὕτως ὁ μῦς τὸν βάτραχον ἐξεδίκησεν. Also the initial γάρ of G 33.

Also significant, finally, are the personal epimythia, within the ancient tradition: of the type of 33 ὥστε οὖν μὴ θαυμάσῃς; 97 ἔδει οὖν

ὑμᾶς (we may recall the formulas with ἀτάρ, II 5, p. 384), 33 δι' ὅ, δέσποτα, παραχώρει, and the formulas with ὁμοίως: 133 ὁμοίως κἀγώ . . ., 125 ὁμοίως δὲ κἀγώ, 135 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς . . . At other times it is those that hear the fable who draw their own conclusions, cf. 94.

b) Other elements contribute to accentuating the impression of Antiquity of these fables. Firstly, the lack of verse and the formulas linked with it, as we have said. Secondly, that the fables that also appear in the collections present a version here that is not only different, but also more complete (except for 48 "The Pig and the Sheep" and 125, "The Frogs Asking for a King", mere allusions). In 97 "The Wolves and the Sheep" the beginning A/B sit. in which the wolves cannot defeat the sheep on account of the intervention of the dogs, is explicit in the *Life*, only allusive in H. 158; and the fable of the beetle also has a more complete, aetiological ending.

Together with the agonal fables, the aetiological ones are important in the *Life*, including the non-animalistic ones, which, as we have seen, have tended to be eliminated by the Hellenistic versifier. Both offer traditional schemes, such as the type A/Bsit.-Aact. + dir./ Bact. ("The Wolves and the Sheep"), A/A/Bsit.-Bind./Aact. ("True and False Dreams"), agonal type; situational or aetiological, Bsit.— Bind. ("Dionysus and the Vine"), Bact.-Bact. ("The Frogs and the Log"); and the archaic type with various *agones*, a mixture of action and direct speeches and sometimes the intervention of a third character, conserved in "The Mouse and the Frog" and in "The Beetle". In the first we have: A/Bsit.-Bdir./Adir. + act. + dir./Bdir.-Adir. + act./Bdir.-Adir. + act./Bdir.-Aact./Cact. And in the second the series is even more extensive. Always with the same schemes, however, which separate the scenes with δέ, all being binary.

It seems clear, then, that the Classical fable reached the *Life* through Demetrius. And we emphasize that fables that are sometimes Cynic, on others perhaps ancient, which so far we have not mentioned, do not come from the collections. These are:

Life 37W. "The Gardener", Cynic theme of nature.
67 "The Man who Defecated his Brain", aetiological fable very much in the Cynic taste.
99 "The Grasshopper Hunter" (only example in which the version of III, in H. 298, is modified). The salvation of the small and wretched is certainly of Cynic origin.
129 "The Widow and the Farmer", the well-known erotic

story of the widow of Ephesus, known by Petronius (*Sat.* 111) and Phaedrus (*App.* 15) (but here there is an independent version).

131 "The Foolish Maiden", a misogynous tale, like the previous one.

140 "The Farmer and the Asses". The farmer complains about dying on account of such a vile animal (cf. the theme, not the fable, in Phaedrus I 21).

141 "The Man who Fell in Love with his Daughter" (against incest).

Of these fables, as we have said, only that of 99 has a modified version found in the Anonymous fables (in III), cf. moreover Synt. 62: a version with some literal correspondences and, in contrast with that of the *Life*, with verse. The relationship is identical to that between *Life* 97 and H. 158, the latter has verse and there are literal correspondences; except that H. 158 is from the Augustana. In any case, we must note that "The Foolish Maiden" clearly has verse and perhaps there is also verse in "The Farmer and the Asses" (ὦ Ζεῦ, τί σ' ἠδίκησα); "The Gardener" appears in the *Life* as a "puzzle", in H. 121 as a fable.

It was fables of the Cynic tradition, then, (if not, in some cases, prior to this) without verse and some with verse, that were included in the *Life*. Most are known to us through the *Life* itself, whereas the fable of the widow has an independent tradition and that of the grasshopper hunter clearly also has. Later, those fables crossed over from the *Life* to certain mss. of III and the metrical version of the last fable also reached this, no more and no less than various others that are not in the Augustana.

Therefore, in short, we think that the *Life* is connected not only with the ancient legend of Aesop, but also with the Classical Aesopic fables; and that in both cases the descent is through Demetrius. However, later the *Life* underwent important variations, going on to become part of a very different genre from that of the short biographies that preceded the editions of the Alexandrian scholars: the realistic romance influenced by the Cynics. In the same way, it admitted fables and other similar material of Cynic origin. And it maintained its independence with respect to the collections, whose style and language were very different, until it converged with them in the Byzantine Age.

4. *More on the "Life" of Aesop*

We have already seen that the recensions conserved of the *Life* of Aesop have linguistic traces from the Roman Age and that there are certain differences between them, which we will consider later. Yet there is considerable correspondence between them, as the differences are mostly restricted to certain moralistic eliminations in G and to certain touchings-up of some not particularly religious passages in W. There is, then, a common original underlying the alterations, sometimes basic, sometimes formal, sometimes from the Roman Age, sometimes from the Byzantine Age. An original that, according to Perry,[10] comes from Egypt, on account of specific references; although La Penna[11] thinks rather that it is from Syria. Comparing the various versions, it is easy to arrive at an approximate reconstruction of the content, which has been achieved in fact by Perry and La Penna.

We have said that, in our view, this original *Life* is Hellenistic and not Roman, from the 1st century AD, as Perry believes. Our opinion is based on the whole range of Cynic themes of the work and on its very framing within the Cynic genre of the realistic biography. The whole polemic between Aesop and the philosophers, throughout the *Life*, is perfectly comparable to that which is found in Cynic philosophers of this age, who satirize the rival philosophers, Stoic particularly, and polemize against them; this is found particularly in Menippus, but not only in him.[12] And likewise the satire against women, the powerful, etc., and the very form of doing so, based on diatribe, χρεῖαι, anecdotes, similes, etc. All this points to the environment of the confrontation between the Cynics and philosophers, the powerful, etc. in the Hellenistic Age, as in the case of the fable. We will also see that the literary genre also indicates the Hellenistic Age, not the Roman, despite the fact that the original Ps.-Callisthenes, from the 3rd century BC, as we know, was included in a later draft, that the two versions of the *Ass* are from the Roman Age, and that the *Satyricon* and the *Dialogue* of Secundus and Hadrian belong to it. These are derivations, as in the case of the collections of fables and

[10] *Aesopica*, p. 5.
[11] "Il romanzo di Esopo", *Athenaeum* 50, 1962, pp. 264 ff.
[12] Cf. J. Geffcken, "Studien zur griechischen Satyre", *JAW* 1911, pp. 210 ff., 282 ff.

of the different recensions of the *Life* itself. So from the standpoint of the genre and from that of the ancient fables transmitted by the *Life*, and from the whole environment of the Cynic polemic generally, the idea of a period of decline between the time of Demetrius and the Imperial Age is inadmissible and is not credible. What took place was simply an evolution, as in the case of the fables. And this within the same Hellenistic environment, whether Egyptian or not, present in these.

In our Chapter II 3 we saw that the *Life* conserves elements of the ancient legend of Aesop, as are his character as a decipherer of enigmas, saviour of the people, his religious powers, his relationship with agricultural life and with fecundity, in addition to the circumstances of his death. Regarding these characteristics, there is sometimes an independent tradition, sometimes we only know what the *Life* tells us about them; but they are very important, because some correspond very little to what we might expect of the Cynics, that is to say, they are surviving elements so important that they have had to be respected. Later we have seen that the legend of the 4th century relates Aesop with Croesus; he is the saviour of the town of Samos and gives lessons to the king of Lydia, undoubtedly on the model of the Solon/Croesus relationship in Herodotus. This also ends up in the *Life*; together with the Delphic episode, it is the point of crystallization around which the figure of Aesop is presented to us as the critic and conqueror—at least intellectually—of philosophers, the rich, the powerful and priests. It is also the point around which, together with the stay in Delphi, the life of the fabulist is transformed into a travel romance. A realistic and "comic" travel romance, the opposite of the idealized and erotic ones; but both are specifically from the Hellenistic Age.

The prototype of our *Life* was created, undoubtedly in the 3rd century BC, starting from here. It was parallel, undoubtedly, to the *Vita Homeri* by Herodotus, which we mentioned in II 3, in which Homer appeared as a traveller earning a living with his ingenuity and deciphering enigmas. On the other hand, it was also parallel to the genre of χρεῖαι and other types that were now created around the Seven Sages and Diogenes, in addition to the *Lives* of Cynic inspiration mentioned above. It also received a major influence, that of the *Life of Ahikar*; we saw that this played a part in the formation of the legend of Aesop in the 5th century BC, and it now again had an influence. We will consider this below.

As is normal in all ancient romances, whether of the idealizing or the realistic type, Aesop is presented to us in the *Life* travelling from one place to another amid a series of risks and adventures. He is the slave of an unnamed master who sells him to a slave merchant after he is miraculously cured of his dumbness (stammering in W) by Isis and the Muses (in G; Fortune in W). The slave dealer takes him to Ephesus, then to Samos, where he is sold to the philosopher Xanthus; this is the name Aristotle gave Aesop's master,[13] while for Herodotus his master was Iadmon and the only mention of a Xanthus is the person who sold Rhodopis, Aesop's fellow slave the courtesan, in Egypt.[14] Note that for the *Life* Aesop is Phrygian, whereas Herodotus does not say anything (rather, it seems to be deduced that in his view he is Thracian, since he says this expressly of Rhodopis) and Heraclides makes him Thracian. However, the names of Xanthus or Xanthes and the relationship with Phrygia seem to have roots in place-names and names related with the ancient legend of Aesop, cf. II 3, p. 282.

After being sold to Xanthus—an episode reminiscent of the sale of Diogenes, which gave rise to the *Sale of Diogenes*, by Menippus, but is probably a prototype of this—a series of adventures and incidents take place. First between Aesop and the wife and slaves of Xanthus, then others in which Xanthus, his philosopher friends and various incidental characters take part. Aesop always triumphs, ridiculing the philosophers, taunting the wife, surpassing his master in ingenuity and saving him after situations of difficulty. All this is based on ingenious performances and his χρεῖαι, solutions to enigmas, fables, anecdotes, etc., all told in the style of the diatribe.

All this takes place, note well, on the island of Samos; which, moreover, says nothing regarding the origin of the work in Egypt or in Syria. Starting from a given moment, a series of episodes take place in which Aesop becomes a public character. When in the

[13] In his *Constitution of the Samians*, of which an extract is conserved, as is the case of the other Constitutions, which today is attributed to Heraclides Lembus (author from the 2nd century BC, edited by Mervin R. Dilts, *Heraclidis Lembi Excerpta Politiarum*, Durham 1971) and earlier to Heraclides Ponticus (as in the *FHG* by Müller, II, p. 215, an attribution followed by Perry, *Aesopica*, p. 216 and by researchers into the fable in general).

[14] In fact Heraclides gives a gen. Ξάνθου corresponding to the Ionic Ξάνθεω of Herodotus. One may think that the original Ξάνθης later became Ξάνθος through this ambiguous gen.; in Heraclides we do not know if there was already Ξάνθος or still Ξάνθης.

Assembly of Samos an eagle carries away the stamp of the city, it is Aesop who, after obtaining a promise of freedom, resolves the portent with the meaning that the conquest of Croesus threatens the city. And when Croesus' messenger arrives and Aesop recommends (with a fable) resistance, he is the one sent to persuade the tyrant to desist from his intention, which he achieves with yet another fable.

Then comes a long passage, from the *Life of Ahikar*, in which we find Aesop in Babylon as adviser to King Lycurgus, and then in Egypt, where he goes to solve the enigma that the king of this country sets for the king of Babylon. Aesop triumphs in all.

And then, finally, we have the episode of the journey of Aesop to Delphi, where he meets with his death on account of false accusations that he has stolen a golden goblet from the temple. Aesop defends himself with various fables, which announce to the Delphians the punishment that those who abuse their power receive, including the fable of the beetle and Zeus, traditional in this context. Once Aesop has died, the Delphians suffer the plague and receive the order from the oracle to expiate the blood of Aesop. These are themes that we already know belonged to the original legend.

In the *Life*, Aesop continues to be the same *pharmakos* as in the legend. Slave first, later free, he is black, ugly, pot-bellied, of wretched physical appearance. He is constantly slandered; his slave companions, the quartermaster, Xanthus, the Delphians, all organize plots for him to be found at fault and whipped, sold, murdered. Everybody laughs at him. Yet his external ugliness corresponds to φρόνησις or interior wisdom. Thanks to all the resources he possesses, he always comes out on top, except in his last adventure in Delphi, which ends with his death. He remains superior to his master, to whom he gives lessons; to the Samians, Croesus, the Delphians, not to mention his fellow slaves, the administrator, the wife and the slave women of his master, the philosophers, all in the initial part. The theme of the world turned upside-down continues here, as with similar characters that we studied in II 3, with the ugly and weak giving lessons to the powerful. And not only surviving, but saving his master too.

It is not at all strange that this whole panorama, partly derived from the ancient legend, partly from the assimilation of the theme of the philosopher and the king in the Ionic novelette by Herodotus, was contaminated with the ancient *Life of Ahikar*, which was known—as we know—in Greece from the 5th century BC and a papyrus of whose Aramaean translation from the 5th century BC was also found

in Egypt (on Elephantine). There is a whole episode in which themes are taken from this *Life*, summarized by us in II 3, with a simple change of names: Ahikar is now Aesop, Nadan is Helios (in G; *Ainos* "Fable" in W), the kings of Babylon and Egypt are now Lycurgus and Nectanebus. It is likely, in fact, that the connection that we have already discussed between Ahikar and Aesop was never lost and that now, when the *Life* was written, it was emphasized. Like Aesop, Ahikar is the sage who gives lessons in the form of proverbs, fables and anecdotes; who saved his king by solving an enigma for him and solves others besides; who is pursued and slandered and saves himself from death, although in this case not using deceptions, but appealing to a friend and with the help of his wife. In the legend of the 5th century Aesop comes back to life, which increases the similarity, as we know.

Yet not only this. We wish to propose the idea that the author of the *Life* imitates the book of Ahikar in other passages. Such as when Aesop solves the enigma that his master did not know how to solve three times (when the gardener gives him the vegetables free in exchange for solving an enigma; when Xanthus makes the bet that he his going to drink the sea; and when the Samians show Xanthus the portent of the eagle that stole the ring), extricating him from a serious situation, on the last two occasions, from death. This is the central theme of the *Ahikar*. He even saves the people of Samos from being conquered by Croesus, just as Ahikar saves Assyria from Egypt. These are more complete correspondences than merely the solving of problems that appears both in the *Ahikar* and in the *Life* of Aesop, as well as in other places, at the *Banquet of the Seven Sages* by Plutarch, for example.

Another direct echo may be the passage (15) in which Aesop offers to educate Xanthus' children, just as Ahikar educates Nadan. Others, the slander that he suffers from his fellow slaves (3), later punished, and also from the administrator (10) and the Delphians.

There was, then, an influence of *Ahikar* first on the legend of Aesop, then on the *Life*; just as there is, we think, an extensive influence not only from the *Ahikar*, but also from other parallel Oriental works on the Ionian romance and, later, on the Cynic romance generally. We will return to this. However, before doing so we must emphasize that, in any event, the differences between the *Life* and the *Ahikar* are important. The *Ahikar* is not a travel romance, as the only journey by the main character is to Egypt, to

solve a problem posed by the king; if there is Oriental influence on the *Life* of Aesop in this respect, it is rather from various Oriental works that are in the prehistory of Greek romances such as *Ninus and Semiramis* and many others with an Oriental setting, or from the *Life of Alexander* itself. On the other hand, the sayings, similes, fables, anecdotes and problems of the *Life of Ahikar* are associated with no more than three episodes in his biography, namely the tuition of his son, the solving of the problems of the king of Egypt and the reproaches to the same son. This is a very meagre quantity compared with the *Life of Aesop*, full of incidents and adventures, risky episodes from which arise, in contrast with the *Life of Ahikar*, all these interventions by the sage. There are *agones* or confrontations, such as between Aesop and his fellow slaves, Aesop and the administrator, countless *agones* of Aesop and Xanthus, Aesop and the philosophers, Aesop and Xanthus' wife, Aesop and the Samians, Aesop and Croesus, Aesop and the Delphians; to which must be added the dialogues between Xanthus and the administrator, Xanthus and the philosophers, Xanthus and the gardener, Xanthus and the *aperiergos* or unworried, etc. It is in these encounters that these maxims, witticisms, enigmas, fables come about. The answers often come from both sides, although the maxims and fables are normally by Aesop, whereas the enigmas are proposed to him.

Thus, the *Life of Aesop*, in common with the *Ahikar*, presents the wisdom element of the man giving advice to the king and to the powerful, a theme that appears from the very beginning in the Aesop character, is boosted by the theme of the wise adviser in Herodotus and achieves its culmination through the assumption of the character by the Cynics—Diogenes criticizing Alexander—and the influence of the *Ahikar* itself. Yet at the same time the biographical, agonal and travelling element of the *Life of Aesop* is infinitely greater than that of the *Ahikar*; it is sometimes related with the *Vita Homeri*, sometimes with the idealizing Hellenistic romance, sometimes with the realist one, which we will discuss and to which genre the *Life of Aesop* in fact belongs. Furthermore, neither in the *Ahikar* nor in the Indian tradition and later the Arabic and Western tradition derived from it, nor in the Greek stories of the Seven Sages and of Secundus—also related, we believe, to this tradition—are we ever presented with an antihero in the style of Aesop.

In the *Ahikar*, indeed, this character gives lessons to his adoptive son (fruitless lessons, certainly) and indirectly to the king; from here

come the fables or advice that in the later tradition are imparted, sometimes by a father to a son, sometimes by an adviser or sage or philosopher to a king; this last line converges with that of the "advice to the prince" that we find in Greece in Pindar, Isocrates, the Platonics and the Stoics. However, there never appears in this tradition the type of slave who, being physically ugly and the brunt of jokes, mocks his master and becomes his true adviser and owner, as we are told in the *Life of Aesop* and as is imitated, undoubtedly, in the well-known anecdote of Diogenes the Cynic. Here is a man of the people who triumphs over towns and kings and confronts the powerful Delphic priesthood. Somebody who acts against conventional values, yet is a just man and a saviour, protected by the gods. Who not only triumphs over his master, to later save him again and again and make himself free, but seduces his wife and shows that he is more powerful than all the others. This is demonstrated again in Delphi when, on his death, the Delphians, victims of the plague, must pay the penalty for his blood.

The initial motif of the legend of Aesop has been kept alive. The theme of the adviser of princes easily converged with it, but it did not erase the original features. And it did not erase them because the Cynic sage sees himself precisely in the figure of the old Aesop. Only through the work of the Cynics was the synthesis of the legend of Aesop with Oriental and Greek wisdom literature and with the theme of the journey achieved, allowing a satirical view of all strata of society. Because it must not be forgotten that the Cynics, with their knapsacks, are the prototype of the traveller, the ὁδοιπόρος of the fables, characters like Aesop in the *Life*, like Encolpius in the *Satyricon*, are incarnations of him. As is the ass—another Cynic symbol in the fable—in the romance of this name. They add a touch of realism, of παρρησία and populism to the solemn figure of the sage.

II. *Cynic Origin and Character of the "Life" of Aesop*

1. *The "Life" of Aesop in its Greek and Oriental Context*

The elements that converge into the literary genre of the realistic romance and others more or less closely related of Cynic inspiration have already been noted in general terms. We will go on now to present them schematically, to refer later more closely to what

we regard as the main specimens of the genre: the *Life of Aesop*, the *Ass*, the *Satyricon*, the *Life of Alexander* from the Ps.-Callisthenes and the *Life of Secundus*. Only within this framework will the work we are studying here stand out in proper relief.

In a certain sense, the creation of the realistic romance, with wisdom elements of the Cynic type, constitutes a parallel process to that of the creation of the Cynic fable. In this we have found a confluence of a Greek "comic" or "iambic" genre and an Oriental tradition; and the result has passed through the Socratics to reach the Cynics. Also in the *Life* of Aesop elements of Greek festivals of the same type have converged with Oriental elements—the *Life of Ahikar*—with the whole thing passing through Demetrius Phalereus and being developed extensively in hands of the Cynics. Except that now—and this is the difference—the Oriental tradition has an influence for the second time, and in an important way.

And this is the case not only of the *Life of Aesop* but, as we have said, of a whole literary genre. We have exemplified this literary genre, as well as with the *Life of Aesop*, with that of Homer attributed to Herodotus, that of Alexander by the Pseudo-Callisthenes, the *Satyricon*, the *Ass* (whose prototype is reconstructed by comparing the versions by Appuleius and Lucian) and the *Life of Secundus*. It is not a totally unitary genre, as sometimes the realistic and satirical theme of the journey dominates, sometimes the wisdom element, sometimes fantastic, romance-like elements intervene, but there is also the exposition of a doctrine within a biographical frame, all in an environment of satire and criticism. One of the presentations of the doctrine—not the only one—is the type already mentioned of the philosopher indoctrinating the king and scholars generally. This is exactly the type of the *Life of Aesop*.

Both the theme of Ahikar and other Oriental themes such as that of Anacharsis, such as the Ionian romance theme, whether with or without an Oriental root, may have contributed to the creation of the type, already in Archaic and Classical times; the type of the wise adviser is common in Herodotus, and is not limited to the passage on Solon and Croesus.[15] And later there is the legend of the Seven

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[15] Cf. R. Lattimore, "The Wise Adviser in Herodotus", *CPh* 77, 1974, pp. 174–177, H. Bischoff, "Der Warner bei Herodot", in *Herodot*, Darmstadt, (1965, pp. 302–319), as well as above pp. 336 ff.

Sages and the Greek image of the poet as adviser also converges.[16] And, of course, the role of the philosopher as adviser to princes and adviser generally, starting from Plato and the Platonics, in particular. This is the role inherited by Isocrates in very well-known works and later by the Stoics.

Now, until Hellenistic times a biographical genre did not arise that could lend a "frame" to the dialogue of instruction. Since this frame exists in the *Ahikar* and we know that it decisively influenced our Hellenistic *Life of Aesop*, we must suppose that the Oriental influence as stimulus for the creation of this Hellenistic genre was important. We will return to this point later and show how and why the frame was used by the Cynics to create the Greek genre we are discussing.

Of course, it is not a question of the genre of the realistic and wisdom romance only having taken the "frame" of the *Ahikar.* Yet in this work we find not only elements of the *Life of Aesop*, but also a feature that is common to a large part of the Greek romance we are discussing, namely the biographical narration in the first person, extraneous to the *Life of Aesop* yet present in the story of the *Ass*, in the *Satyricon*, in *True History* by Lucian, in the *Marvels beyond Thule* by Antonius Diogenes.

In fact, the *Life of Ahikar* is, so to speak, halfway between the *Life of Aesop*, on one hand, and, on the other, Oriental works of undoubtedly Mesopotamian origin, but which received their definitive form in India and from there, through Persia and the Arabs, reached the Western world in the Middle Ages. These works frame maxims, fables or exempla that a philosopher gives to his king or a father to a son, but have limited biographical elements, less than those of the *Ahikar*, which in turn has less than the *Life of Aesop.* On these, cf. below, Chapter V.

Those Oriental works, more or less related to the *Ahikar*, were undoubtedly used as a basis for the passage of the *Life of Alexander* that records the dialogue between Alexander and the Gymnosophists and for the *Life of Secundus.* I have devoted a study to this theme.[17]

[16] Cf. *Orígenes de la lírica griega*, Madrid, 1976, pp. 132 ff.

[17] "Elementos cínicos en las "Vidas" de Esopo y Secundo" and in the "Diálogo de Alejandro y los Gimnosofistas", in *Homenaje a Eleuterio Elorduy*, Deusto, 1978, pp. 309–328.

I will summarize the most important points here, after presenting a summary of the content of these works.

The *Dialogue of Alexander and the Gymnosophists* appears in very mutilated form in the *Life of Alexander* by the Pseudo-Callisthenes, III. Its origin is prior to the *Life*, into which it was integrated when the latter was drafted in the 2nd century AD, incorporating the ancient choliambic poem by the Pseudo-Callisthenes. It is an independent work, which has reached us in a better state of conservation on papyrus sources and in echoes in the *Life of Alexander*, by Plutarch. See this in detail in Merkelbach, to whom we owe a reconstruction of the dialogue and an analysis of same.[18] The insertion is logical; the *Life*, in the parts that come from the ancient choliambic poem, is tinged with doctrinaire Cynic elements, such as in the dialogue between Alexander and Darius after the capture of the latter; we have already indicated the presence of fables with the same characteristics.

The content is as follows. Alexander prepares to execute 10 Gymnosophists—the Greek term for the Indian ascetics—who have been taken prisoner after advising their king to resist Alexander. Yet, before doing so, he asks each one a difficult question: he announces that he will have the one who gives the worst answer killed and it will be the last one who will decide which is the worst answer; if he judges well, he will be freed. The last to be asked affirms that the worst answer is his and Alexander is about to kill him, but he says that he must be magnanimous and keep his word and set him free, since he has judged well. This Alexander does.

The theme is clearly related to that of the *Ahikar*, where we find advice by the secretary to the king, by the secretary to his son and his answers to the questions of the king of Egypt; themes that have parallels in the *Life of Aesop*, with the exception of that of the father and the son. One difference is that in the first work there are serious risks in not solving an enigma wisely, but strictly speaking it is only in the second that the theme appears of the question for which not answering attracts death; and it is the master, not the philosopher Aesop, who runs this risk. Now, this exact theme appears in the *Life of Secundus*, of which we have a complete edition,[19] thanks

[18] *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*, Munich, 1954, pp. 50 ff., 104 ff., 113 ff.

[19] *Secundus the Silent Philosopher*, Ithaca, New York, 1964.

to B. E. Perry, from 1964. It is definitely a text from the 2nd or 3rd century AD, which, like the *Life of Aesop* and that of Alexander, is conserved in different versions and in various Oriental translations, thus proving its membership of the same genre of popular literature. In its last origin, however, it derives from the same theme as the previous *Dialogue* and, like this, is deeply tinged with Cynicism, as we have shown in our study mentioned above.

Expressing our ideas briefly, we will say that the *Life of Secundus* consists of two parts: a biographical anecdote, a misogynous tale that explains the philosopher's reasons for his silence, after he has discovered that all women, including his mother, are harlots; and the 20 questions formulated by Hadrian to Secundus and his answers, in writing. This is because prior to this the emperor's envoy has threatened Secundus with death if he does not speak, although bearing instructions to kill him only if he speaks renouncing his decision and to spare him otherwise, as of course happens.

That is to say, in the two Greek works to which we are referring, the king presents a series of enigmas or problems to the sage (what is man? What is woman? What is the cosmos? Etc.) and the theme is mixed with the threat of death. From the simple enigma that must be deciphered, we go over to the philosophical enigma, so to speak; the philosopher is given cause to develop his doctrine. It is a variant on another form of exposition, by means of direct advice to the king. Though it amounts to the same thing. And, in fact, the "problems" that Aesop solves in the *Life* and other parallels in various ancient works such as the *Banquet of the Seven Sages*, by Plutarch (sometimes the same) are already wisdom elements.

This whole line undoubtedly has Oriental sources more or less directly related to the *Ahikar*, but different; sources in India, undoubtedly known by the Greeks. This is what is thought, specifically, about the origin of the *Dialogue* between Alexander and the Gymnosophists.[20] There has been comparison with the dialogue between the Greek king Menander and the Indian sage Nagasena in the work known as *Milinda-panha*[21] and also a similar story in Philostratus, *VA* III

[20] Cf. U. Wilcken, "Alexander der Grosse und die indischen Gymnosophisten", *SBBAW*, Berlin 1923, pp. 160–183; A. Festugière, "Trois rencontres entre la Grèce et l'Inde", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 124, 1943, pp. 32–45.

[21] Transl. by Rhys Davids, *The Sacred Books of the East*, XXXV, Oxford 1890, republ. Delhi 1969, 2 vols. For discussion of the Indian or Greek origin of this

18–37. In the *Milinda-panha* there are the wisdom answers of the ascetics to the king and there is reference to the punishment of those who oppose him.

As regards the *Dialogue*, it is most likely that this comes from a book by Onesicritus, an admiral of Alexander, commissioned by him to familiarize himself with the Gymnosophists; he was a disciple of Diogenes.[22] We know fragments of his in which he closely compares the Indian Gymnosophists with the Cynics[23] and we know that he wrote a work in which he did something with respect to Alexander similar to what the *Cyropaedia* by Xenophon did with respect to Cyrus; a novellesque and doctrinaire work, we would say.

What interests us now is the following. Not only the *Ahikar*, but other Oriental works more or less connected with it, were known in the Hellenistic Age and were used by the Cynics in the creation of a genre that was a mixture of the biographical, the romance-like and the doctrinaire. It is, fundamentally, Cynic doctrine that is expounded in the *Life of Aesop*, the *Dialogue* and the *Life of Secundus*.

As a whole, the *Ahikar* forms a group with literary works of which the *Milinda-panha* is an example and which are more commonly known to us in Western derivations. We know that the Indian literature based on a frame into which a wisdom dialogue is placed is sometimes conserved in the original, sometimes not, and that through Persia and the Arab countries it produced a great flourishing of similar works in Western European literature. We will now offer a brief description of this literature, to remove the *Ahikar* from its isolation, to emphasize the connection between all this literature and the fable and to prepare the terrain for when we encounter it again in Volume II of this work.

We will therefore indicate very briefly some themes of Indian and Oriental literature generally, undoubtedly derived from the ancient Mesopotamian literature, in connection with the themes that interest us:

1. The theme of the king and his philosopher. The philosopher or secretary answers the king on the subject of particular problems,

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work, cf. "Elementos cínicos . . .", p. 322. The Greek thesis by Tarn (there would have been a Greek dialogue, from about 100 BC), does not have much support. Cf. below Part III, Chap. V, pp. 688 ff.

[22] Cf. Dudley, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff.

[23] Cf. Höistad, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 ff.

very often with the help of fables. In addition to what we have stated on the *Milinda-panha*, we may indicate that this is the frame for the Indian *Panchatantra*, whose Spanish translation, as has been mentioned, bears the name of *Calila e Dimna*. It is a common theme in Medieval literature, *El Conde Lucanor*, for example, by Don Juan Manuel derives from it.

2. The theme of the father and the son. This theme, coming from the *Ahikar*, also passed through India. There is a variant in the *Sindibad*, in which it is the philosopher that does the teaching by order of the king. The instruction of a son by a father appears in the *Disciplina Clericalis*, by Petrus Alfunsus, within the same context of fables and maxims.

3. The theme of the threat of death if a satisfactory answer is not given. In the *Sindibad* (whose Spanish translation is *el Libro de los engaños e los asayamientos de las mugeres*) the king orders his son, who has been slandered by his stepmother, to be killed. But the philosopher Sindibad argues with her, with the help of anti-female fables and anecdotes, until he succeeds in convincing her of her crime. This Sindibad (Sp. Çendubete, Hebrew Sendebar, Persian and Arabic Sindbad, Greek Syntipas) is, according to G. T. Artola, a derivation from the Indian Siddhapati, just as Bidpai of the *Panchatantra* is derived from *Vidyapati*, also Indian.[24]

It is curious to note that in the Western versions of the *Sindibad* it is the Seven Sages that argue with the stepmother; there was awareness of the unity of the theme. The fact that in Byzantium a collection of fables is attributed to Syntipas is further evidence of this.

In this work, the theme of the sentence to death if the "puzzles" are not answered is slightly displaced, but is clear in any case. The same as in the *Thousand and One Nights*, an Arab version also of an Indian theme, where Shahrazad can only postpone the death to which the Sultan condemns his wives by telling a story every night. Note, by the way, that this sentence, like the silence of Secundus, has its origin in the lack of fidelity that is attributed to women; the Cynic theme uses an Oriental one as support. The anti-female theme of the *Sindibad* follows the same line.

There is, then, a direct connection between all this Oriental literature and the Greek biographical wisdom literature of the Hellenistic

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[24] Cf. G. T. Artola "Sindibad in Medieval Spanish", *Modern Language Notes* 71, 1966, pp. 37–42.

Age and later. There is also a connection with purely wisdom dialogues such as that of Solomon and the queen of Sheba in 1 *Kings* 10, 1–17 or that of Solomon and Hiram of Tyre in Josephus, *Ap.* 117 (Hiram, not being able to solve Solomon's enigmas, must pay him money). We must also mention the "questions" that Apollonius of Tyana and the brahman Iarcas pose to each other in Philostratus *VA* III 18 ff., as well as, below, the dialogue between the brahman and the Indian king, whose pride and ignorance let the former down. We have already mentioned this passage. It is again the theme of the king humiliated by the sage and again in an Oriental setting.

All these parallels remove the *Life of Aesop* from its isolation and make comprehensible the confluence in it of the ancient legend of the *pharmakos* who satirizes and tells fables with, on one hand, the Oriental tradition of wisdom literature in a biographical frame, and, on the other, Cynicism. It is the Cynics who paved the way for this type of literature; they saw the Oriental sages as counterparts to their own attitude, just as they saw the incarnation of the Oriental kings mocked by the philosophers in Alexander and in ancient characters such as Croesus. This opposition between the king and the philosopher was created in the first half of the 2nd century BC,[25] paving the way for anecdotes such as those of Diogenes and Alexander and a work such as the *Dialogue*. Surprisingly, this is a secondary phase; in the choliambic poem Cynicism expresses itself in the sense of showing Alexander to be understanding and compassionate compared with Darius, who makes him meditate on the vanity of human glory; with the result that the inclusion of the *Dialogue* into this work required certain mutilations of same, on account of its violent hostility to Alexander.

Now, I would like to draw attention to the fact that there is a great deal in the *Life* that, though linking well with the Oriental elements, on one hand, and with the Cynic ones, on the other, is prior to both. We discussed this in II 3 when indicating the elements of the ancient legend of Aesop that we supposed were well preserved by the *Life*, as this is our only source for same. We suppose, then, that the *Ahikar* influenced both the ancient legend and the *Life*, but that this also conserves aspects of the legend that are unknown outside of here, which are identifiable by the correspondences between

[25] Cf. Höistad, *op. cit.*, pp. 209 ff.

the features of the Aesop of the *Life*, on one hand, and the *pharmakos* and the poet of the iambic type, on the other. These are the elements used later by the Cynics.

These elements very clearly differentiate the *Life* from the Oriental tradition of the wisdom romance. Nowhere in this, indeed, do we find the story of the antihero from the lower echelons of society who mocks his master and everyone else and wins through on account of his ingenuity. It is an image of the "world turned upside-down" like that of the Comedy, in which the slave prevails against his master, the ignoramus against the philosophers, the ordinary citizen against kings and cities, always with recourse to stratagems, ingenious discoveries, fables, anecdotes, paradoxical explanations, the solving of enigmas, etc. And always, in short, for the purpose of his own salvation and that of others; of justice, we might say.

2. *Cynicism and Biographical Genres*

This is one of the most interesting of the genres of the *spudaiogeloion* to be created or developed by the Cynics. And one of the least studied. It is significant that Perry, the philologist who has been most distinguished in the study of the *Life of Aesop*, does not even mention it in the second part of his book *The Ancient Romances*,[26] entitled "The Comic Romances". And that, when discussing Cynicism, the *Life of Secundus* is not even mentioned.

The genre, of course, has shades and variants. The satirical and biographical element prevails in the *Ass* and the *Satyricon*; the wisdom element in the *Dialogue* and the *Life of Secundus*; the *Life of Aesop* is in a certain sense in an intermediate position, as it has some of one and some of the other. But there are connections; for instance, the misogynous themes and the novellesque element of the danger of death link the purely wisdom works with the others; and there is no absence in the *Ass* and the *Satyricon* of passages comparable to those of the other works: novelettes, references to fables, maxims, etc.

The genre was created in the 3rd century BC by the Cynics on the bases that we have already mentioned. Although the image of the coarse, begging Cynic dominates and a part at least of this literature seeks the popular and even the vulgar, today it is clear that

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[26] Berkeley 1967.

the instigators of the movement were essentially learned men. Their parodical genres demonstrate a profound knowledge of Greek literature. The same is the case here; we need only refer to the quotations from Homer and Euripides and to the allusion to Demosthenes in the *Life of Aesop*. This proves that their points of departure were both Demetrius Phalereus and the Oriental literature.

Other Cynic works of the same genre also offer proof of great learning, such as the *Life of Alexander* (speech by Ismenias) and the *Life of Secundus*, which we have demonstrated in our study cited above to be packed with Classical reminiscences. Also the others.

The vulgarism of the *Life* is expressly sought, on one hand, as a resource for its diffusion, on the other, as a further element of the derision of the learned and society, as was customary. The legend according to which Diogenes, like Aesop—undoubtedly by imitation of this theme—was sold, the anecdotes on the jar, etc., clearly false, and many other details, were created with the same object.

However, it is clear that the Cynic philosophy sought more an application in life than a theoretical clarification. And that it was expressed in anecdotes and in maxims or attributed to the characters of the sect or to other ancient ones in certain circumstances. This, we believe, is the reason why the Cynics favour the biographical genres, which allowed them to portray—as in the fables—a copy of both the Cynic philosopher and his opponents, after performing a series of reductions, such as that placing them in the role of Oriental philosophers, to which we have referred, and likewise placing the characters that were the object of their criticism in the role of Oriental kings. Furthermore, the biographical genre allowed all kinds of characters, realistic situations and others to be presented that gave grounds for sarcasm or the teachings of the Cynics, through "philosophers" such as Aesop, Encolpius or the ass.

As well as—or more than—in writings, the sect expressed itself through the example of its most outstanding characters, such as Diogenes, Crates or Bion. "The silent philosophy surpasses that of words", the *Life of Aesop* itself tells us (G 23). With the result that the anecdotes attributed to their central characters, to Diogenes in particular, are essential among the Cynics. Together with the biography, of Diogenes himself and others, in Diogenes Laertius, and anecdotes in Plutarch and other authors, there exists a collection of anecdotes or χρεῖαι on a Rainer papyrus, as we have already said.

Certainly, it was not only the Cynics who cultivated the genre of

the biography. Starting from the Hellenistic Age, we find the *Lives* of writers, such as that of Euripides by Satyrus; those of philosophers and Sophists (by Diogenes Laertius, by Apollonius of Tyana) and even those of historical characters (such as those of Plutarch). In all these the true or false anecdote, the χρεία, dominates; irrespective of the problem of influences, a certain relationship with the fictionalized biography of the Cynics is undeniable. This, on the other hand, may have various points of departure: real characters such as Alexander (or Diogenes himself, by whom there were collections of χρεῖαι), legendary characters such as Aesop, a character that we would say comes from the fable, such as the ass, a totally invented character, such as Encolpius.

The characteristic of these characters of the new romance, hybrids of the old antiheroes of iambic or comic type and of the new human prototypes proposed by the Cynics, is their popular and even vulgar character, the realistic setting in which they move (although there may be exceptions such as the Alexander of the *Life*). The *Life of Aesop*, specifically, describes the condition of the slaves, life in a rich house, the greed of the priests of Delphi, the deceptions of women, the chatter and vacuity of the philosophers. To punish that society, Aesop frequently takes the figure and the words of the Cynics. Such as when he only finds "a man" in the baths or in the episode of the woodcutter ἀπερίεργος, whom nothing shakes from his indifference. In all this the *Life* is comparable with the romance of the *Ass*, which Lucian and Appuleius developed, or with the *Satyricon*. Yet at the same time, as we have already said, Aesop has something that connects him with the ancient beliefs.

Thanks to their special situation, life and ideology, the Cynics were able to absorb in a single genre, although with very lax borders, both the Greek and Oriental wisdom literature, with their frame, and the strictly Greek theme, iambic or comic, of the man of the lower classes who practises satire and criticism against the powerful. Aesop and his master Xanthus (as well as the philosophers, his friends, his wife, Croesus, the Delphians), Alexander and the Gymnosophists, Secundus and Hadrian are no more than replicas of the opposition of a Diogenes, a Crates, a Menippus to symbolic characters such as Sardanapalus, Ninus, and Croesus and Alexander themselves.[27] With

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[27] Cf. J. Roja, *op. cit.* 137 ff.; before R., Höistad. *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff.

this the Cynics did no more than take sides, include themselves within schemes already traced from ancient times in the "iambic" genres.[28]

We have already discussed this with respect to Aesop, although we will go into more detail later. Secundus, the voluntary mute (Aesop is also dumb at the beginning of the *Life*) and the Gymnosophists are also presented to us as marginal, inferior characters—yet superior. However, the theme of the *Life* is much more closely related to that of the more strictly biographical works, the *Satyricon* and the *Ass*. Some indications on these will have the final result of removing it from its isolation.

In these works, in effect, we find the framework to which the *Life of Aesop* has accustomed us, namely a character of a lower social rank, including that of the slave (this is the role of Lucius the ass), who is confronted again and again with powerful characters or with masters from whom he frees himself with his ingenuity or whom he places in embarrassing situations. More specifically, it is well-known that one of the models of the *Satyricon*, undoubtedly the main one, is the Menippean satire, a Cynic genre; and this not only as regards form, but also in terms of content (grotesque satire of the nouveau riche, obsessive theme of death).[29] On the other hand, the theme of the general infidelity of women and of their unchaste search for physical love is an important theme in the *Satyricon* (romance on the widow of Ephesus, also in the collections of fables; story of Circe) and is central in the *Ass* (stories of the Lucius' guest's wife, of her maid, who buys his favours when he is transformed into an ass); although the theme is ancient and of the romance style, it is very characteristic precisely of Cynic literature. As are other themes of these *Lives*: the anecdotes, similes, proverbs, parodies, fables,[30] of whose presence in Cynic literature we are already aware. And, particularly, the themes of the journey, whose relationship with Cynic literature has been discussed by Geffcken,[31] and the banquet.[32] Although there is the use of themes from "iambic" literature, already reflected

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[28] On Aesop and his precursors, cf. II 3, pp. 271 ff.

[29] Cf. Rosenblüth, *Beiträge zur Quellenkunde von Petrons Satiren*, Diss. Kiel 1909; and M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Petronio. Satiricón*, Barcelona 1968.

[30] For these, see in the *Ass*, H. van Thiel, *Der Eselroman*, Munich 1971, I, pp. 184 ff.

[31] *Art. cit.*, p. 480.

[32] Ibid., p. 480.

in the *Life of Homer*, it is clear that the wandering life of the Cynic, revealed in the fables around the figure of the walker and the ass, had a major influence.

3. *Cynic Elements in the Life of Aesop*

After indicating the presence of Cynic elements in the genre, in a broad sense, to which the *Life* belongs, we have referred to more specific aspect of same, such as the use of the diatribe and fables, χρειαι, enigmas, etc., vulgar language, different themes centred on the criticism of the powerful, the false wise, women, etc. It is appropriate to deal systematically with the study of this last aspect and, particularly, to add the positive Cynic features of the *Life*, which correspond almost exactly to those of the fables of the Hellenistic collection.

We must indicate, firstly, the precedents of our study. Whereas B. E. Perry has ignored the Cynic elements of the *Life*, these already attracted the attention of H. Zeitz in an article entitled "Der Aesoproman und seine Geschichte", published in *Aegyptus* 16, 1936, pp. 225–255. Zeitz indicates resemblances between Aesop and Diogenes: both are sold as slaves and during the sale behave in a similar way towards the buyer; the anecdote of when they find a single man in the baths is also common to both, as is the constant contrast φύσις/νόμος and plays on words based on "dog", a very well-known Cynic symbol that is also in the fables. There is also reference to anecdotes that are attributed, on one hand, to Diogenes and, on the other, are found in the fables, such as that of the astrologer and that in which a man is sought in broad daylight with a lamp.

Yet this is in fact not very much, and, as I said, went unnoticed by Perry and also by La Penna in his article on the origins of the *Life* mentioned above.

Our extensive studies have confirmed that this influence is undeniable and not limited to a few separate anecdotes. Below we catalogue the most important Cynic themes that are in the *Life of Aesop*, with reference to the recension G, unless expressly stated otherwise.

1. Aesop as living paradox: ugliness and wisdom. Linked with the paradox of the mute who, when he speaks, is wiser than anybody and that of the slave who is the truly free man is that of the ugly and unsightly man who is beautiful in spirit. The description of the

horrible slave is made in 1, where at the same time he is called βιωφελέστατος "very useful for life"; but the theme is continually repeated. He is repeatedly called σαπρός "rotten" (2, 10, 16, 23, 29, 33, 37), κάθαρμα "plague" (30, 31, 69); nobody wants to buy him, the women reject him . . .; he is a ἁμάρτημα φύσεως "error of nature" (21). Sarcastic comments are made on his beauty (30). Yet Aesop asks the Samians (88) why they make fun of him: "you must not look at the appearance, but examine the wisdom" (φρόνησις), since "many that have an ugly form possess a wise mind" (cf. 19, 27). These themes of the "mind", the "intelligence", "prudence" are constant, cf. for example, 34, 124. Aesop, for his part, says that "I will educate this philosopher" (38).

With the result that from the beginning Aesop advises the slave dealer to buy him, as he will be useful to him in educating the other slaves (15); he also soon "shuts up" Xanthus (26) and the latter concludes (40) "I have bought a professor" (καθηγητής) and "I had not realized that I had bought a master" (28); "professor" is the title given to him later (52, 55, 73); and he reaches the point of being called "a great god" (80). His role is not only comparable to that of Diogenes when in the market he says to the dealer: "sell me to this man: he needs a master" and when, later, the buyer, Xeniades, says: "a good god has entered my house" (Diogenes Laertius VI 74); but it is also comparable to that of Crates the "Door opener".[33]

2. Aesop and the frugal and temperate life of the Cynic. The slave Aesop eats bread, olives, vegetables of the field and drinks water (4). This theme of the vegetables and that of the work in the field is repeated. His master dresses him with a sack cloth (21). He proclaims the virtue of strength (ἐγκράτεια, 85). His life is pleasant; when Xanthus greets him χαῖρε "be happy", he makes the joke of answering "perhaps I am afflicted?" His ideal is that of the ἀπερίεργος, the man who does not interfere in what does not matter to him (56 ff., cf. also 25 and 29), although he is accused precisely of doing this when he rightly accuses the administrator (9 and 12). Hence the "true man" is rare; this is the case of the anecdote when Aesop (65) finds a single man. As we have stated, this anecdote is also referred to in Diogenes, to whom is also attributed the story of him seeking a man in the main square with a lamp in broad daylight.[34]

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[33] Cf. Dudley, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 ff.

[34] Cf. Phaedrus III 19, D.L. II 41, Plu., *Symp.* 49 c.

3. Aesop against wealth, culture, power. Throughout the work Aesop triumphs with his ingenuity over the rich and powerful, who attempt to abuse him; for example, the administrator treats the slaves badly, Xanthus seeks pretexts to hit Aesop, his wife tyrannizes Xanthus and wants to take revenge on Aesop himself, Croesus wants to seize Samos; only in one case, his death in Delphi, is he defeated. The injustice and ambition of these towns and people are criticized. On the other hand, compared with the limited needs of Aesop, the fact is criticized that Xanthus has "need (χρεία) of service" (23); this is the criticism that the Cynics make of Alexander.[35] The false wise, the learned, are criticized more, if this is possible, that is to say, Xanthus and his friends the philosophers. "Where is your philosophy? Where the vanity of your culture?" τὸ τῆς παιδείας φρύαγμα, 85), Aesop says to Xanthus who in a moment of desperation is going to commit suicide (130). Something similar is said by the friend to Aesop himself when he despairs before the criminal intention of the Delphians ("Where is your culture? Where your philology . . .? You have become foolish"). This theme of "madness" appears in connection with Xanthus' wife in 36. These seemingly superior men are weak, as is Xanthus, dominated by his wife; they resort to deception and slander (the administrator, Xanthus, the Delphians). And despite their supposed wisdom, they are unable to solve the problems that Aesop solves. At any time (69) a pessimistic judgement on human nature can be deduced from all this: man is πανοῦργος, a "bad thing", capable of anything (cf. below, a correspondence in the *Dialogue*).

The theme of wealth contrasted with death, which is familiar to us from Menippus and Lucian, resonates in the *Life* at least once, when Aesop refers to the utmost confusion "when the dead come back to life and claim their goods" (47). Cf. also 128 on the theme of the mortality of man.

4. Aesop against *nomos* and in favour of nature. To Xanthus' questions when he buys him, Aesop, in the most authentic Cynic style, says (25) that he is "of flesh" (cf. *Life of Secundus* 8) W 36, and that he was born "in the belly of my mother"; this is the doctrine of cosmopolitanism. His reversal of conventional values is expressed in the themes of "freedom of speech" and "shamelessness", which we discuss below, but also in his literal interpretations of words, such as when he is asked for φακός and brings a lentil (39), is asked for a

[35] Cf. J. Roca, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

washing-up basin and brings it without water (40, cf. 38). He constantly praises φύσις or "nature"; the earth is mother to the plants that are born φυομένων spontaneously, stepmother to cultivated ones (W 37, cf. W 22), it being ridiculous to believe in "divine providence" (there is a correspondence in the *Dialogue*); criticizes Xanthus, who does not even allow half an hour for natural needs (28). The others, however, consider that he is superior to human nature (10).

5. Freedom and shamelessness. The whole *Life* is a book of samples of παρρησία or "freedom of speech", which Aesop, for his part, requests expressly from the Samians (89) when he prepares to interpret the portent of the ring and the eagle; just as in 94 he proposes the model of freedom, which is the path of virtue according to the simile of the two roads. Shamelessness (ἀναίδεια) is advocated in the scene (28) in which Xanthus begins to urinate in the road and in the subsequent dialogue with Aesop on the theme; but, particularly, in sexual passages. Such as in the scene of the masturbation of Aesop and the wife falling in love on seeing his sex (74); in the two female anecdotes of 129 (of the type of "The Widow of Ephesus") and 131; in the even coarser one in W 77, in which Aesop makes one of his literal interpretations and exposes his master's wife naked to the philosophers, who "are ashamed".

This shamelessness has to do with the constant abuse and derision to which Aesop subjects his opponents; he is called "outrageous" in 55, for example. Cf. 36 and many other passages.

6. Sexual satisfaction and misogyny. In this area, the *Life* again follows the traces of Cynic literature. In addition to the theme mentioned of masturbation, there appears that of the easy sexual satisfaction of man, which is not criticized, and that of the sexual appetite of woman, which is. And there is a complete absence—except in an insulting allusion in 56—of the theme of homosexuality (a relationship criticized by the Cynics, as is known, as contrary to nature).

When Xanthus takes Aesop home, his wife and her female slaves fight for him, until they see his ugliness (29 ff.). Yet Aesop insults the wife coarsely as desiring to go to bed with him and recites verses from Euripides against women (32). Xanthus, subsequently, alerts his wife that, if Aesop sees her relieving herself, she will find him to be "a pure Demosthenes". Shamelessness and the theme of physical love could not go further. In fact, Xanthus' wife has already seen Aesop in dreams offered to her by Aphrodite (somewhat similar to the dream of Olympias in the *Life of Alexander*).

Without entering into details or repeating the anecdotes on the fragility of women, the culmination of the theme of the sexual avidity of Xanthus' wife is in the scene (censured in the *Life* G) in which she gives herself to Aesop, "renting him", after which she attempts to avoid payment (W 75). We must compare scenes in the *Satyricon* and the *Ass* already mentioned.

The misogyny is not only of a sexual type. Xanthus' wife is accused (44 ff.) of being less benevolent to him than his dog. And in the anecdote of the ἀπερίεργος, on seeing that Xanthus is (supposedly) preparing to burn his wife, this man asks him to wait, as he is going to bring his own to burn the two together.

There is of course a popular feature in this, that of a malicious story. However, the fact that, in short, the author of the *Life* saw in this theme, as in many others, a Cynic spirit in Aesop, can be deduced precisely from the comparison between the wife and the dog. This comparison appears again when one of the maidens of the house asks Aesop (30) "where is your tail?", to which he replies "not behind, in front", an obscene joke that, he says, Aesop makes believing that the girl was comparing him "with a cynocephalus".

These anecdotes, in which the theme of the dog and its literal interpretations are played with, are similar to various very well-known ones in which Diogenes presents himself as a "dog".[36] Like him, Aesop is a human "dog", and he is faithful to Xanthus like his dog, more than his wife.

All this material could easily be contrasted with other parallel material in the literature with Cynic tendencies with a biographical, novellesque and wisdom quality, which we have discussed. We believe that to follow this thread would, however, take us away from our specific theme. For matters relating to the *Life of Secundus* and the *Dialogue*, however, we refer the reader to our work on the theme already mentioned.

4. *From the Hellenistic "Life" to the Later Recensions*

An approximate—non-literal—reconstruction of the Hellenistic *Life* is possible. We need only follow the guidelines offered by Perry in his introduction to the edition of the *Lives* regarding the modifications

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[36] Cf. J. Roca, *op. cit.*, pp. 169 f.

introduced by W, some lacunae in G and the papyrus fragments. Occasionally, however, it is difficult to take sides on the relative antiquity of two contradictory versions: whether Aesop was dumb or stammering, whether he was cured by Isis or by Fortune, though the former of these alternatives, which are those of G, seem to be the originals. These are minor details, in any case.

The relationship between this Hellenistic *Life* and the ancient prototypes of the different recensions, already from the Roman Age, whose *stemma* is provided by Perry,[37] is approximately the same as that existing between the Hellenistic model of the fables and the collections of the Roman Age. In fact, it is a theme that is better suited to our Volume II. However, since, in this case, these are minor alterations within an anonymous tradition, it is preferable to say something about it here.

On one hand, we have the *Life* G, whose text was considerably altered in the Byzantine Age and is known to us through the ms. already mentioned, from the 11th century. The *Life* W, on the other hand, has reached us in numerous manuscripts and its archetype, which Perry places in the 10th century, must be reconstructed with the help of a complicated *stemma*, which Perry himself studied in *Aesopica* and, prior to this, in his *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*, Haverford 1936 and in other works. The papyri align themselves with one or the other of these two recensions: *POxy.* 2083 agrees with G; the Golenishef Papyrus is closely related; the *PSI* 156 is, in contrast, of the W type; the position of *PBerol.* 11628 is more doubtful.

Leaving aside a few passages, G presents the principal line of the ancient tradition. If it has been subjected to censorship, with the omission of the sexual prowess of Aesop (75–76, cf. also W 77a) and the fable of the man who fell in love with his own daughter (141) or if a passage in 37 has been lost, these alterations date from Byzantine times. On the other hand, W represents an ancient edition that has in a certain sense been expurgated and moralized. And this not so much in terms of sexual matters (although the reduction of Xanthus' advice to his wife may be seen in 33) as in matters highlighted by Perry. The references to Isis and to the enmity between Aesop and Apollo (in the initial chaps. and in 127 ff.) are absent (except for a small remnant).

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[37] *Aesopica*, p. 22.

Here, although on a small scale, we have a phenomenon not dissimilar to the one we have found in certain recent strata of the Hellenistic fables and in Phaedrus. The most explosive aspects of the aloofness of the Cynics with respect to the traditional gods and to the oracles are eliminated. However, the elements of the mystic religiosity of Hellenistic Egypt, with its belief in miracles, centred in Isis, which had penetrated the ancient Life, are eliminated, with Isis being replaced by a Cynic and Stoic divinity, as is Fortune. Finally, the whole thing receives a more correct drafting from the standpoint of the syntax and the lexicon; in short, it is more literary and less popular.

Like the fables, the *Life* remained for a long time under the aegis of Cynicism. It is interesting to see that in both cases there was an evolution later that, to a certain extent, created a distance with respect to certain aspects of this movement. In any event, fables and *Life* did not move too far away from what they were in the Hellenistic Age during their passage through the Imperial Age in various recensions and collections. Indeed, the genre of literature to which they belong continued to be cultivated and even developed, as we have seen specifically in the case of various works of the type of the *Satyricon* and others and in the creation of very new collections of fables. The Cynic stamp received by all these genres in the Hellenistic Age, however modified, continued to form their core, even during the Middle Ages and in even more recent times.

Supplement

The *Life of Aesop*, a subject so neglected before, has been the subject of intense study in recent years.

We have the critical works by M. Papathomopoulos: *Aesopus revisitatus, I*, Ioannina 1989 (critical revision) and *Ὁ Βίος τοῦ Αἰσώπου*, Ioannina 1990 (critical edition of recension G). The text gains from being freed from a number of points of conjecture, although not from all those that are perhaps necessary. See my review in *Gnomon* 65, 1993, pp. 660–664 and that by Van Dijk in *Mnemosyne* 47, 1994, pp. 550–556; also the critical notes by I. T. Papadimitriou in Αἰσώπεια καὶ Αἰσωπικά, Athens 1987. Cf. also the new edition by F. Ferrari, *Romanzo di Esopo*, Milan, 1997, and my review in *Emerita* 66, 1998. And several contributions in N. Holzberg (ed.), *Der Aesop-Roman*, Tübingen 1992, see index.

I add the bibliography on various points, complementing that already offered:

The *Ahikar*, the antecedent of the *Life*: C. GROTTANELLI, "Aesop in Babylon", in H.-J. NISSEN-J. RENGER, *Mesopotamien und ihre Nachbarn*, I. Berlin, Reimer, 1987, pp. 555–572; H. WILSDORF, "Der Weise Achikaros bei Demokrit und Theophrast. Eine Kommunikationsfrage", *Philologus* 135, 1991, pp. 191–206 (after detailing the versions in different languages, he indicates that, according to Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* I 15.69. Democritus used traces from Ahikar in his "Babylonian Ethical Discourses" and that in Diogenes Laertius there is the title of a work by Theophrastus, "Akikaros"; N. OETTINGER (in N. HOLZBERG 1992), "Achikars Weisheitsprüche im Licht älterer Fabeldichtung", pp. 3–22 (Ahikar as a historical character at the time of Asharaddon, appears in a list in Akkadian; comparison with fables on a tablet found in Bohazkoy in 1983, Hurrian with Hittite transl. from about 1400, but with language two centuries older). For analogies between the *Life of Aesop* and the romance of Tinuphis, published in 1981, cf. R. KUSSL, (in N. HOLZBERG 1992, pp. 23–30), "Ahikar, Tinuphis und Aesop".

Life of Aesop in the 5th century? This is the view of M. L. WEST, already cited, and Q. CATAUDELLA, "Aristofane e il cosidetto Romanzo di Esopo", *Dioniso* 20, 1942, pp. 5–14 (he believes that the fable of the beetle would be known in the context of the story of Aesop on Delphi and that in *Ach.* 646 ff. the poet identifies himself with Aesop. He indicates analogies between the *Ahikar* and *Birds*). I am still sceptical on this theme, as I stated above.

The *Life of Aesop* and the *Banquet of the Seven Sages* by Plutarch: cf. M. J. LUZZATO, "Plutarco, Socrate e l'Esopo di Delfi", *ICS* 13.2, 1988, pp. 427–445 and F. R. ADRADOS, "Géneros helenísticos en el banquete de los siete sabios de Plutarco", in *Estudios sobre Plutarco*, Salamanca 1996, pp. 125–142.

On the fables in the *Life*, cf. G.-J. VAN DIJK, "The Function of Fables in Graeco-Roman Romance", *Mnemosyne* 49, 1996, pp. 513–541 (very useful: report on fables, allusions and parallels in Petronius, the *Ass* by Ps.-Lucian, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the Ps.-Callisthenes, Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius); G.-J. VAN DIJK, "The Fables in the Greek *Life of Aesop*", *Reinardus* 8, 1995, pp. 131–150.

General bibliography: N. HOLZBERG (ed.), *Der Aesop-roman*, Tübingen 1992: collection of articles, including one by the editor himself (pp. 33–75) giving an interpretation of structural analysis of the *Life* followed by a very important bibliography. See the review by G.-J. VAN DIJK in *Mnemosyne* 47, 1994, pp. 384–389. Cf. also in his book of 1993, pp. 80 ff., "Prosafabelbücher". Also the book already cited by S. Jedrkiewicz 1989 dedicates ample space (the whole of the first part) to the *Life of Aesop*: he is the defender of the oppressed and represents the anti-culture, but from a Greek standpoint.

For the character Aesop and his influence on later literature, cf. my "La Vida de Esopo y la Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes", *Revista de Filología Española* 58, 1976, pp. 35–45 and J. Th. Papadimitriou, *Aesop as an archetypal hero*, Athens 1997 (and the paper he cites: N. Holzberg, "A lesser Known 'Picaresque' novel of Greek origin: the Aesop romance and its influence", in *Groningen Colloquia on the novel* 5, 1993, pp. 5–16).

I think this bibliography, interesting though it is, does not add a great deal to the themes of the origin and chronology of the *Life*, of its use of fables and its content with Cynic tendencies, related to that of the whole realist romance.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IRRADIATION OF THE HELLENISTIC FABLE

I. *Influence of the Greek Fable on the Indian Fable*

1. *Relationships between India and Greece*

Leaving for a moment the theme of the continuation of the Greek fable in the Latin fable, which has occupied us throughout this volume and will occupy us in the following one, as well as other influences of the Greek fable that must be attributed to the Imperial Age, generally late, here we will consider the influence exercised by the Greek fable on other literatures, which could be dated, in general terms, in the Hellenistic Age. This is the influence of the Greek fable on the Indian and the Egyptian fables.

We have already said that in the different versions of the *Panchatantra* we believe we can discern Greek influences, together with elements of Mesopotamian origin and other properly Indian ones. The same must be said of other Indian fables to which we have referred, those of the *Sendebar*, fables of the *Mahābhārata*, of the *Jātaka*, etc.[1]

The influence of the Greek fable on the Indian one in the Hellenistic Age (and, through India, throughout the East) is a very important fact that has not received the attention it deserves. It is, in a certain sense, comparable to the influence of Graeco-Buddhist art, of Hellenistic influence, on the sculpture of the East and also of the painting that we may call Graeco-Buddhist and which we know through the frescoes in the Ajanta Caves.

The point of departure for all these facts is the close contact between the Indian and Greek cultures throughout the valley of the Indus and in Bactria, between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus and in Afghanistan. It is not only a question, then, of the conquest by Alexander of the Indus basin, which lasted a short time. When in the year 302 Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's successors, ceded

[1] On these works, cf. Hausrath, art. "Fabel", *cit.*, col. 1728 f.

the territories to the East of the Indus to the Indian monarch Chandra Gupta, communication was not interrupted with a continent that extended from Afghanistan to Bengal. Seleucus married one of Chandra Gupta's daughters and Megasthenes, the author of a book on India that was the main source of knowledge on same for the Greek public, was an ambassador to his court. Not the only source, we must add the writings of Onesicritus and Nearchus, who accompanied Alexander, as well as those of Daimachus, another envoy of Seleucus, and others besides.[2]

The relations between the Greeks and the Indian dynasty of the Maurya, that of Chandra Gupta, in the 3rd and 2nd centuries, were close. India was by no means an unknown region (except, partly, for Bengal and the Deccan), but was very well-known through ambassadors and travellers such as those mentioned. We do not know whether Chandra Gupta had representatives in the Greek courts. But Asóka, his grandson, the great king protector of Buddhism and author of the famous rock edicts that are to be found throughout his vast domains, almost the whole of India, sent ambassadors or missionaries to all the Greek courts, in addition to those of East, as he tells on one of his edicts (no. XIII); indeed, one of the other edicts, no. XXV, is written in Greek and Aramaic.

Furthermore, during this period, the Greeks were neighbours and, on occasions, conquerors of the Indians. They were neighbours through the Kingdom of Bactria, which included, in modern terms, Afghanistan and part of Central Asia. But they were conquerors when the kings Demetrius and Menander established an Indo-Greek kingdom in the first half of the 2nd century throughout the basin of the Indus, the Central Ganges and Kashmir. These kings had to fight with Greek armies such as that of Eucratides, or Indian ones such as that of Pusyamitra, who had dethroned the Maurya. They founded Indo-Greek cities such as the new Taxila, and coined money with inscriptions in Greek and Indian; in short, they created a whole new environment in which Indian culture continued living under Greek power and organization.[3] There was close contact.[4]

This is reflected in numerous facts. For example, as we have said,

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[2] Cf. the edition on Megasthenes in the *FGH* by Jacoby, as well as the work by Stein already cited *Megasthenes und Kautilya*; for Daimachus, *FHG* II, pp. 440 ff.

[3] Cf. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge 1928, p. 181, etc.

[4] On the history of this period, see particularly Tarn, *op. cit.*

in the creation of the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara, a province that was under Greek rule; in the correspondence between the conception of royalty in the edicts of Aśoka and in the Hellenistic philosophies;[5] in correspondences between the Hindu religious thought of this time and certain elements of the Hellenistic religions, elements centred around the theme of the personal god and saviour, the love between him and his devotees, that is to say, what in Greek is called *agape* and in Indian *bhakti*.[6] In this environment we need to understand the protection of Buddhism by the Indo-Greek monarchs, the votive inscriptions in Buddhist caves near Bombay dedicated by Greeks (if they were not Indians from Greek towns, as Tarn believes, *op. cit.*, pp. 254 ff.), the inscription dedicated to Krishna in Taxila in about 180 BC by a Greek Heliodorus, belonging, therefore, to the sect of the *Bhagavatas*, etc.

This environment necessarily had to be reflected in the literature. We must consider it with reference to the *Dialogue of Alexander and the Gymnosophists*, which we have already discussed, and to which we will return; and the *Milinda-panha*, in which it is the Greek king Menander who asks questions to the sage Nagasena and which is a Buddhist work of the utmost importance, conserved in Pali in Sri Lanka; like the previous one, it is a work that synthesizes Greek and Indian themes, but around the Oriental scheme of the king and the sage, a scheme that at this time made its way, as we have seen, towards the West. If in one case we have a Greek text, in another an Indian one, this is a chance occurrence; these works were constructed around an Oriental framework, but one not entirely unknown in Greece (the dialogue of Solon and Croesus, etc.) in the Graeco-Indian environment of the 2nd century, conclusively, just as the *Life of Aesop* and that of *Secundus* were later written in the West, on these models.

We believe, indeed, that India, together with the *Ahikar*, provided a decisive stimulus for the creation of the biographical genre and others that we have discussed, and this in the environment of Indo-Greek culture, which developed ancient models, Mesopotamian ones, in short, with Greek influence. The *Bhagavad-Gītā* itself, the wisdom dialogue between the hero Arjuna and his charioteer who is in fact

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[5] Cf. G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Gli editti di Aśoka*, Florence 1960, p. 12.

[6] Cf. "Indian and Greek Philosophy", in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona 1977–78, pp. 1 ff.

the god Krishna, enters within this frame; not only the genre corresponds, but also the date and the religious orientation.[7] The Greek part of the influence to which we are referring must be qualified as predominantly Cynic.[8]

We must start from the fact that the Greek conquerors were, for the Indians, *Kṣatriyas*, warriors, who met with extreme opposition, as is known, among the brahmans, whose religion, after the maximum expansion of Buddhism and Krishnaism in the 3rd century, began a kind of a Shivaist Counter-Reformation in the 2nd. The Greeks, harassed and despised by the brahmans, as we know from a variety of evidence, had to rely on the support of these other religions, which were more popular, more from the marginal areas, more rooted in the *Kṣatriyas* (to whose class the Buddha himself belonged) and in the lower classes.[9] With the result that the *Milindapanha* is a Buddhist work and that elsewhere the Greeks were admired and paid the utmost attention to different classes of ascetics, whom they identified with the Cynics. Hence the Cynic character of the *Dialogue* cited (the same as of the realistic biography in the West); the Indian ascetics (Gymnosophists) play in relation to Alexander the same role as the Cynics in very well-known anecdotes. It is in this setting that we must place the introduction into India of the Greek fables, given Cynic tendencies from the 3rd century BC, in which in India there were points of agreement with asceticism, Buddhism, Jainism, etc. Aśoka, founding hospitals for men and animals places us precisely at the point that renders comprehensible the fostering in India of an already ancient genre on contact with another similar Greek one.

Summing up, it is known that the customary denomination of the brahmans and various priests of India in Greek writers is as philosophers or Sophists. These denominations date back to Megasthenes.[10] The denomination of Gymnosophists or "naked philosophers" was reserved for the naked ascetics starting from Onesicritus, although there is a great deal of confusion.[11] Sometimes there are distinctions

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[7] Cf. F. R. Adrados, *Ātmā y Brahma. Upaniṣad del Gran Aranyaka y Bhagavad-Gītā*; Madrid 1977, pp. 21 ff.

[8] Cf. my work "Elementos cínicos . . .".

[9] Cf. on all this, Tarn, *op. cit.* pp. 176 ff.

[10] Cf. the data in O. Stein, *loc. cit.*, pp. 278 ff.

[11] Cf. Stein, *loc. cit.*, pp. 292 ff.

regarding different types of brahmans (this word is also used) or different religions, but they are quite unusual.

Remoteness from war and work, dedication to worship and thought, customs of self-control and, frequently, of poverty and asceticism, life—in certain cases—in communities or in the forest, all this made the ascetics resemble the Hellenistic philosophers, with their schools and, occasionally, their wandering life. Among them, clearly, the Stoics and Cynics, and particularly the latter.

And we have seen that, already in the 3rd century BC, the collection of Greek fables of Demetrius was significantly influenced by Cynic philosophy; either ancient fables were altered, or new ones were added, but in both cases there was an attempt to adapt them to fit fundamental Cynic motifs. These motifs—rejection of pride and wealth, as well as of any superstructure that cancels out nature, praise for simplicity, independence, etc.—were in common with the central core of Indian religious philosophy. It was not at all strange that, starting from now, there was an influence of the Greek fable on the Indian fable, which, through derived from the Mesopotamian one, did of course introduce properly Indian themes at the same time. Of course, apart from the Cynic themes—which, moreover, were sometimes derived from the ancient ones—the Greek fable conserved original themes, such as that of the victory of the clever weak or that of the brutality of the unscrupulous strong, themes that were clearly also present in the Indian fable. There were motifs in common, therefore, between the Indian fable and the Greek fable, and there were common fables, as we have seen. This common basis, together with the community of more recent ideas, evidently paved the way for the Greek fable to influence the Indian one. It is significant that the oldest conserved collection, the *Tantrākhyāyika*, comes from Kashmir, an area particularly exposed to Greek influence. Its kings Abhisāra and Uraśa were allies of Alexander. Later it was the object of preferential attention from Aśoka, who founded the capital of Srinagar. Bordering the valley of the Indus and Bactria, it was a place of confluence of Indian and Greek cultures. Here[12] or somewhere in the valley of the Indus must have arisen the original *Panchatantra* at a date between the 3rd and the 2nd century BC, a

[12] This is the opinion of J. Hertel in his transl. cited, Introduction, pp. 23 ff.

period in which there was the maximum contact between Greeks and Indians.

If we consider that the date was more likely to have been the 2nd century, this is, on one hand, because it was in this century that contact was closest, on account of the existence of the Greek kingdoms in Bactria and India; on the other, on account of characteristics of the collections of Indian fables, which are comparable to those that we must suppose to have been present in Greece in the 2nd century more than in the 3rd, namely the drafting in prose (prosifications) and the occasional introduction of promythia and epimythia. We will return to this.

Yet we are more interested here in establishing the environment in which the syncretism of the Indian fabulistic tradition with the Greek took place, with the result of the creation of a collection. It was in a marginal Indian environment, outside the class and imperious domain of the brahmans, within the moralism, the protection of the animal, the asceticism of the marginal classes and religions which was proper to it. This marginal environment made contact more easily with the Greeks than did the closed world of the brahmans. And in turn the Greeks were a group of adventurers who, with certain exceptions, were not particularly learned and who found their inspiration in Hellenistic religions and philosophies, including Cynicism. The correspondence was clear. In both sectors, the taste for the romance and fabulization was, then, common and there was a certain community of ideas. Hence the stimulus that a Greek genre—the collections of fables—provided for the Indian fable, just as, inversely, the dialogue with a biographical frame was created starting from Oriental models, and later spread in the West.

Now, the definitive proof that the Greek fable was known in India is to be found in Turkish texts from Eastern Turkistan, together with religious literature, particularly Buddhist. Specifically, we are referring to the fable of the sheep and the pig, but not in the form of H. 87, rather, in that of the *Life* (Chap. 48).[13] It is very clear that all these texts entered this region either starting from India, or from Persia, together with the Manichean texts that accompanied them. It is very significant that the *Life of Aesop* spread together with Buddhist

[13] Cf. A. von Le Coq. "Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho", *APAW*, Ph.-H. Kl. No. 2, Berlin 1922, and P. Zieme, "Aesop in Zentralasien", *Das Altertum* 19, 1971, pp. 40–42.

texts, such as the *Jātaka*, precisely in the cultural environment that we have proposed for its diffusion in India. It is certain that this happened with the *Life*, and the same must be true of the fables.

Now, there is no room for doubt that these correspondences, this diffusion and strengthening of the fable, were exploited by someone who used this to create a new school of thought, the *nīti*, as opposed to the *śāstra*. Someone positioned in circles concerned with political power, perhaps closely linked to it, developed, starting with the fable, a system of thought that was more pragmatic and freer than that of the traditional treatise writers. And he evidently developed characteristics of style and composition of the Indian fable that we have described and whose sources of inspiration are undoubtedly to be found in India itself, though they have earlier roots.

2. *Greek Hellenistic Elements in the Indian Fable*

The Mesopotamian elements that are found in the Indian fable perform a role in this that we would call residual. This involves, on one hand, certain fables or fabulistic motifs; on the other, the "frame" constituted by the teaching directed at the king's children by the secretary, which finds an echo in some specific story; finally, the mixture of proverbs, instructions, similes and short fables (combined with the previous elements) that proliferate within fables and are sometimes organized for use in discussions or conflicting theses.

Starting from here, as we have said, the *Panchatantra* was constituted as a work of *nīti*, political science, but was in opposition as regards its narrative form and many of its theses to doctrinal treaties as such, or *śāstra*. The general features of the fable, with its appreciation for intelligence and ingenuity, its acceptance of the realities of life, were well suited to this new focus. A focus in which there were already characteristic Indian elements. It was dominated by the very principle of political and social teaching; it is not only that the fables (and proverbs, etc., included in them) constituted the teaching of the philosopher to the king's children, it is that the animals and characters of the fables never failed to teach each other reciprocally, sometimes amid discussions which in turn included fables and proverbs: the ending of the fable decides who is right. There is almost always teaching offered to the king—the lion particularly—and teachings that all kings must take into account regarding the need to make friends, to introduce spies into the opposing camp,

etc. Although it is not only the king, any man must learn, to conduct his life well, to use his intelligence, reject pride, distrust women and certain ascetics, etc.

That is to say, at the service of the Indian *nīti*, instruction is carried out on various levels, derived from the ancient, Mesopotamian root implied by the frame. The first level is that of the book: the first deals with the sharing of friends, the second winning them, the third the art of intrigue and the introduction of spies, the fourth of wisdom and foolishness (this related with paying heed to women), the fifth the poorly considered action. Then, on another level, within each book, the teachings of the central fable are exemplified with others that frame each other successively; from the exemplum-fable (and the proverb and instruction in parallel) comes the scheme of fables framed within each other.

Of course, Indian themes often predominate in these fables and stories. On one hand, their animal and human landscape: in the former, the panther, the mongoose, the monkey, the crocodile, etc., together with the most common animals in the fable; in the latter, brahmans and ascetics, kings and secretaries, merchants, carpenters, weavers, etc. On the other hand, the themes that appear are strictly Indian. We have mentioned that of pity for animals, present many times; to offer an example, see in *Tantr.* II 5, pp. 95 ff. H., how the holy man and the king saved the gazelle or consider the hateful type of the hunter, the punishment given to the elephant or to the snake that abuses the weak animals. Another theme is that of the sacrifice, as in the beautiful fable *Panch.* III 7, pp. 122 ff. R., of the pigeon that sacrifices itself, or that of the kindness of the mongoose who dies unjustly after killing the bad snake (*Tantr.* V 1, pp. 149 ff. H.). And others, that of the ascetic, that of the demons, etc. Further themes, as we stated earlier, are connected with Greek themes in one way or another.

Note that the examples we have just given all come from the *Tantrākhyāyika*, although the age of some, specifically, the fable of the king and the pigeon, is doubtful (cf. above, p. 306). We must note that all these themes are already found here and that the Medieval collections do no more than develop them; cf., for example, only in the *textus ornatior*, the kind thief who sacrifices himself (*Panch.*, pp. 198 ff. R.); in these fables of the later collections there is a greater frequency of themes such as that of the ascetic (devout or avaricious, depending on the case), that of the unfaithful wife, etc.,

and a greater presence of animals such as the tiger and the cat.

Moving on now to the study of the influence of the Greek fable on the Indian one, we must say that it is totally clear to us, although the specific fables and motifs that are in common may very often be ancient, that the fables to which we referred in this sense in II 4, pp. 325 ff. are seemingly from the Classical Age for the most part. This must be demonstrated both on grounds of a general order, relating to the whole of the oldest Indian collection (the *Tantrākhyāyika*), and on fables and, particularly, specific fabulistic motifs. This task presents difficulties deriving from our inability, at the present time, to reconstruct the oldest *Panchatantra.*

As always, we use the *Tantrākhyāyika* for support initially, but we also use the other versions, in a second phase.

To begin with, it does not even seem likely that somebody in India would have had the idea of writing a *nīti* treatise as a setting for fables and (within them or as an introduction and epilogue to them) proverbs, if they had not known the Greek collections. We must recall that the first of these must be placed in about the year 300, shortly after the death of Alexander. Through knowledge of this collection or—as we think—of one somewhat later, already influenced by the Cynics, the idea may have arisen of organizing the material of fables, anecdotes and proverbs existing in India to expound some fundamental ideas on social and political conduct, a central theme of the whole fable but which, until Greece, had not been taken further than as an isolated "exemplum".

Consider that Demetrius' collection was still fundamentally a compilation of materials, although standardized in formal terms. On the other hand, a little later, as a result of the work of the Cynics, the collections of fables already had a general teaching mission, for all. There was emphasis on the characteristic Cynic themes of nature, the contempt for wealth and beauty, intelligence and many others. And this was expressed either in the "closing statements" of the different fables or in promythia or epimythia which, initially, were only occasional, the fables that most needed them had them. One of these collections may have attempted the idea of the collection of Indian fables, either taking Greek material (fables and anecdotes), or developing it in various ways, or adding properly Indian material. The essential point is that fables and anecdotes are used indiscriminately and are organized by means of the enveloping system with which we are already familiar. It is a step beyond the Greek

stage: there are five fundamental themes, explained by five stories, also fundamental, but within them they frame others that develop various motifs. Yet, although there is a change from the short fable, centred on the *agon* or the aetiology, to narrations of a romance-like style or a tale, in short, all this is a derivation of the existence of collections of fables with a didactic intention. That is to say, of the Greek fable.

This despite the fact that the Indian fables or motifs that we met earlier in Greece are relatively few in number. And that sometimes no more than a trace of them remains, not to mention the fact that on occasions it is likely that the Indian and the Greek fable depend, each for its own part, on the Mesopotamian. Thus, the fables of the tortoise and the eagle, the frogs and the snake, the hawk and the nightingale (pigeon in India), the owl and the birds, etc., once begun, move along different paths in the *Panchatantra* from the Greeks. And it is, of course, likely that in ancient times it was the eagle and not the swan that carried up the tortoise, the eagle, and not the crow or the heron, who took revenge on the snake; it is likely that the ancient Greek or Mesopotamian model conserved in Greece is the original one. Or else multiple variants are created, such as the three of the fable of the lion, the fox and the animal victim (the stag in Greece), or the various ones of the punishment of the snake or of the adviser who creates discord. Or fables that seem totally new are introduced, but here or there they have motifs with which we are familiar in Greece, as in the fable of the crocodile and the monkey, the core of book IV, which presents the motif of the crocodile who swims with the monkey on his back and wants to drown him (as the frog does to the mouse in the *Batrachomyomachia*) and that of the crocodile's wife who wants to eat monkey's heart (like the fox eats the stag's). In these and in other cases the distance between Greek fable and Indian fable is great and sometimes we cannot see clearly whether there is a derivation or not. It may be said, in fact, that clear and precise correspondences are relatively rare. Nevertheless, there is no doubt, I find, as to the influence of the Greek fable and not only of the Mesopotamian.

One of the reasons to support this idea is the "frame" in which most of the fables appear. With one or two exceptions, the fables of the *Tantrākhyāyika* are preceded and followed by the same short verse, which acts as a promythium and an epimythium at the same time. It contains, in fact, a moral and a summary of the fable; we

have already said that what we have here is use of the ancient proverb-fables of the Mesopotamian tradition for the purpose of framing the new fable, with a romance style. These verses, when they are initial, are said by the narrator (a character in the frame-fable) and the other interlocutor answers "How was this so?", to which the first replies by telling the story. The story concludes, as has been said, by repeating the verse in question. Although there are variants: fables without a frame, endings without verse or else pronounced by a character in the fable ("closing statement") and not by the narrator.

Let us look at an example. When the lion, in *Panchatantra* I, cannot decide whether to kill his friend the bull, the jackal Karataka does not know how to get out of the situation, but the other jackal, Damanaka, says that there are some very appropriate verses (*Tantr.*, p. 22 H.):

> What it is possible to do with a trick is not possible by means of heroic actions. The crow killed the black snake with the help of a golden necklace.

He then narrates the story, which concludes with the same verses:

> For that reason I say: "what it is possible to do with a trick, etc.". And when he had finished the story, added: "those who possess wisdom, also possess strength. How could the fool have strength? Look, the lion that has strength by nature, was annihilated by a hare".—And how was this so?, said Karataka. Damanaka said: "In the forest, etc."

From one example (*Tantr.* I 4 ff., pp. 22 ff. H.), we have now seen how the fables are set. Now, within this fable there is that of the heron and the crab, which in turn has a promythium and an epimythium by the same jackal narrator. These promythia and epimythia by the narrator are, truly, equivalent to the promythia and epimythia of the Greek fables, except that here the narrator is the author of the collection, since there is no framed narration.

The originality of the Indian fabulist, starting from a collection that sometimes had promythia, sometimes epimythia, consisted in this systematic arrangement, using the same promythium and epimythium in each fable. We have already said, however, that sometimes there are none. On other occasions, the epimythium is said by one of the characters of the fable, either one of those taking part in the *agon*, or a "survenant", or a marginal character C. As in the fable of the hunter, the boar and the jackal (*Tantr.* II 3, pp. 73 ff. H.),

whose promythium is by the brahman who attempts to enlighten his wife:

> "Some mention this:
> We must keep provisions, but not excessive amounts. This jackal, who coveted excessive provisions, was killed by the bow". The woman said: "How was this so?" And the brahman said: "In a certain place, etc."

When the boar is killed by the hunter, it is the jackal, who sees the dart sticking out of his head, who recites the previous verses again, as an epimythium.

There are other examples. Both the absence of promythium and epimythium, and the "closing statement" (which is the epimythium recited by a character in the fable, in the example cited and in others besides), and traditional proverbs used on these occasions, enable us to follow a trail back to the Greek fable. And, specifically, to the collections mentioned that sporadically used promythia and epimythia.

Sometimes the same words with which the epimythium is introduced offer an indication in this direction. As is the case, when in the *textus ornatior* "The Jackal and the Elephant" ends (*Panch.*, p. 421 R.) with "Thus you also must fight against your natural enemy, etc.", a very well-known formula. The same common phrase "you know the saying", "there is a saying" is equivalent to Greek formulas of the type: "the fable teaches".

This model of "frame" was considered so important that it was even placed at the beginning and end of each book. It was transformed, clearly, into a characteristic of the Indian fable.

Yet, of course, it is not only this that makes us think there was already a Hellenistic model for the first composition of the *Panchatantra*. As in the Greek fable, the animalistic fable has been combined in a same work with stories or tales, some erotic, others of religious criticism or satire, others on various themes (wealth, pride, etc.). And themes that are well-known to us and are very characteristic of the Hellenistic fable have been introduced into both the animalistic fables and the others, and expressed in proverbs and moralities. We will report on the main themes of these, giving some examples. First, however, we will mention a few narrations that, in themselves and in their own right, lead us to these Hellenistic sources that we are discussing.

Let us begin with the *Tantrākhyāyika*: it is appropriate here to add further information to that given previously when, in II 4,

pp. 361 ff., we indicated a series of fables or motifs that correspond in Greece and India, with the double possibility remaining of a derivation in both cases starting from Mesopotamia or of a Greek influence on the Indian fable. In the same way as we have just indicated some cases in which there seem to be grounds for establishing the existence of Indian modifications of ancient fables, whether they come from Greece or Mesopotamia, there are others in which special reasons make the idea very likely that the derivation is precisely starting from the Greek fable.

For example, we have already indicated the relationship between *Tantr.* III 11, page 138 f. H. and the Greek fable of the owl and the birds. In the Indian fable, an old swan advises the swans in a tree to pull up the climber plant that has been sowed by the hunter, who climbs up it to hunt them, so they complain; the old swan saves them. Now, in an article that I mentioned on p. 55[14] I established—and Perry was later of the same opinion—that the oldest version of the corresponding Greek fable is that in the Rylands Papyrus in which it is the owl that gives the birds the advice to cut down the mistletoe before it grows; when they pay no heed, they are hunted and complain in vain. This Greek fable is, I think, older than the Indian one, because:

a) It is based on the fame of the wisdom of the owl and on the fact that the birds fly about around him when they see him by day. It is an aetiological fable, of which no trace remains in India.

b) The "happy ending" of the Indian fable is missing in Greece.

c) The idea of pulling up the mistletoe, before birdlime can be made with it, is more feasible than the idea of pulling up some seeds from which a climber plant is immediately born by which the hunter will climb with his net; all this is very artificial, as are Greek derivations that talk of cutting down the oaks on which mistletoe grows (H. 39) or of the birds eating the seeds of the flax plant with which nets are made (Phaedrus in Romulus and a Greek version in *PMich.* 457, from the 3rd century AD, cf. G. M. Parássoglou, *Studia Papyrologica* 13, 1974, pp. 33–37).

Simply, the Greek fable has been adapted to the Indian setting: the swan or *haṁsa*, the theme of the wisdom of the old, etc. And it is significant that the Indian fable derives from an old branch of

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[14] "El P. Rylands...", pp. 358 ff.

the anonymous fables, a different one from the one that ended up in the Augustana. Just as the derivation of the fable of the brahman, his son and the snake (*Tantr.* V 1, pp. 148 ff. H.), starting from a fable by Romulus from a different line from the rest of the Greek fable (cf. p. 127, citing Nøjgaard) is also significant. Once again, we see that it is not from the Augustana, but from an earlier line or a bifurcation of one prior to it from which the Indian fables come.

These examples, plus the general considerations on the "frame", plus the common themes and moral, which we will discuss, make it likely that at least some of the correspondences between Indian and Greek fables are explained as we are doing now. For fables in which there is no decisive criterion for confirming this explanation, such as the girl-mouse or the lion, the fox and the stag (or ass or camel), we may continue to choose between the two possible explanations. Nevertheless, there are others in which the derivation from Greece is more likely.

Among the animal fables there is a group—related, moreover, to the theme of nature—to which it is appropriate to refer in this context. I am referring to fables in which a land animal wants to have the life of a sea one, or vice versa, when a catastrophe unexpectedly happens. We have reviewed various Greek fables of this type, some of which seem to have a Classical origin (cf. p. 613). Now, this theme of the sea animal and the land animal, sometimes also of the air animal, is regularly repeated in Indian fables; in fact, the whole of book II of the *Panchatantra* is built around the theme of the friendship between different classes of animals.[15] However, I am mainly interested in drawing attention to the fable of the bird that wanted to dry up the Ocean because it had taken his eggs (*Panch.*, p. 145 R.), which is very comparable to that of an Egyptian demotic text,[16] except that here the swallow actually drinks the sea and in the Indian fable Garuda intervenes to have the eggs returned. Only the existence of a Greek text explains the presence of this theme in Egypt and India. The theme is, moreover, that of H. 25 "The Halcyon", where, however, the theme of "drying up the sea" (which, on the other hand, appears in the *Life of Aesop*) is absent.

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[15] Cf. also the whole of book II on the opposition between different classes of animals, including those of the air, p. 37 H. on that of herbivores and carnivores.
[16] Cf. Brunner-Traut, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

Another theme that we have found in Greece and India and is possibly Greek is that of the animal disguised as what it is not, who suffers the consequences. As far as we know, this does not appear in Mesopotamia or in Egypt. I consider it likely that the other disguised animals in the Greek fable (the ass and the fox, particularly) derive from the monkey disguised as a king from Archilochus; added to the possibly Egyptian theme of the monkey (cf. p. 333) was the Greek one of the disguise, which crossed over to the other fables and from them to the Indian ones.

I estimate, on the other hand, that the Medieval collections, and not only the *Tantrākhyāyika*, contain fables and stories dating back, within India, to a time contemporary to this and even to the more distant past; we have seen examples of these fables, which are, very possibly, of Mesopotamian origin. Now, there is no reason to rule out the possibility that, in contrast, some of them come from the Greek Hellenistic collections. Strictly speaking, this is possible in the case of fables such as the Greek one of the dog that carried a piece of meat and the Indian one of the jackal that lost the meat by trying to catch a fish (*Panch.*, p. 413 R.), that of the fox that distrusts the lion from whose cave there are no tracks coming out and the Indian one of the monkey that makes the same observation (*Panch.*, p. 458 R.) and others besides that we have indicated. And it is possible in a case such as that of the fable of the tiger and the walker in the *Hitopadeśa*,[17] in which the motif of the golden bracelet with which the tiger leads the walker to perdition is reminiscent of that of the golden lion in H. 72, a clearly recent rhetorical fable whose theme has been corrupted with that of the cat-ascetic.

Of course fables of these collections may sometimes have been derived from a previous theme. Erotic tales and others with elements of religious criticism, which have precedents in the *Tantrākhyāyika* but extensively repeat the same themes, may also be derived. However, in one case at least, that of the fable of the weaver in love with the princess, it seems clear that we are dealing with a derivation of a Graeco-Egyptian theme. I am referring to the tale cited, *Panch.* p. 89 R. In this the weaver falls in love and his friend the carpenter makes him a sort of artificial bird that resembles Garuda, the bird of Vishnu; he climbs inside it and, disguised as Vishnu, he arrives at the room

[17] P. 15 Al.

of the princess, who, deceived, goes to bed with him. The outcome is when the king asks for help from the false Vishnu against his enemies and the true one must lend his own assistance so as not to appear ridiculous: a certain humorous touch around the divine world. This ending is a Hindu original, but the story in itself is clearly the one that appears in the *Life of Alexander* by the Pseudo-Callisthenes (I 1 ff.): the exiled Egyptian king Nectanebus disguises himself as Amon. This is a popular Egyptian motif, coming from its older religious beliefs, which became a kind of Greek romance from the 2nd century BC.[18] The correspondence of the theme of the *hieros gamos* with the erotic romance cannot be accidental.

It is clear, on the other hand, that the Medieval Indian fable had its structure expanded, making it more complex and romance-like, with the addition of more moral elements.

Let us quickly re-examine some of the themes of the Greek fable, now that it is re-encountered in the *Panchatantra*: sometimes in fables, sometimes in the proverbs that accompany, precede and follow them.

The theme of nature.—This is very common, as we have just seen; whether it is to demonstrate that friendships against nature are impossible, as the respective fables do, or a means is found of transcending these natural oppositions with friendship, as in book II of the *Panchatantra*. The breaking of the friendship between the bull and the lion, the lion and the camel, the frogs and the snake, etc., are examples of the force of nature; although the cat pretends to be an ascetic, the wife obedient and chaste, the snake peaceful, etc., in the end the facts will speak for themselves. The bird must not trust the sea, nor the owls trust the crows, etc. And once the jackal who was brought up with the lion cubs is grown, he reveals his true instincts. The female mouse, though transformed into a woman, continues to be a mouse. The sick lion is dangerous, the jackal is artful no matter how much he hides the fact; and a disguised or painted animal does not stop being the same animal. Though there may of course be disagreement between the reality and the appearance, such as between the bellow and the strength of the bull (inferior to the lion), between the noise of the drum and what it is in reality.

The theme is dealt with not only with the help of fables, but also

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[18] Cf. C. García Gual, *Vida y hazañas de Alejandro de Macedonia*, Madrid 1977, p. 22.

all kinds of maxims and proverbs, whether given as a conclusion to a fable, or cited in a dispute. "Nature is difficult to defeat" says the promythium-epimythium of the mouse-woman explicitly (*Tantr.*, p. 125 H.; cf. also p. 87 H.: "it is not easy to abandon your own nature"). In the story of the lion and the bull we are constantly reminded of what the nature of kings is (*Panch.*, p. 107 R.). It is repeated that "you can caress a swine as much as you like, he will continue to be a swine: by the power of nature sweet and bitter live in sugar and in the flower of the *neem* tree" (*Panch.*, p. 110 R.). Elsewhere a report is given on naturally irreconcilable creatures: mongoose and snake, herbivores and predators, water and fire, gods and demons, dogs and cats, rival wives, lions and elephants, hunter and gazelle, crow and owl, sages and ignoramuses, wife and prostitute, saint and sinner.

The theme of fortune.—Fortune often takes on more Indian than Greek tones, such as when it is said that what is predestined will take place and the goddess Laksmi is mentioned. Yet at other times the agreement with the Greek is absolute. This is a common theme. There are whole fables used to illustrate it, such as that of the weaver Somilaka in the *Tantrākhyāyika* (II 4, pp. 87 ff. H.), that of the bull and the jackal in *Panch.*, pp. 264 ff. R. At other times it is developed in the verses:

> Why, wealthy, puff with pride?
> Why, poor, in gloom subside?
> Since, like a stricken ball,
> Men's fortunes rise and fall. (*Panch.*, p. 258 R.)

Yet the wise man can defeat fortune: thus (*Tantr.* I 12, pp. 41 ff. H.) in the fable of the three fishes, it is the fatalistic one that perishes.

The theme of wealth.—As in the Cynic fable, sometimes the troubles and dangers of wealth are described, sometimes the adoration that the world feels for it is criticized. The first theme is developed, for example, in the story of the avaricious brahman who carries his treasure under his arm (*Tantr.* I 3, pp. 18 ff. H.):

> Money causes pain in getting;
> In the keeping, pain and fretting;
> Pain in loss and pain in spending;
> Damn the trouble never ending! (*Panch.*, p. 58 R.)

Already in the *Tantrākhyāyika* the theme of the damage caused by avarice is developed in fables such as that of the brahman who kept

his treasure, that of the jackal and the two rams, that of the mouse in 11 H., that of the jackal killed by the bow, etc. Yet it is especially common in the Medieval fable: the four treasure-seekers, the snake that kept three golden cooking-pots, etc. See the praise of poverty, for example, in *Hitopadeśa*, p. 70 Al.

The theme of pride, blind obstinacy (τῦφος), *foolishness* (ἄνοια).—This is found, as we have said, on the subject of those who adore wealth. Yet there is also the ignorant pride of the king who does not know his duties and against which Damanaka warns the lion (pp. 118 ff. R.). There is the foolishness of the monkey who is unable to learn; and, particularly, that of the crocodile who by paying heed to his wife attempts to kill his friend the monkey (*Panchatantra* IV). Excessive expectations are dealt with at the end of book V, in the *textus ornatior*, in various fables, one of which has given the famous one of the milkmaid.

It is very clear that intelligence and cunning are central in the Indian fable, as they are in the Greek. Sometimes they are, so to speak, good, and are used to save the pursued, to punish the bad, etc.; at others, the jackal in particular uses them to set friends at odds. First and foremost, cunning is necessary in war and politics, as is the case throughout book III on the crows and the owls.

Correspondingly, the cunning of the crow and the heron who put an end to the snake, the hare who puts an end to the lion or makes the elephant stop causing a nuisance to his fellows, are all eulogized. All this, however, is constantly explained in the interspersed maxims. Sometimes there is theorizing, such as the statements that intelligence is necessary for victory (*Panch.*, p. 373 R.) and "trust in wisdom only" (*Panch.*, 378 R.).

This theory is already present in the *Tantrākhyāyika*: see, for example, the whole dissertation by Damanaka to his companion and elements within this such as the theme of the sage who finds a ruby (page 12 H.), which is reminiscent of the Phaedrian (Cynic) theme of the cock and the pearl.

The theme of nobility (εὐγένεια).—Less common, but it does exist: the jackal Damanaka speaks to the lion against this as a decisive factor (*Panch.*, p. 38 R.: "the worthy by display of worth/attain distinction, not by birth").

It is conduct, not breeding, that is the important thing, says the *Hitopadeśa* (page 33 Al.). However, I cannot find the theme explicitly in the *Tantrākhyāyika*.

The theme of appropriateness.—Not very common, either. Yet the king of the swans dies through not taking it into account when visiting the owl, a nocturnal bird, by day (*Panch.*, pp. 129 ff. R.). And there are other examples.

Anti-female theme.—This appears in a series of erotic stories—moralized in the sense that the unfaithful woman is castigated—and in the story of the crocodile and the monkey, in book IV. The erotic novelettes, with the exception of that of the weaver in love with the princess and some others, deal with the traditional themes of the infidelity of women and their tricks. A good example is the romance of the carpenter and his wife (*Tantr.*, III 8, pp. 124 ff. H.), which has the former thanking her and her lover because, supposedly, what they are doing is prolonging his life. And there are other stories, including that of the wickedness of the crocodile's wife, who wants to kill the monkey, her husband's friend, out of jealousy.

In the Medieval collections—*textus simplicior* and *ornatior, Hitopadeśa*—these novelettes is more numerous and the anti-female themes they express, more virulent.

In these and other histories there are long anti-female tirades, to which the Greek Cynics would undoubtedly have subscribed. Thus, the brahman who has seen the behaviour of the weaver's wife, concludes by way of an epimythium:

> Learn the science with the god above
>   Or imps in nether space,
> Yet women's wit will rival it:
>   How keep them in their place?
>
> Behold the faults with woman born:
> Impurity, and heartless scorn,
> Untruth, and folly, reckless heat,
> Excessive greediness, deceit.
>
> Be not enslaved by women's charm,
> Nor wish them growth in power to harm:
> Their slaves, of manly feeling stripped,
> are tame, pet crows whose wings are clipped. (*Panch.*, pp. 67 f. R.)

The passage continues at length and likewise other verses in the stories mentioned and in others besides. "Never trust a woman" (*Panch.*, p. 404 R.) could be the conclusion.

Religious criticism.—Rather than religious criticism, we encounter the theme of the avaricious brahman or ascetic, already mentioned by us; the theme of the false ascetic, such as the cat, and other sim-

ilar ones. These are comparable to themes in the Greek fable in which the false sage or fortune-teller appear. A related theme is, of course, that of the kind and wise brahman.

On the other hand, men occasionally treat the gods with a familiarity that we would call excessive. Their voice is impersonated not only by the father of the thief, whom he attempts in vain to justify (*Tantr.* I 15, p. 54 H.), but by the brahman who succeeds thereby in exposing his unfaithful wife (*Panch.*, p. 371 R.), not to mention the weaver who impersonates Vishnu to seduce the princess. There is not irreligion, certainly, but there is a tone of a mundane and demystified story that reminds us, once again, of Cynic fables that we have reviewed.

We could go on, but we think that the aforementioned is sufficient to offer a convincing argument that the Indian fable of the collections, that of the *Panchatantra* particularly, was strongly influenced by the Greek collections of fables of Cynic inspiration; without them, it would be difficult to comprehend the idea of an Indian collection of fables, as well as its forms (included promythia and epimythia) and a series of themes or treatments of themes sometimes ancient, sometimes borrowed from Greece, sometimes invented. Of course, there are points in common between the various fabulistic traditions, just as there are within the Greek fable as a whole, as we have already said. But to explain them all by parallel developments, when there are such precise correspondences and there were close relations between Greece and India, is to reject the most obvious indications. The introduction into the Indian fable of animals that, despite their small size, are nevertheless victors through their ingenuity or virulence, the coexistence of human themes (based, among others, on the brahmans and ascetics, equivalent to the Greek philosophers, and of misogynous novelettes) and animal themes, are other significant pointers in the same direction.

The contrary hypothesis—the existence of an independent Indian collection that influenced Greek collections already existing at that time—has nothing to support it, since all the evidence supports the idea of a Greek and not Indian origin of the common elements.

Now, if the Greek collections with Cynic elements and at least occasional promythia and epimythia cannot be dated before the 2nd century BC, they therefore affect the date of production of the primitive *Panchatantra* and, of course, that of the *Tantrākhyāyika*.

Their model is undoubtedly a prosified collection, from the 2nd

century before Christ, since as far as we know, the collection in verse did not have promythia or epimythia. And a collection, evidently, with differences with respect to the later collections that have reached us and this not only because these tended to generalize the epimythium, but on account of specific facts that we have expounded.

We could indicate yet another case: we have seen that the Indian fable of the bird that wanted to dry up the sea, who had taken her eggs, has a parallel in a demotic fable and that both show common features with respect to H. 25; they depend, it seems, on a different line from the tradition.

It would not be strange if other differences between the Greek and Indian fables were to be explained in the same way; it is, at least, a hypothesis to be taken into account before attributing the innovation to the Indian fabulists. And likewise in the case of Indian fables without a counterpart in Greece, but which sometimes fit together perfectly with themes from the ancient Greek fable or the Cynic fable, such that of the mouse-woman (quite far removed from "The weasel and Aphrodite"), that of the election of the crow as king of the birds, that of the musical ass, that of the lion scared by the bellowing of the bull (cf. *Tantr.*, p. 13 H.) and many others.

Finally, we must repeat that the influence of the Greek fable in India, which we have established, approximately, as occurring in the 2nd century BC, must have continued later on and, of course, was not limited to the fables collected in the *Tantrākhyāyika*, but is also found in others that only at a much later date found acceptance in the *Panchatantra*.

3. *Influence of the Indian Fable*

The diffusion of the Indian fable is a theme that has been studied on various occasions, although many details remain to be clarified. Here we will offer only general ideas, taken from various sources. We do this because, if it is true that the Indian fable contains, among others, elements of the Greek Hellenistic fable, its diffusion is part of the diffusion of the Greek fable. Moreover, in our Volume II we will complete the study of this theme by dealing with the Medieval collections of fables that have a partial or total Indian origin. In any event, it is clear that in a work on the Graeco-Latin fable it is not possible to study the problems of the transmission and diffusion of the Oriental fable in detail.

As we have said, in the Hellenistic and Roman Ages a series of Indian literary elements travelled the West that were integrated into our literatures, either directly or through imitations, converging in them with works such as the *Lives of Alexander* and *Apollonius*, the *Trojan History*, etc. It is a partly wisdom, partly hagiographic literature (consider the *Life of Buddha*) either fantastic or realistic, with many biographical elements. Yet there is no trace of the penetration of the Indian fable into the West, around these dates.

Throughout the period corresponding to what we refer to as Classical Antiquity and, particularly, in its latter times, the Gupta Age, it seems that the activity of the Indian fabulists consisted in a slight reworking of the ancient *Panchatantra*, a reworking that continued throughout the Middle Ages. For the details, once again referring to reader to the studies by Hertel, Edgerton and Geib already cited[19] and to my exposition on pp. 308 ff., it seems certain that the different versions of the *Panchatantra of the South* and texts related to them, such as the one used as the basis for the Pahlavi translation, from which our Western tradition comes, are from about 500 AD, since they contain a quotation from Kalidasa; the *Hitopadeśa*, also from this same tradition, and the Jainist versions, the first that were known in Europe, the so-called *textus simplicior* and the *textus ornatior*, are from much later, as has been said.

Now, we already know that the influence of the *Panchatantra* on Western literatures occurred through the recension translated into Pahlavi, closely related with the oldest Indian tradition but with the addition of some fables from the *Mahābhārata* and others besides.

Another point that remains pending explanation is to what extent collections of fables and stories that, in addition to the *Panchatantra*, found their path towards the West through Pahlavi texts from the 6th century and, later, through Syriac or Arab translations—that is, fundamentally the *Book of Sendebar* and *The Thousand and One Nights*—originate from the Indian tradition, as it seems, or were simply written in Persia, based on an Indian model. Is very clear that at the court of Khosrow the Great, in the Sasanian Empire, there was great interest in this literature; it was a physician, Burzoe, who translated the *Panchatantra* in about 570 AD. Now, Persian versions also existed (in Pahlavi) of the *Sendebar* and *The Thousand and One Nights*, works

[19] Cf. pp. 307 ff.

that reveal an Indian origin on account of both their frame, as we have said, and certain proper names (Siddhapati, from which come Sendebar, Sindbad, etc., cf. p. 671; note that the character appears in versions of *The Thousand and One Nights*).

The versions in Pahlavi have of course not been conserved for us. We know about that of the *Panchatantra*, mentioned in his prologue by al-Muqaffa', translator of same into Arabic, in Baghdad, in the age of al-Mansur (754–775); a conserved Syriac version, which was probably created a little after 570,[20] also derives directly from it. In the Pahlavi version there already appeared the title taken from the two jackals in book I, who in Spanish are Calila and Dimna.

However, we know nothing directly of a Pahlavi version of the *Sendebar*, which we must nevertheless suppose existed. All its abundant[21] tradition seems to derive from an Arab source, which in turn undoubtedly came from a Pahlavi one. The problem is whether this, in turn, came from an Indian one. This is the most likely explanation: it is a specialization, so to speak, of one of the veins of the *Panchatantra*, the anti-female one, which meant that the old Spanish text, from 1253, was given the title of the *Libro de los engaños y asayamientos de las mugeres.*[22] We must note that certain stories of the *Panchatantra* have been altered from an anti-female perspective; for example, the story of the parrot and the woman is a reworking of this kind of that of the king and his secretary (*Panch.*, pp. 49 ff. R.). Yet new stories and fables exist, or else fables with variants with respect to the *Panchatantra* (for example, the story on *Panch.*, pp. 462 ff. R. in which a demon and a monkey take part, is transformed in the *Sendebar* into another in which the demon is replaced by a lion).[23] Note, moreover, that the fables cited do not appear in the *Tantrākhyāyika*. In cases such as these, research would be required into the evolution of the fables and collections in India, which would have to be complemented by further research into the fables of the *Jātaka*, the *Mahābhārata* and other sources, which, of course, may or may not have Greek influences. And, we add, to the *Tantropākhyana* of

[20] On the tradition of the *Panchatantra* generally, cf. the book by Isidoro Montiel, *Historia y bibliografía del libro de Calila y Dimna*, Madrid 1975.

[21] Cf. A. González Palencia, *Versiones castellanas del "Sendebar"*, Madrid 1946, pp. 1 ff.; and J. E. Keller, *El libro de los engaños*, Chapel Hill, 2nd ed. 1959, pp. XIII ff.

[22] Cf. above, p. 671.

[23] The two stories cited from the *Sendebar* are those on pp. 15 ff. and 38 ff. of the ed. by Keller, respectively.

Vasubhāga, the Sanskrit text of which has recently been discovered[24] and which contains some stories not found elsewhere.

The research into the origins of *The Thousand and One Nights* beyond its Persian phase is particularly difficult, taking into account that the different Arab versions have included a large amount of material from the *Sendebar* and other sources. Research would be necessary here too; in any event, it is clear that the original core is infinitely smaller in size than the extended versions found in Baghdad and later in Egypt, which eliminated fabulistic elements and introduced others of magic and witchcraft, with a result that was very far removed from what constituted Indian fabulistic literature.

These collections, starting from Arab Baghdad, spread throughout the world, from Java to Iceland, sometimes dividing into different versions, at others lending such and such an element to new literary works, at others still serving simply as a model for new creations. In general terms, the Western versions—Greek, Hebrew, Spanish, Latin, Armenian, French, etc.—come from the Arab ones, but sometimes also from the Syriac. I refer the reader to the bibliography already cited, which offers a general idea, although the study of the influence of this whole literature on Western literatures remains pending. We have made some advances in relation to this theme on the subject of *Conde Lucanor*, the *Libro del buen amor*, the *Decameron*, etc., but we will return to it in Volume II of this work.

Now, the *Panchatantra* and the *Sendebar* also produced versions in various Oriental languages, from Turkish, Persian and Malay to Ethiopian, Mongol and Tartar. Regarding these, I again refer the reader to the bibliography already cited. On the other hand, starting from the Indian text of the *Panchatantra*, various versions were made in various languages of India and South-East Asia: in Tamil, Telugu, Javanese, Laotian, Thai, etc.[25] However, in the case of certain Oriental versions there may be doubt as to whether the origin is in India or in the Arab versions, or whether both lines have been corrupted.

Without entering into more detail here, as it is not appropriate, and leaving the history of the Western tradition for Volume II, it is clear, in any event, that the Indian fabulistic tradition spread in two

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[24] Cf. G. T. Artola, *Panchatantra Manuscripts from South India*, Madras 1957, pp. 41 ff.
[25] See G. T. Artola *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff.

directions: one, towards Persia and Islam, the other, towards the South and the East. From here translations and imitations arose that, conclusively, during the course of the Middle Ages, practically occupied Europe and whole of Asia. By an indirect path, then, the Greek fabulistic tradition, converging with the Indian, spread extensively. The tradition created thus later converged, in turn, in the West, with the Greek and Latin traditions that arose from it: the two fertilized the various Western literatures.

Thus, in short, the two branches derived from the confluence of the Mesopotamian tradition with indigenous traditions, that is, the Greek and the Indian, initially converged through the Greek influence on India in the 2nd century BC.

Later, the Greek tradition and the Indian, thus renovated through the Greek influence, lived and proliferated in different worlds, but converged once again through the Arab influence on Europe; another subsequent confluence, in the 14th century, was when the Greek tradition, diversified into Greek and Latin, became unified again. Through successive influences and ramifications, absorbing indigenous elements and disseminating other extraneous ones, the ancient tradition of the Sumerian fable spread, in short, throughout the world, contributing to the birth of new indigenous literatures, particularly in the West.

Within this panorama, the Greek Hellenistic fable represents a very important moment: the appearance of collections with didactic ends. This moment was never lost; the Classical Indian fable represents, to a large extent, a derivation from same, which was later to converge with the properly Greek line and its Latin derivation.

II. *Influence of the Greek Fable on the Egyptian Fable*

After the fabulistic material, either archaeological or documentary, which we have studied and which for the most part comes from the 14th century BC onwards, we find other, documentary material, from a later date, which leaves doubts as to whether it is a question of Egyptian fables influencing Greek fables or vice versa.

In fact, we have already stated our preference for the latter view on the subject of the fable, on a demotic papyrus, of the swallow that wants to drink the sea.

We must study in greater detail the demotic papyrus, from the 1st century AD, which narrates the myth of the search by the monkey-

god Thoth, messenger of the gods, for the cat-goddess (and lioness) Tefnut, the sun goddess who had retired to Nubia and who, finally, returned. The myth is clearly ancient, but this is not so clear in the case of the fables and stories with which Thoth wishes to convince Tefnut. It should be known that, although dating from the period mentioned, this writing is of older origin and there is a translation of it into Greek that has been attributed to Eudoxus of Cnidus.[26]

Firstly, there is the fable of the cat and the two vultures. Neither the former nor the latter, neighbours on the branches and at the foot of a tree, dare to go away, fearing for their young, so they make an oath before the god Ra. However, a double episode follows. The first part is confused: the cat disputes over a piece of food with a vulture chick who seems to die in the fight (the text is corrupted). In the second, a vulture takes away the cat's young to devour them, the latter asks Ra to be avenged and, indeed, the vulture takes some meat that somebody was cooking together with some coal, whereupon his nest catches fire and the chicks fall to the ground at the foot of the tree.

Here we are clearly re-encountering motifs from the fable of the eagle and the fox, but from the version of Archilochus, not from that of H. 1, since here the god does not appear at all as receiver of the oath and avenger of the terrestrial animal. Brunner-Traut thinks that the model is from Egypt. However, if the model for the Greek fable is the Akkadian one of the eagle and the serpent, this cannot be the case. On the contrary, in Egypt the eagle has been replaced by the vultures, the fox by the cat; this is very natural, as the cat is the incarnation of Tefnut. The Greek eagle plays the same role alongside Zeus as the Akkadian eagle does alongside Shamash; it is a continuation of same. On the other hand, the Egyptian fable introduces a rather unclear motif, whereby in some way a cat works against a vulture chick, but this does not seem to contravene the oath so clearly, judging by the final, obscure words of the cat.

The fable follows an Archaic Greek fable very closely, then, with its various episodes and dialogues, invocations to the god, intervention of the latter; just as the Greek fable has followed the Akkadian very closely, traces of which remain, on the other hand, in Indian

[26] That is to say, in the first half of the 4th century BC. Cf. E. Brunner-Traut, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff. and 62 ff. with bibliography.

and Greek fables presenting the confrontation between the eagle and the serpent.

This inclines us to believe that the other fables on the papyrus are also of Greek origin. One of them is that of the grateful mouse, who frees the lion who had previously let him go from the net into which he had fallen. This is precisely fable H. 155, with small variations, such as the fable ending with the freeing action of the mouse instead of a "closing statement" (the words of the mouse are included beforehand).

In contrast with Brunner-Traut, I think that the Greek fable is also the model in this case. And not only because this is likely after knowing that there is a Greek model in "The Vultures and the Cat", but for internal reasons. We have seen, in fact, that the Greek fable of the grateful mouse is certainly of ancient, Mesopotamian origin, since there exists a very exact parallel in the *Panchatantra*, except that the lion is replaced with the elephant. On the other hand, we have also seen that the theme of grateful animals is re-encountered on various occasions in both Greek and Indian fables. And it must be added that the structure of the Greek fable H. 155 is perfectly regular and, possibly, Archaic, judging by its organization into two acts:

A/Bsit.-Bind./Aact.-Asit./Bact.-Bdir.

It would not be at all strange if the Egyptian mythographer were to have a collection of Archaic fables at his disposal, since he does not follow our version of "The Eagle and the Fox" in the Augustana. The story that frames the fable of the lion could also come from this collection, namely, that of the lion who travels the forest and finds traces everywhere of the power and wickedness of man, whom he threatens. The lion appears here as king of the animals and, at the same time, as the accuser of human wickedness—a significant presence in Greek and Indian fables. Yet the irony lies in the fact that, after the threats by the lion, he falls into the trap set by the man and it is the small mouse that must free him: a new affirmation of the power of man and of the weakness of the king of the animals, mere strength without intelligence. Cf. the Greek fable of the archer and the lion, H. 281.

Given that in the Egyptian fable there is no clear evidence of the role of the lion as king of the animals, given the antiquity of "The Lion and the Mouse" in the Greek fable and previous fable and given, finally, the ironic organization of the two stories, all signs seem

to indicate a Greek source. And this is also indicated by the use of the fable as an exemplum, something that we do not find occurring in other Egyptian fables of which we are aware. Various of these, on the contrary, are independent stories, such as that of the cats and mice, the vegetable debate that we have cited and the fable of the head and the body.

It is clear, then, that Greek fables, either in the form that we know them there, or in an archaic form, or in another form unknown to us (the fable of the swallow), were introduced into the Egyptian literary world. There they coexisted with Egyptian fables, some of which had undoubtedly already been introduced into Greece in ancient times. Of course, the intimate relationship between Greeks and Egyptians in the Hellenistic Age makes it possible that further Egyptian fables were introduced into the Greek collections then too. We have already discussed the two fables of the head and the body and the debate between the sycamore and the *moringa* tree, very closely comparable with Greek fables. Yet others from among the Greek fables that we have considered as possibly having an Egyptian origin are also perhaps recent. Such as H. 32, the fable of the murderer who succumbs to a crocodile when he reaches the Nile. Fables of Cynic type in which this animal appears, or the beetle, etc., certainly come from this environment.

However, as far as we know, and until we have access to further material and have some means of relating it with the African fabulistic material, it seems clear that the Egyptian fable played a subordinate role; it is, so to speak, a marginal branch within the universal history of the fable.

Supplement

For the influence of the Greek fable on the Indian, two of my publications should be added to what is stated above: *El cuento erótico, cit.*, pp. 41 ff., and "La influencia de Mesopotamia y Grecia en el *Panchatantra*", *Sarasvati*, in press. For the *Sendebar*, cf. *El cuento erótico, cit.*, pp. 46 ff., and also M. J. LACARRA, *Sendebar*, Madrid University, 1989 (introduction and edition), together with the bibliography that I will provide in Vol. II on the subject of the Medieval fable. For the *Thousand and One Nights* and rabbinical literature, see my "Documentación suplementaria de la fábula greco-latina", *Euphrosyne* n. s. 18, 1990, pp. 213–226 (used in Vol. III to expand the documentation of the Graeco-Latin fable.

The new book by Ch. I. PAWATE, *The Pañcatantra and Aesop's Fables*, Delhi 1986, does not add anything to our knowledge of the relations between Greek and Indian fable.

For the influence of Indian Fable on the European one, see further data and conclusions in Vol II as well as in my papers "The earliest influences of Greek Fable on Medieval Latin writing", *Classica et Mediævalia* 35, 1984, pp. 1–20; "Siria, cruce de caminos entre la narrativa bizantina y la oriental", *Aula Orientalis* 1, 1983, pp. 17–29; "La fábula en Bizancio entre Grecia, el Oriente y el Occidente", *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 9, 1993, pp. 196–204; and "Documentación...", *cit.* I am now of the opinion that this influence may be followed from the 9th Century onwards.

As regards the influence of the Greek fable on Egypt, I have already referred to the romance by Tanuphis, which is dependent on the *Life of Aesop*. To the work by E. Brunner-Traut 1977, cited above, other older works by the same author should be added: "Aegyptische Tiermärchen", *ZÄes* 80, 1955, pp. 12–32, and *Aegyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel. Gestalt und Stahlkraft*, Darmstadt 1974. For the fable of the beetle, see my "Sobre el origen de la fábula del águila y el escarabajo", *CFC* 21, 1988, pp. 261–265.

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compiled by Gert-Jan van Dijk

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[1] Abbreviations and editions of ancient authors and works are those used in the *Diccionario Griego-Español*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 1980– . Additional abbreviations: *Dod.* = dodecasyllabic fables, ed. Chambry, E., *Aesopi fabulae*, I–II, Paris: Les Belles Lettres 1925–1926; *fab. iamb.* = iambic fable fragments, ed. Crusius, O., *Babrii fabulae Aesopeae*, Leipzig: Teubner 1897, pp. 234 ff.; not-H. = fable not included in Hausrath, *Corpus fabularum Aesopicarum*; Par. Bodl. = *Paraphrasis Bodleiana*, ed. Chambry *op. cit.*, Crusius *op. cit.*; Rom. = Romulus, ed. Thiele, G., *Der Lateinische Äsop des Romulus und die Prosa-Fassungen des Phädrus*, Heidelberg: Winter 1910 (repr. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Olms 1985); Synt. = Syntipas, ed. Hausrath, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 155 ff.; *Syr.* = Syriac fables, ed. Lefèvre, B., *Une version syriaque des fables d'Ésope conservée dans huit manuscrits*, Paris: Firmin-Didot 1941; *Tetr.* = (Ps.) Ign. Diaconus, *Tetrasticha*, ed. Müller, C.F., in: Crusius, *op. cit.*, pp. 249 ff.

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